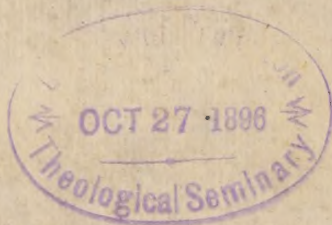


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of Nantes



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Our Pleasure herein signified.
 can, are to take notice, that due Obedience may be given to
 those, and all other Our Officers and Ministers whom it may con-
 cern, and all other Our Officers, the Commissioners, and Officers of Our
 City of London, the Commissioners, and Officers of Our
 whereof the Master, Wardens and Company of Stationers of
 them offending herein will answer the contrary at their Peril;
 persons or Aliens first had and obtained, as they and every of
 Approbation of him the said John Danton his Executors, Admini-
 strators, within the said Term, without the Consent and
 pices or Exemplaries of the same, or any part thereof, Reprinted
 or in part, or to imprint, buy, vend, utter or distribute any Co-
 and forbidding all Our Subjects to Reprint the said Book in whole
 ten Years from the Date hereof; strictly charging, prohibiting
 Printing and Publishing of the said Book for the Term of Four-
 years by the said John Danton, Our Royal License for the sole
 privilege herein, and accordingly We do therefore hereby grant
 Printing and Publishing thereof; We are graciously pleased to gra-
 tiously bestow, to grant him Our Royal License for the sole
 Costs and Charges, and already been and will be to him, he hath
 Edit of Master, in Four Volumes; and that in regard of the great
 That he is Printing an English Translation out of French, of the
 Danton, Citizen and Stationer of London, hath represented unto Us,
 minions, Greeting. Whereas Our Truly and Well-beloved, John
 Quality forever within Our Kingdoms and Dominions, Greeting.
 loving Subjects of what Degree, Condition and Quali-
 Wales, Defenders of the Faith, &c. To all Our
 King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and
 ELIZABETH and MART, by the Grace of God,

Given at Our Court at White-Hall, the good day of June 1623.
 in the Fifth Year of Our Reign.

By Her MAJESTIES Command.

J. TRENCHARD.

MARIE R.

WILLIAM and MARY, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith, &c. To all Our loving Subjects, of what Degree, Condition and Quality soever. within Our Kingdoms and Dominions, Greeting. Whereas Our Trusty and Well-beloved, *John Dunton*, Citizen and Stationer of *London*, hath represented unto Us, That he is Printing an English Translation out of *French*, of the *Edict of Nantes*, in Four Volumes; and that, in regard of the great Costs and Charges it hath already been and will be to him, he hath humbly besought Us to grant him Our Royal License for the sole Printing and Publishing thereof; We are graciously pleased to gratify him herein, and accordingly We do therefore hereby grant unto him the said, *John Dunton*, Our Royal License for the sole Printing and Publishing of the said Book for the Term of Fourteen Years from the Date hereof; strictly charging, prohibiting and forbidding all Our Subjects to Reprint the said Book in whole or in part, or to imprint, buy, vend, utter or distribute any Copies or Exemplaries of the same, or any part thereof, Reprinted beyond the Seas, within the said Term, without the Consent and Approbation of him the said *John Dunton* his Executors, Administrators or Assignes first had and obtained, as they and every of them offending herein will answer the contrary at their Peril; whereof the Master, Wardens and Company of Stationers of Our City of *London*, the Commissioners, and Officers of Our Customs, and all other Our Officers and Ministers whom it may concern, are to take notice, that due Obedience may be given to Our Pleasure herein signified.

*Given at Our Court at White-Hall, the 30th. day of June 1693.
in the Fifth Year of Our Reign.*

By Her MAJESTIES Command.

J. TRENCHARD.

THE

Testimony

HISTORY

OF THE

CONF. OF SAINTS :

AND

ACCOUNT

OF THE

PERSECUTIONS

IN

FRANCE

AND THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN FRANCE

By the Rev. J. H. M. de la Motte, of the Faculty of Theology, University of Paris.

Vol. I.


Translated from the French of the Author, by J. H. M. de la Motte, of the Faculty of Theology, University of Paris.

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THE *Saml. Miller,*
HISTORY

1822.

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Of the Famous

Edict of Nantes :

CONTAINING AN

A C C O U N T

OF ALL THE

PERSECUTIONS,

That have been in

F R A N C E

From its First Publication to this Present Time.

Faithfully Extracted from all the Publick and Private Memoirs,
that could possibly be procured.

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Elie Benoit

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With her Majesties Royal Priviledge.

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Т И Д О С К

FRANCIS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

TO THE
QUEENS

Most Excellent Majesty.

MADAM,



*OUR Majesties Eminent Zeal for
the Protestant Religion, and the
tender Compassion and Charity you
have shewn to multitudes of French
Refugiez, of all Ranks and De-
grees, who have been forced to fly hither for your
Glorious Protection and Relief, encourages me to
A hope,*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

hope, that your Majesty will be pleased to pardon me this presumption, of humbly laying at your Royal Feet an account of their deplorable Afflictions, by permitting me to dedicate to your Illustrious Name, this Translation of their History of the Edict of NANTES,

Your Majesty may see in it with what an astonishing Barbarity the formerly Flourishing Churches of France have been ruined and destroyed; with what Rage, Fury and Cruelty their Persecutors have treated them, and how many thousand Dangers those miserable Innocents have run, to find Sanctuary in your Kingdoms.

The Reading of this History, how afflicting soever it may be in it, self will, I am confident, Madam, notwithstanding afford your Majesty some considerable satisfaction; for tho' the Ruin of these Churches cannot but very deeply afflict your most tender and Christian Breast, yet your Extreame Piety will however receive no small measure of Joy and Comfort, to find, that this corrupt and Infidel

The Epistle Dedicatory.

del Age, wherein Open wickedness hath reigned with Reputation, hath yet produced Martyrs and Confessors, whose Courage and Constancy have scarce been inferiour to those of the Primitive Church, tho' they have suffered almost beyond Expression for the sake of their Religion, and for their Holy Faith have undergone a Persecution, which, taken in all its dismal Circumstances, is far beyond the Blackest of any that can be met with, in all the Records and Monuments of Pagan Antiquity.

Nor, may it please your Majesty, will this History be unprofitable to your Subjects; for it will teach them what Dutiful Respect, Obedience and Acknowledgements they owe to your most Excellent Majesties, by informing them what a Horrid Persecution Popery was preparing for them too, and the unexpressible Calamities into which they must inevitably have fallen, if God had not wrought a Wonderful Salvation for us, by making use of your Majesties Picty and Zeal, to effect this Great and Happy Deliverance.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

That signal Favour Heaven was pleased to shew to England, at a time, when both Church and State were over-run with Popery and Arbitrary Power, and brought to the point of Destruction, gives those miserable Refugiez strong hopes, that they shall one day be re-established; as it doth your Subjects a mighty Expectation, of seeing a Noble Change of the whole Face of Affairs, with respect to the Peace and Liberty of EUROPE.

Your Refugiez have no other Recourse, next to Almighty God, than to your Majesties, who are engaged to labour their Re-establishment, not only by that Tendernefs and Compassion, so natural to all generous Souls, and which is so peculiarly Bright in your Majesty to the Afflicted and the Miserable; but by the endearing Obligations which one and the same Communion lays upon you, by all the Christian and Honourable ways, to procure it for them.

And

The Epistle Dedicatory.

And here, MADAM, I have a fair occasion to speak of the Royal Vertues which adorn your Majesties; to acquaint the world with that profound Reverence you have for the Protestant Religion, and with that Great Zeal you shew in the Defence of it: with what a disinterested Vertue the KING opposes the unjust Usurpations of France, with what firmness of Courage He hath exposed his Royal Person to the most imminent Dangers of War; with what Prudence and Policy He hath united so many Princes of Europe of different Religions, and confederated them all in a steady Resolution, to put an end to those unparaleted Violences which have so long raged in a Neighbouring Kingdom, under the name of a Most Christian Monarch, who notwithstanding makes it his Glory to be Insensible of those almost Insupportable Calamities, which his own Subjects suffer, and groan under by his means, and is the Inhumane Ravisher of the Publick Liberties of Christendom.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

I could enlarge upon these, and many other of your Great and Illustrious Vertues, which are the Supreme Ornaments of Crowns and Scepters; but where your Majesty commands my Silence, I have nothing to do but to submit, and to pay a most profound Obedience.

But I humbly beseech your permission to let me speak this Truth, that your Majesties have both testified, that an Universal Good hath been the end of all your Royal Cares, that you have preferred, the Raising of the Honour of the Nation, to your own Glory.

How often hath that precious, that Invaluable Life been hazarded abroad in the publick Cause of the Rights and Liberties of almost all Europe; whilst You, MADAM, here at home, have governed with so Careful, so Just, so Wise an Administration, that You have rendered your Name no less Illustrious for your Prudence, and the rest of your shining Vertues, than the Greatest King in the World, I mean, WILLIAM III. hath made His Glorious, by His Valour, Conduct, and the Infinite other great Qualities of his Mind: and both

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both your Sovereign Majesties are become the Delight of your Honest and Loyal Subjects, the Admiration of Foreign Princes, and the great Dread and Terror of your Enemies.

May you Both live long, that your People may be happy long, and rejoyce long in you; and that your Majesties may be long happy in your Peoples, having the Hearts, the Esteem, and Veneration of ALL your Subjects to be the Felicity and Glory of your Reign.

So Wishes, so Prays, with all imaginable Earnestness and Devotion,

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,

Your Majesties most Humble, most Faithful,

and most Obediently Loyal Subject,

— C O O K E.

To My Lords

The Lords Deputy Counsellors

OF THE

States of Holland

AND

WEST-FRIEZLAND.

Most Noble and Puissant Lords,

IF I do not follow here the example of those Writers, who place a study'd Panegyrick upon those of whom they have made choice for their Protectors, at the beginning of their Works, 'twas neither fear of ill success that hinder'd me, had I had any such design, nor of exposing my self to the Distaste that has been long since taken against such kind of undertakings. I must confess I have no great reason to build much upon my Eloquence, but I might find in the abounding Treasure of the Subject, wherewith to supply the defect of my Skill and Parts:

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The Epistle Dediatory.

and I might hope withall to please the Reader, since I should have an opportunity to tell him those things which he rarely sees in writings of the like Nature. 'Tis a difficult thing at this day to force into such an Eulogy those bold strokes of Wit or Rhetorick, that might adorn it with any Graces of Novelty : more especially most people believe that Truth very seldom appears in such Applauses. But it would be an easie thing for me to do something more then usual upon the Subject which I should have in hand ; in regard that tho my Praises were never so transcendent, they would never be look'd upon as suspected or excessive. There would need no more for me then to consider **YOUR NOBLE PUISSANCES**, as an August Body, to which all the Merit of the Illustrious Members that compose it, is due. It would be easie for me by this means to adorn my Discourse with a thousand Ornaments not common to the World : neither would any Person presume to suspect me of rearing the Glory of All together too High : seeing that if we should take asunder every one of those who are call'd to those Eminent Dignities, we should find in his Name, in his Endowments, in his Employments and his Services, as many several Subjects for a just and lawful Panegyrick. But I know well, **MOST NOBLE and PUISSANT LORDS**, that solid Virtue is not ambitious of these vain Oblations. Only
vulgar

The Epistle Dedicatory.

vulgar Souls are intoxicated with such perfumes. They who have a Soul truly Great, choose rather to be profitable to the Publick by their noble Actions, then to hear either their Person, or their Conduct extoll'd. I make no question, but your NOBLE PUISSANCES, deem it far more worthy of your selves to engrave your Elogies in the Hearts and Memory of the People by your Sage and Prudent Government, then to read 'em in an Epistle Dedicatory. Therefore not to engage my self in a labour that would be no way grateful to YOUR MOST NOBLE PUISSANCES, I will only give you an account of the reasons which embolden'd me to present you this Piece, which I have now transmitted to publick View. I have not so good an Opinion of my self, MOST NOBLE and PUISSANT LORDS, to imagine that the Fruits of my Labours are Offerings that merit your Acceptance. But the Nature of the Subject which I handle in this History, dedicated to Your Lordships, may serve to excuse the liberty which I take to lay it under the Protection of YOUR MOST NOBLE PUISSANCES: and after a full Examination, it may be easily acknowledged, that in reason and justice it could have been no other where address'd. It contains a Recital of the misfortunes which in *France* have befallen those, who for these fourscore and ten

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Years have liv'd in that Kingdom under the Faith of the most solemn Edi&ct that ever was publish'd. It represents what they suffer'd, till the Revocation of that Law, which had been so long the Buckler of their Religion, and the Bulwark of their Liberty. It shews several thousands of Families by Violence and Injustice reduc'd to abandon the Advantages and Delights of their Native Country ; and to seek, on every side, a Sanctuary for their Persons, and Repose for their Consciences. 'Tis true that in all parts of *Europe*, whereever these Persecuted Professors of the true Christian Faith have been led by Providence, they have receiv'd great marks of the compassion and good will of Foreigners : but in no State or Kingdom were they receiv'd with more tenderness, nor cherish'd with more affection than in this. The Charity of our Thrice Potent Sovereigns made hast to meet their Petitions. Upon their arrival, they found all manner of succour ready at hand. They shar'd, as I may say, the Conveniencies and Riches of the Country with the Inhabitants, by the free and liberal participation which they met with. They no sooner breath'd the Air of these Countries, but they tasted the Abundance of it. They also whom the common Tempest had cast on other Shores, were sensible of this Heroick Beneficence : not only because it was a leading example to others, but because the effects of it were not enclos'd within

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within the limits of these Provinces. If the first Honour of this extreme Bounty be due to our Sovereigns, whose Zeal and Piety became so signal by such a Glorious Testimonial; it cannot be deny'd, at least, MOST NOBLE and PUISSANT, LORDS, but that the second belongs to yourselves. You found, you distributed the Funds whence these Immense Profusions of Charity were drawn. 'Twas by the hands of YOUR MOST NOBLE PUISSANCES, that so many Professors of the Christian Faith, so many persons of Great Quality, so many Pastors and Teachers, so many ruin'd Families, so many people of both Sexes, which the Persecution had reduc'd to utmost Exigency, have hitherto receiv'd, and still receive all necessary Succour and Relief. In the midst of such Prodigious Expences, occasion'd by a hideous War, The care which you take for the Publick does not slack'n your Diligence for the Consolation of so many afflicted Innocents: and your inexhaustible Charity does the same in procuring them an easie and comfortable Life, which your Indefatigable Vigilance performs in suffering nothing to be wanting to the Commonwealth in her lawful designs. After all this, there is no question to be made, most NOBLE and PUISSANT LORDS, that it is no more than justice to Dedicate to yourselves the History of those whose miseries you so generously assuage and soften. As it will make

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

an Apology for their Innocency, so it will also magnifie your Bounty: and while it makes it appear that neither Seditions nor Conspiracies, nor Civil Wars drew upon the Reformed these dreadful Misfortunes, so will it also publish to the World, that your Favours are so much the more worthy of Immortal Applause, by how much it was impossible to place 'em better; that a compassion truly Christian produc'd 'em; and that you did not relieve those disconsolate Families, but because you compassionated an Affliction which they had no way deserv'd. I may likewise farther add, MOST NOBLE and POTENT LORDS, that in presenting this History to your Lordships, I do not take so much upon me a liberty which has need of an Excuse, as an Opportunity to acquit myself of a necessary Homage. 'Tis a mark of acknowledgement, which all the *Refugees* in some measure offer to your Lordships by my Hands, as it were to make the Returns of succeeding Ages to YOUR MOST NOBLE PUISSANCES, of those Thanks and Testimonies of their Gratitude, which are due to your Lordships. And I dare presume to say, that they make use of my Pencil to make this Protestation to your Lordships, that it is not so much their design to preserve to Posterity the remembrance of those Sufferings, as the Memory of that relief and those consolations which your Lordships afforded 'em. Nor do I hazard any
thing

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thing in taking upon me to be answerable for their Intentions and their Thoughts ; in regard the conformity of our common condition ought to inspire into us all an equal sense of Gratitude for the Bounty of our Generous Protectors, whose Succour and Assistance was so seasonable and so comfortable to us. Besides, it is no difficult thing for me to reach the Sentiments of other peoples hearts, on this particular occasion. They loudly enough express themselves, and every where declare, that they are beholding for their Lives and their Repose, solely to your Lordships Bounty. As for my own part, MOST NOBLE and PUISSANT LORDS, I wish to see this Work of mine may be kindly receiv'd in Publick, not so much for my own, as for the Interest of YOUR MOST NOBLE PUISSANCES. And it would be less a pleasure to me, to see my own Name consecrated to Eternity, if my Writings may acquire the privilege of pretending to it, then to Immortalize your Glory, by informing future Ages, what share you had in the relief of so great a number of unfortunate Sufferers. But if my endeavours cannot soar to such a height, it will suffice me, MOST NOBLE and PUISSANT LORDS, to obtain at least one thing which I aspire to, as the Lawful Recompence of my labour; That in pursuance of that extraordinary Favour and good Will, of which YOUR NOBLE PUISSANCES give such Proofs to all the World,

you.

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you would be pleas'd to accept this History which
I present your Lordships, with as a Testimony of my
Profound Respects, and as an engagement to be
all the days of my Life, with as much Zeal,
Submission, and Sincerity as the Heart of Man is
capable to exprefs,

Noble and Puissant Lords,

Your Noble Puissance's

Most humble, most Obedient

*April 10.
1693.*

and most faithful Servant,

B. M. A. D.

T H E

General Preface.

IF History be Properly consecrated to preserve to Posterity the remembrance of things the most remarkable that fall out in the World, it cannot be deny'd, but that the deplorable end of the liberty which the Reformed enjoy'd so long a time in France, is one of the most memorable Accidents that merits to be taken in hand for the information of succeeding Ages. There is not any thing in that Revolution, which does not deserve particular Reflexions. Upon whatever circumstance of that Horrid Desolation a man fixes his mind, he shall find enough to exercise his Wit, either in wondering at the Malice and Wickedness of those that were the Authors of it, or in admiring at the Patience, and perhaps in taxing the Pusillanimity and want of Courage of those that were envelop'd in it. That a Clergy compos'd in truth of great Personages, but of persons more intoxicated with the Grandeur and Maxims of the World; then sensible of the true Maxims of Religion, or capable indeed of understanding 'em, should make it so entire-

ly their business to Extirpate poor People that were no longer in a condition to dispute their Possessions and Privileges with 'em, and who had no further occasion of difference with 'em, then what concern'd the Right of Believing and Preaching, in certain places, what seem'd to them to be most agreeable to the Truth. This is enough to astonish those who understand, that Men must have some specious pretence at least to excuse their proceedings to Extremities of Injustice, and Cruelty. That a King, who might have pass'd for one of the most Potent of those that ever wore the same Crown before him, and might have been the most Glorious of all his Predecessors, had he given his Subjects as much reason to admire his Equity, and the Fidelity of his word, as he had given Strangers an occasion to dread his Prosperity, and his Conquests should so far extend his complacency to a Confessor, and two or three other Ecclesiasticks, as without any apparent cause to revoke one of the most solemn Edicts, and most worthy to have been inviolably observ'd, had it been for nothing else but only in respect to the Author: That this same Prince should deal more Rigorously than he would have done with Rebels, with an Innocent, Peaceable and well-affected People, far from Plotting and Sedition; who for above these five and fifty Years have never been known to have appeared in Arms, but for the Service of the State: And who when they had taken Arms in a Conjunction of high importance, perform'd Achievements as much to the advantage of the Grandchild of Henry the Great, as their Ancestors had done near a hundred

dred years before, to support the Rights of that same Prince, of Happy and Triumphant memory. These are things, I say, would hardly be believ'd, had we not before our Eyes a thousand Testimonies that convince us of it. That a Counsel so profoundly and refin'dly Politick, and which to all the Enterprizes it undertakes confers an Air of Grandeur, which may seem to exceed the bounds of human Condition, nevertheless should carry on this particular design after a manner so little proportionable to the ordinary Maxims it profess'd, that for the Oppression of People, not in a capacity to defend themselves, it should not spare to make use of Acts of Violence and Injustice, of Litigious and Impertinent wrangling, the most mean and most malicious imaginable, so as to forget some certain forms of Decency and Decorum, which are never to be neglected in things that are acted under the Kings Name, is that which Posterity would never be convinc'd of, were it not confirm'd to future Ages, by Authentick Proofs. That a People also, who were able to raise a hunder'd thousand Men, able to bear Arms; who in many places surpass'd the Catholicks in Number, Wealth and Reputation; who were in no want of stout experienc'd Officers, full of zeal for their Religion, who often met with favourable opportunities for the resettlement of their Affairs: That such a People, I say, for thirty Years together should undergo Oppression so unjust, a hunderd times more difficult to be endur'd by men of Courage, then the worst of injuries: That they should suffer themselves to be expos'd on all hands; to be reduc'd to such cruel Extremities, by a

thousand shameful Artifices, so as to behold nothing but Snares and Precipices on every side ; to be so coward as not only not to dare to make the least Complaint, and shew the least Resentment of their Sufferings, but also not to dare believe what they felt ; that they should labour under a Persecution for a long series of Tears, spun out by the Malice of their Enemies ; as if it were not so much the purpose of their Oppressors to extirpate, as to weary 'em out, and put 'em besides all their Patience : That in the midst of these Calamities and Afflictions, these People thus overwhelm'd, should sit still with such a Conscientious and precise Submission, without seeking any other Consolation then that of Sighs and Tears, without opposing the Designs of their Oppressors any otherwise then by repeated Petitions, by humble, respectful, moving Remonstrances, enough to have mollifi'd the hearts of all that had any remainders of humanity left ; that they should literally practise the Christian Precept of praying for their Persecutors ; that they should all along continue to the end in doing them Service, that erected before their eyes the preparations for their ruin ; That they should make it a point of Duty to be faithful to those that always broke their words with them ; This is that which Ages to come will very hardly be persuaded to believe. Neither do I know whether the Testimony of History will be sufficient to convince a Reader, never so little difficult of belief, of the Truth of an Event attended with so many extraordinary Circumstances.

Now

Now in regard there are some things very false which often cover themselves with such appearance of Truth, that the most Prudent and Circumspect may be deceiv'd; so there are some Truths, that have something rare and unheard of that makes 'em taken for Improbabilities. And this, in my opinion, may be rightly apply'd to the Persecution which I have undertaken to give the Publick an account of. And it may well fall out one day that some doubt may be made of the most signal Actions that refer to this History; since they who have been Eye-witnesses of them, they who have experimentally felt 'em to their sorrow, have much ado to believe 'em; and cannot comprehend that the fruit of a long fidelity, of several important services, of an Innocency beyond all reproach, of a try'd Submission, and chiefly of an invincible Patience, should be forc'd by necessity to renounce the sweets and conveniences of a delightful Country: to abandon their temporal Estates and Advantages; to lose the more precious and natural part of Liberty, which is that of serving God according to the Rule which we are perswaded he has set down himself. And lastly, to seek for that, under another Dominion, and in a Foreign Air, which is deny'd 'em by the Commands of their natural Prince, and by those with whom they had breath'd the same Air from their Birth. It happens sometimes that men may take a plausible pretence for the committing so many Cruelties, from the Politick FaCTIONS and Enterprizes of them against whom they are exercis'd: and in regard the service of God has often serv'd for a Cloak to the Ambitions, to cover the Design of their Quarrelsome Claims,

'tis no wonder that sometimes they make use of the same pretence against those whose Religion they seek to destroy, tho in reality they had no Intent to disturb the publick Peace. But there was nothing of this that could give the least Colour for the last Oppression of the Reformed. They had neither Protector nor Arms, nor Cities, neither were they in Confederacy; and the fear of giving an opportunity to those who had sought so long after one to persecute 'em, oblig'd 'em to carry themselves with the most exact Obedience imaginable. The Faith of the Kings Promises, and the good will of their Sovereign had been so long preach'd up among 'em as a better security for them then all the strong Holds in the Kingdom, that they avoided, to the utmost of their power, all occasions of rendring themselves unworthy of his Favours. They were depriv'd of the means to signalize themselves in publick Employments, because they had by degrees excluded 'em from almost all Offices of State: but in all Employments from which they could not debar 'em, in the Exchequer Employments, where their Exactness and their Fidelity maintain'd them a long while; in Employments of Trade, the greatest part of which their Understanding and Reputation had drawn into their own hands, in warlike Employments, to which they ran as often as the Kings service call'd 'em: In a word, in all things else wherein they were permitted to distinguish themselves, there was not any of the French Nation that shew'd more Zeal than they for the glory of their Prince, or who have more honour'd their Country by their noble Actions.

I could here set down a very considerable Catalogue of those who since the taking of Rochel, as well by their merits as their services have remov'd all the obstacles which their Religion layd in their way to Preferment, and attain'd to the highest Employments both Civil and Military. 'Tis known that the most noble Atchievements of Turenne, and which were of greatest advantage to the Crown, preceded the change of his Religion. But I cannot forbear saying this farther, that at the very same time that the Act of Nantes was revok'd, the two greatest Captains in the Service were Both of the Reformed Religion. Marechal Schomberg has spread the Reputation of his Masters Arms as far as well it could fly; and after the death of Turenne, France thought her self happy in such a person as he, to support the Kings Honour, after it had receiv'd so great a loss. The deceased Prince of Conde, who was one that well could judge of a Souldiers Capacity, made no scruple to compare 'em both together, and to discover in M. Schomberg, something I know not what more sprightly, quick and ready, when he was to resolve upon an unexpected Accident. The Marquis of Quefne, who commanded the French Fleet, had no body after the death of Admiral Ruyter that would dispute with him for priority in that Profession. So that Merit has rais'd two of the Reformed, notwithstanding the malice born to their Religion, to the Highest Dignities in the Military Art, as well by Sea as Land.

What likelihood was there that at a time when so many noble Actions spoke in favour of the Reformed, they should not only endeavour, but accomplish their ruin? That they should take a time to destroy 'em, when they could neither accuse 'em of Rebellion, nor look upon 'em as useless to the Kingdom? Certainly no man would have imagin'd a hundred years ago, that France would have expos'd her self in our Time, by such a piece of Injustice as this; to the reproach of all Europe. At least people would suppose there might be some private reason to treat with so much inhumanity a number of poor Christians, who by their quiet dispositions, not to speak of their Services, seem'd to merit quite the contrary. 'Tis not easily to be suspected that one man should exercise the fury of his hatred against another, without having at least some specious pretence for it. How then is it possible to believe, that in France men should be transported to the extremities of rigour against a Million of innocent Persons, for no other reason, but meerly out of an ill grounded hatred? Nevertheless this is all that can be said of the motives of the last Persecution. Not only hatred, but hatred without a cause, without pretence, without excuse, inflam'd against a People without defence, who fought to vanquish the aversion of their Enemies, by their Patience, and by their Services. Doubtless therefore it is but justice truly and faithfully to inform Posterity, that they be enabl'd to give a right Judgment; upon an Event so little known; and do the same Justice to the Authors of these Cruelties, as we now do

to those who have giv'n us a Model of what was formerly committed in the first Ages of Christianity, as also under the Bloody Reign of Charles IX.

But besides the general Reason of preserving the remembrance of this Persecution, there are two others which deserve to be considered. The one is, because that they who advised it have endeavour'd to anticipate Posterity upon this Subject, by divers Artifices. I know not how many Writers hir'd on purpose to disguise Affairs, and to deprive Truth of her natural Weight and Matter, have fill'd all Europe with their Pamphlets fitted out to make the World believe that they who suffer'd all the effects of Violence and Injustice, should be one day lookt upon as Criminals, to whom there was a great deal of Mercy shewn. On the one side they set 'em out in most black and dreadful Colours. They aggravate with an envenomed Eloquence what ever can be laid hold on for a pretence to accuse 'em; and finding nothing in their Actions that may serve as a foundation to their Invectives, they search for reasons in their Thoughts, in their Desires, in their Inclinations, which they describe after a very detestable manner. They attribute to 'em a troublesome, turbulent, unquiet spirit, Commonwealth-Maxims, an aversion to Monarchy; a Heresie incompatible to the repose of Kingdoms, and which infuses an ambitious, daring Genius, always in Action, if it be not suppress'd by a greater Force. But certainly this accusation has been loudly contradicted by the long Peace
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wherein the Reformed have liv'd. And it would be a difficult thing for these Calumniators to tell us, what became of this Seditious Spirit for five and fifty years together, how it came to lose the opportunity of a Minority, and a Civil War, without laying hold of the advantages of so convenient a season; how it happened not to burst forth in a doleful Oppression of thirty years together. There seems to be a great deal of rashness in an accusation of such Importance, when there are no proofs of matter of Fact to make it out; and that it is only supported by the Impudence of the Authors of it. But this will not put a stop to those Writers, who are sufficiently paid for venting their Impostures, and can easily qualify the Affront of a Lie publicly given 'em, with the hopes of finding Credulous Readers, who without putting themselves to the trouble of examining matters, will pin their Belief upon the sleeves of such extravagant Authors. On the other side they extenuate the occasions of complaint, which have been given to the Reformed for so many years together. They talk of nothing but the soft and charitable means that have been us'd to reclaim 'em from their Errors, of their Paternal cares, and Spiritual Exhortations. There is not the least Pamphlet that peeps abroad, wherein the Author is not very double diligent to slip in a word, and tell us, how there could be nothing more Charitable or more Evangelick, than the Expedients made use of for the Conversion of Hreticks. This Falshood is become one essential part of their Epistles Dedicatory.

It would look as if something were wanting, if they did not crowd in by head and shoulders some Elogy or other of that new sort of Tenderness and good Will, which never make themselves known but by Condemnations, Imprisonments, Confiscations, Banishments, the Gallies, Gibbets, the Wheel, and such like merciful Acts of Clemency and Mildness. But in regard they dare not promise to themselves that all men will take these extraordinary Violences for marks of Charity, they have bethought themselves of another course to satisfy those nice and difficult People, who call Cruelty Cruelty, and Injustice Injustice. There are some Writers who have the knack of it, to deny matters of Fact, that are known all over Europe, and to cry 'em down for Imposture, tho they that carry'd upon their Bodies the marks of their sufferings, made loud complaints in foreign Countries. Those People have the Confidence to give the lye to the Eyes and Testimonies of all those that have seen and felt what has past. As if there were not only a Million of People who are living proofs of it, but an infinite number of publick Acts which all confirm what has fallen out. Lastly, that they may not omit any thing that lies in their power to disguise the Truth of things, there are some Authors who have endeavour'd to make it out, that all those Acts of Injustice, Violence and Fraud, which have been committed against the Reformed, were the effects of an exemplary Justice. If they have taken from

'em their publick Places of Exercise, 'twas done, say they, because those places were usurp'd: if they have tormented 'em with a thousand vexatious Ordinances, 'twas only, say they, to retrench 'em of those priviledges which they took, notwithstanding there was nothing in those Edicts which authorized their enjoyment of 'em. If they did inhumanely delude 'em by confirmations of the Edict and Promises to observe it, which they violated in the most Essential Concessions, 'twas, say they, by interpretations of the true Sence, which had been misunderstood. If they tortur'd 'em, by a thousand personal Processes and Suits, by quartering of Soldiers upon 'em with Licence to live at Rack and Manger; by divers Outrages and Punishments; 'twas, say they, because they had deseru'd it, by doing those things that were forbid 'em by the last Declarations. In short, Declarations were expressly given out, to make those things Criminal, which were either most Innocent or most Indispensable, to the end they might be always secure of a Pretence to abuse and evil-intreat 'em, because of their having done something which they could not avoid the doing, or which in Conscience they were oblig'd to do so for their own safety and the welfare of their Families. Thus it was that they were condemn'd to the Gallies, when they sought to depart the Kingdom, or to send away their Wives and Children into Places of more security; that they ruin'd 'em by their Garisons, dragg'd 'em from Dungeons to Dungeons, and

and sent 'em to the newfound World because they refus'd to go to Mass. They were forbid the one, the other they were commanded. All the mischief therefore which they suffer'd for having disobey'd, was no more, say they, but a just punishment of their disobedience. As if it had been a reall Crime to abstain from things unjustly forbidden; or not to do those things that were unjustly commanded. All these Artifices, and others of the same nature, may so alter the outward Face of things, that it would be impossible that ever Posterity should be rightly inform'd, if men did not take the pains to represent 'em in their natural Condition, and with their legitimate Circumstances.

The second Reason for writing the History of these Transactions, is, because we do not meet with any thing, since the death of Henry the Great, which gives us an exact accompt of the Affairs of Religion, in reference to the Churches of France. Before that time we find Memoirs sufficient, Writings in abundance, wherein Affairs of that Nature are laid down. And in regard the Catholicks have compos'd great Volumes to throw the blame of all upon the Reformed. They on the other side have not sate mute, nor have they fail'd to make good defences for themselves. There have been passionate Writers of both Parties, who have discours'd the general Affairs with heat and Violence, and who have run themselves too far into Complaints and Invectives. But there have been others more moderate, who have treated of the same things,

things, with extraordinary Modesty and impartial Equity. The President James Augustus Thuanus, and the Historian Mezeray, are of the number of those who have handl'd this Subject with most mildness and reserv'dness. And tho by the Style of their Writing they may well be discern'd to be Catholicks, and prejudic'd in favour of their Religion; yet there is a certain splendor of Truth that shines forth, and which gives satisfaction to an impartial Reader. A man may easily, in reading these Historians, disentangle that which is infus'd by zeal for Religion, from that which is the pure and naked Truth. And the matter of Fact being genuinely recited, the Writer's judgment does no way deprive the Reader of his liberty to be of a contrary opinion. But since the death of that Prince we meet no longer with any faithful Historiographers. Several Catholicks have written that which pass'd under the Reign of Lewis XIII. But they have interlard'd their Writings with so much Violence and Fury, that there is no perusing them with Patience. They who desire to make tryal of this, need no more than only to cast their Eyes upon the History of the Rebellion, or upon that which was compil'd by the unfaithful Du Pleix. They also who have not suffer'd themselves to be transported to the same excesses which those Authors of Lower Rank have been guilty of, nevertheless have not observ'd sufficient measures to procure 'em the name of just and Equitable; as having stuff'd their Writings with so ma-

ny venomous Expressions, so many malignant Reflections, so many Testimonials of their Passion and Hatred, that that same perpetual Character of Bitterness and Partiality renders 'em suspected in what ever they say, and is the reason that we dare not believe 'em when they speak Truth. Nor have the Reformed been so careful to oppose better Histories of their Affairs to these injurious Relations : So that they seem by their silence to have authoriz'd the Invectives of their Oppressors, as if they had nothing solid to return 'em in answer. 'Tis true, that there have been some persons, who either by the Command or Approbation of National Synods, have attempted to Collect the Memoirs of such important events in reference to Religion. But the one have written with more zeal than knowledge ; others have been constrained to abandon the Enterprize, because the Times would not permit 'em to deliver their Sentiments with freedom. The Designs that were laid before the beginning of the Civil Wars under Lewis XIII. could no longer be put in execution with security, after the prosperous success of that Prince had brought down the strength and courage of the Reformed. 'Twas then a Crime of State to say, that the Court had broken their word. To excuse the Actions of those who had taken up Arms, or to set forth the Justice of the Complaints upon so many Breaches of the Edict, which the Court would never make good, was enough to expose a Man to all the Punishments of the most infamous Rebels. After that

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The General Preface.

the King began to be troublesome to the Ministers, upon pretence that they had committed or spoken something prejudicial to his service ; and the least words that they could lay hold of to misconstruction , drew upon 'em Prohibitions not to meet at Synods ; Commands to stay till new Orders in certain places that were assign'd 'em for Prisons ; Injunctions not to act in their Functions within the Kingdom ; Menaces of more severe usage if occasion offer'd : there was nobody that durd take upon him to inform the Publick of these Truths, so ill receiv'd by those who thought themselves offended by so doing, and so fatal to those that had the boldness to utter 'em. 'Tis no time for a Man to make his Apology, when he is reduc'd for his own preservation to submit in all things, and to take it as a favour at his Enemies hands for granting life to the Innocent, upon condition they will confess themselves guilty. However, such was the Condition of the Reformed, after they were once depriv'd of all their Places of Security. Disarm'd, Disunited, Vanquish'd, that they were constrain'd to talk of their own Conduct as the Victors discours'd ; to condemn, with them, whatever was past, as if they never had had any just cause of Fear, or any good reasons for their Complaints. And to thank 'em as for a most endearing favour, that after they had taken from their Churches all Support and Maintenance, they did not altogether quite exterminate their persons. 'Tis not therefore to be thought a wonder, that at a time when

it was so dangerous to speak Truth, and so necessary to keep silence, there should be no History of the Reformed written, which would have certainly cost the Author inevitable ruin. But in regard that manytimes Truth grows less odious the older it is, Time affords us more security to tell it, and gives us liberty to rescue it from that darkness where the Terror of Punishment had oblig'd us to conceal it.

These several Considerations have made me for a long time wish, that some person capable of so great a undertaking, would give himself the Trouble to compile so necessary a History, and to oppose against the Invectives with which the Conduct of the Reform'd have been blackn'd for seventy Years together, either a genuine and sincere Recital of what has befallen 'em, or an Apology for their Actions, which have given the greatest advantages to their Detractors. I never question'd but that it was greatly to their disadvantage to suffer those to talk alone upon this Subject, whose interest it was to delude the World; and that, one day, the Reform'd persecuted with so much violence, Injustice, Breach of Faith, would be expos'd to the sinister Judgments of Posterity, if succeeding Ages were not rightly otherwise inform'd of the miseries they have suffer'd, than by the Relations of their Adversaries. Posterity then would meet with nothing but outrageous Panegyricks, Hyperbolical Elogies, and Studi'd Comparisons, exalting this continu'd inveteracy, and this insulting Oppression above the Noblest Actions of the
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the just suspicion which men have of the bad Credit of the accus'd, when they have already been frequently convinc'd of having abolish'd such Monuments by which the truth of things was preserv'd, is doubtless an imperfect proof against 'em. But when the matter of Fact is farther supported by a multitude of pressing instances and strong presumptions, it cannot be deny'd but that imperfect proof may become equivalent to a good Demonstration.

But not to engage my self in an unprofitable digression, I shall only add, That the Author who wrote the History of the Reformation of England had more than once sufficient experience of the great care which the Catholicks took to deface the memory of things, which they were unwilling Posterity should know, that the publick Registers of his Country which ought to have been inviolable, were not lookt upon to be so sacred by those who met with any Acts which were not to their advantage. I conclude from all this, that perhaps a hundred year hence the Jesuits will have taken the same precautions to abolish the memory of those Acts of injustice, which they have either committed or advis'd, and that they will leave nothing in the publick Registers to give us any knowledge of what past in our days, in France, as to matters of Religion. So that I cannot but think it necessary to prevent the Effect of their Artifices, and to publish, at least by way of Apology, certain proofs of the Innocence of the Reformed, and the violated Faith of their Adversaries; to the
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end Posterity may be able to give a more equitable judgment of the matter of Fact that is not be deny'd by either side, upon the Inveſtives of the Accuſers and the Defences of the Parties accus'd. I had ſome reaſon to hope, ſome years ſince, that I ſhould ſee my deſires accompliſh'd, when I underſtood that a perſon whoſe name is famous all over Europe, and whoſe Writings have enforc'd his very Adverſaries to admire his piercing Wit, his Exaſtneſs, his Sincerity and Solidity, was about to have undertaken this great Work. But having chang'd his mind for ſome reaſons, I have been constrain'd to ſupply his place, and to expoſe my ſelf to ill ſucceſs, in an enterprize ſo much above my ability, ſince it would have been ſo proper for ſo great a Perſon. I ſhall not go about to anticipate the minds of men in my favour, by humble excuſes for my raſhneſs; nor to incline 'em to pardon the faults I may commit in a Work ſo laborious as this, by confeſſing before hand, that I am not inſallible, and by declaring that I ſubmit my ſelf to their Cenſure, provided they will be juſt in pronouncing it. I well know what has formerly been ſaid, and what may now be retorted upon thoſe, who ſtrive this way to inveagle the Reader into a good Opinion of their Works. 'Tis better to abſtain from committing Faults, where it is in our Power, than to beg pardon, on purpoſe to render 'em more tolerable. I might have let writing alone, becauſe I was not constrain'd to it: and if I were afraid of not pleaſing
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all the World in a Work of this Importance, 'twas long of my self that I displeas'd anybody, who might have avoided the occasion of committing faults, which no body perhaps will have the goodness to pardon ; which I might have easily done by sitting still and not writing at all. But I must confess that the fear of seeing the design, of so necessary a History quite given over, prevail'd with me above all these considerations which might have diverted me from it : and that I thought it more profitable for the Publick, to oblige the World with such a Work as I was able to produce upon this Subject ; than to leave men ill inform'd of so woful a Revolution as has befallen the Affairs of the Reform'd. And that which has the more confirm'd me in this resolution, is this, that other persons having labour'd upon the same Subject a little before I appli'd my self to it, I found in their writings a great deal of Apology, but little History, tho I observ'd solidity sufficient.

Now this is that which appears to me in writing what has pass'd both for and against the Reformed to be principally indispensable ; to give a just extent to the matters of Fact which concern 'em ; to the end, that considering them on every side with all their circumstances about 'em, it may be the more easie to judge, whether they be the Marks of a Façtious, Licentious and turbulent Spirit, as their Adversaries give out, or the effects of a necessary prudence, and a lawful precaution, as the Reform'd pretend. When we
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read a History in Abridgement, the matters of Fact being too naked and too bare, afford not scope enough to the Reader's judgment : So that before he can give his Opinion upon what the Historian has related to him, he frequently desires to know the circumstances which the Author's brevity has conceal'd from him. As for example. Look into the Writings of Maimbourg, Soulier, la Croix ; or any such like Authors, who have only taken their Pens in their Hands to render the Reformed odious : and if any one finds there in abstract, that the Reformed having persever'd about eight or nine Years in the pursuite of certain Petitions, which King Lewis did not think fit to grant 'em, the Prince being importun'd by their solicitations, took Arms to reduce 'em to his Will : took from 'em their places of Hostage ; broke their Union ; despoil'd 'em of several of their Priviledges : here is most certainly real matter of Fact ; but the Brevity of the Relation does not satisfy the Reader. Therefore that he may judge knowingly of the matter, 'tis necessary that he should be inform'd of the nature of the things demanded by the Reformed, and the reasons why they were demanded with so much perseverance : it becom'd him to know what were the grounds of the Courts refusals, and what was the occasion of their taking Arms, to stop the course of those demands which were made 'em with so much importunity. Without this, 'tis impossible to know whether the fears of the Reformed were just or no ; whether their

complaints were lawful; whether the Courts refusals proceeded from ill will, or from the injustice of the Requests; nor is it possible otherwise to judge whether the Reformed were duly punish'd as Rebels, or oppress'd, as unfortunate innocent persons, by the War which the Court declar'd against 'em. Therefore the matter of Fact is to be unfolded and laid open before the Reader's Eyes. It must be made clear to him, why the Reformed complain'd: how they came to be under new fears and apprehensions every day. Why the Court accus'd 'em of Disaffection, and sought all manner of ways to surprize and destroy 'em. Thus the Reader having understood the state of the Question, is at liberty to judge whether the fears of the Reformed were Vain, and whether the Court had reason to overwhelm 'em as they did. If he be not equitable in his sentence, that's no fault of the Historian, because he has given the Reader light sufficient to judge with knowledge.

Now in regard that this Reflection may be appli'd to all matters of Fact that concern Religion, I thought it not enough to publish a History in Epitome of the misfortunes of the Reformed Churches in France; but that they ought to be set down at large, that by going back to the Original of the whole matter, and setting forth the Progress and Series of what has befallen 'em good or ill, not only the variety would render the reading of Work the more delightful, but that the display of the most important circumstances

ces would make it likewise more profitable; and would serve for the more solid foundation of an Apology, for those forlorn and disconsolate Flocks at this day scatter'd over the Face of Europe. To this purpose I propos'd to myself to do that which I saw no body else preparing to undertake: and to the end I might give an occasion of judging more soundly whether the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which we have seen in our days, were an Act of Justice and Sincerity, I have endeavour'd faithfully to set down whatever I could learn concerning the manner how it was pursu'd, obtain'd, publish'd, put in execution, or violated, while there was yet some respect and reverence shew'd to the name and Author of it. To this purpose I have undertaken to write the History of whatever past in France upon the account of Religion, from Luther to the Time that this Edict was set forth; to the end it might the better be known what right the Reformed had to demand it; what reasons oblig'd 'em to be satisfi'd with it; why there happen'd so many Contests about some Articles which it contain'd; why the King had so much trouble to grant it; why the Clergy were so unwilling to consent to it, and the Parliaments shew'd so much reluctancy to verifie it. To this purpose it is requisite that we should shew what figure the Reformed made in the Kingdom: what Tyes and Obligations there were between Them, and the King, when he came to the Crown; who were their Friends or their Enemies; and what were the reasons either of

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their hopes or fears. 'Twas my opinion that in order to this design it would be sufficient to set down in few words the most remarkable and most unquestionable Events, from the Reformation till the death of Henry III. as being enough to give at least an Idea, and a Taste of the general Affairs of that time. On the other side, I judg'd it meet to be more profuse and copious in relating the Transactions which belong to the Reign of Hen. IV. as having so strict a Connexion with the Affairs of the Edict; which unless they be more distinctly known, it would be a difficult thing to judge how justly, and how prudently it was resolv'd upon, and how necessary to be granted.

This design which has caus'd me to undertake a History of above fourscore and fifteen years, not to speak of the Compendium, which comprehends above seventy more, has render'd my trouble so much the greater, and gave me an occasion to fear my inability to attempt so great a Work. I do not presume to boast the extent of an extraordinary Wit; and I am clearly convinc'd, that neither Force nor delicacy of stile are fallen to my lot. My vanity perhaps may flatter me to be worthy of being number'd among the midling sort: and if there be any who believe it does not become me to soar so high, I am willing to descend a degree lower. Moreover, I have spent the greatest part of my life in such kind of studies as no way cultivated my Genius for the writing of History. And my assiduity in another sort of employment would
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not permit me the leisure to think upon other things. The Persecutions of the Church for so many years, have all along overwhelm'd me in tedious, frequent and irksome distractions, which have engag'd me to cares far different from those that are proper for a person who designs to be a Historian. So that it was impossible on my Part, that I should come furnish'd to the Work which I have undertaken, either with the gifts of a surpassing natural inclination, or the sagacity of a cultivated Wit, with so much care as necessity requir'd. For 'twas impossible for me to acquire the knowledge of several Professions, of which it is requisite to understand the most common Terms, to speak after a manner proper to please and inform, when occasion presents it self. Consequently it was impossible for me to avoid falling into many errors, which perhaps more equitable Readers will pass over; but Criticks, who are always the greater number, will never pardon. This may raise against me all those that think themselves more dextrous and witty than others, not so much perhaps because they are able to do better, but because that having studi'd nothing more in Books, than the defects of other Men; they believe themselves to have acquir'd the Art to commend, and the Priviledge to censure 'em. 'Tis the custom of these people to fasten upon what is least essential in Books, and to make a great noise of the faults which they find there, to the end that they whose considerations never pierce to the bottom of things, may judge

from thence, that the whole Work is of no value. The Jesuit Palavicini, by this Artifice has found no less than three hundred and sixty faults, by tale, in the History of the Council of Trent, written by P. Paolo Sarpio. But to fill up the number, he was forc'd to make use of all the springs and little engins of fallacy and litigious Cavils; to make an ill mark'd Date pass for a Capital Crime, one Number mistaken for another, Six for Five, Twenty for Twenty one, and such like trivial Slippes; but more especially, to tax for contradictory, matters of Fact which altogether may be true, and agree well enough one with another. Who would not think that a Book, where no less than 360 faults are found, and Arithmetically number'd out, should be lookt upon as an ill Book? Nevertheless make an abatement from this number of the meer Trifles, which change not at all the nature of the matters of Fact, and the errors which appear not to be errors, only because the Censurer, who observes 'em, conceals the reasons that justify 'em, you shall see perhaps three fourth parts of the faults pretended, vanish of a sudden; and the fourth part that remains, will not be lookt upon as well prov'd neither, till the Character of both Historians be compar'd together; till the reasons that support the Objections, the Motives that engage either the one or the other to deceive the World, and the purity of the Springs from whence the Proofs are drawn, for what they ever be rightly examin'd.

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But I never thought that the fear of these inconveniences ought to stop me. The cause of Truth and Innocency would be too much abandon'd, if men should be afraid of defending it, for fear of drawing upon 'em the Censures of People that understand how to falsifie backwards and forwards with an equal boldness. We must ei her renounce writing for the Publick good, or harden our selves against these inevitable Ranounters. Principally when it is a matter of History, and such a History which in favour of Oppress'd Innocence, attacques the most formidable Puissances in the world, we must expect a Tempest of Injuries, Reproaches, Lyes, and wha' soever else is proper to cry down the Book and Author of it, and render both obnoxious to the Indignation of the Vulgar. Now as I foresaw that this might befall me, it will never be a wonder to me if it happen. And I thought I could not better arm my self against these stroaks of interested malice, than with Sincerity, Truth and Exactness; never minding the trouble which imposture and brangling might put me to. We never ought to write but for the sake of brave and generous Souls; and those of that Character never judge of things without profound consideration, gliding over faults that have nothing of Importance, or Essential. Now I hope they will never be able to surprize me in errors of the latter quality. I have endeavour'd to shun all manner of disguises; and perhaps I have spoken too plainly and openly of several things, which another would have enzelopp'd.

envelop'd in a prudent silence. But when it is impossible to justify the Innocent but by revealing Truths, tho somewhat nice and delicate, of necessity it behoves us to lay aside some certain respects, that cannot be observ'd without betraying the Cause which we desire to defend. This is the only excuse that I intend to make to those who perhaps will find that I speak of certain things with too much liberty. I thought it my duty so to do, to gain the reputation of greater credit, and more clearly and faithfully to inform the Readers of the sources of Events, and the grounds of my particular Reflexions.

The same sincerity which I profess in History, obliges me to acknowledge that there may be faults in this *Work* of mine, which may be found to be essential, and which perhaps I may be willing to grant for such, when they shall be really made out. But they will not be imputed to me for such by impartial Judges, when I shall make it out from whence they may proceed. 'Tis certain that I had not all the assistances which were requisite for an enterprize so great as that which I have undertaken. There are many things, without question, which have escap'd me by that means, and which have enforc'd me upon several occasions to make recitals not so full, nor so dilated, or fortifi'd with Circumstances, as I could have wish'd. The Reader might have justly expected that I should have given him clearer illustrations of certain matters, and that I should have prevented several questions that will re-
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main for him to ask me, after due examination of the matter of Fact which I relate. But I could not do better: and in my opinion 'twas much more to the purpose to make but little stay upon some Subjects, than to supply the defect of Evidences and Memoirs with the boldness of my own conjectures. However I do not pretend thereby to lessen my obligations to those who have assisted me with several important Pieces, and who by their generous imparting to me their Books and Manuscripts, have furnish'd me with the principal materials of my Work. I must acknowledge there were several persons who sent me whatever they had proper to serve me, a hundred and two hundred Leagues from hence: And as I receiv'd great assistance from those remoter places, so have I had the help of many curious Persons in our Neighbourhood. Publick and private Libraries, the Cabinets and Studies of the more exacter sort, where Fugitive Pieces secure themselves, and several other Springs and Sources of History were open to me. I should most gladly name the Persons that gave me aid, not only in regard it is but just they should share with me in the publick acknowledgement, to whose instruction they have so liberally contributed; but also because they are the Guaranties of what I publish to the World, and for that the very names of some among 'em would suffice to demonstrate the verity of the Evidences; from whence I have drawn the materials of my Labour. But the greatest

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part having desir'd not to be nam'd, because of their being related to several persons that are still subject to the general oppression, 'tis not in my power to afford 'em those Testimonies which I owe to their good will, nor to make that Advantage of their names, which I might have done, were I not oblig'd to a deference for their desires to remain unknown. I shall speak in another place of a Collection prepar'd by the deceas'd Mr. Tessereau, a person well known to all the World for being Laborious, Exact, Curious, and capable of Collecting whatever might serve to a great Work. Nor shall I dissemble the assistance which I had from the Memoirs which he left behind, tho, at the time of his Death they were found to be in great Disorder.

But notwithstanding all their aids, I fail'd in many others, from whence I might have had great light. When the Council of France began to search into the Rights of Exercise, 'twas their pleasure to oblige the Churches to produce the Original Evidences which they pretended to make use of. This was a thing in the main, of which there was no great necessity. But in regard that from that very time they began to take their measures, which way to deprive Posterity of the knowledge of their causeless Cavils, they were desirous to get into their hands all the Monuments that might preserve 'em to Posterity, and only to leave the Reformed such Writings, the authority of which they might the more plausibly contest, because they

they were not Originals. The Council detain'd the greatest part of those Writings, even after the Affairs were determin'd. There were very few Churches that could obtain restitution of 'em. They who had lost their Causes were told, that their papers could no longer signifie any thing to 'em: and they who had been more favourably us'd, were pay'd off with some scurzy trick or other, on purpose to elude their importunities for the restitution of their produc'd Originals. Sometimes they were told, that the last Decree was worth all their Evidences, and so the other were absolutely of no use to 'em. Also of late years, they bethought themselves of constraining the Consistories to produce all their Papers, whether Originals or Copies: and the least piece conceal'd was a reason sufficient for the Banishment of the Ministers, and demolishing the Churches. So that there were very few Churches that durst adventure to put it to the hazard, but deliver'd all they had of Instruments and Evidences. The pretence for this vexation was, that they were resolv'd to discover whatever they had of Estates, after the Confiscation of which their Persecutors thirsted with so much Passion. But the main reason, tho the most conceal'd, was their eager desire to deprive 'em of the means to preserve any Memoirs, by which Posterity might be truly inform'd of the injustice that was done 'em. However, to say Truth, notwithstanding all these precautions, there remain'd sufficient to form the Body of a History large enough: tho it cannot be deny'd, but

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that many Churches were despoil'd of the means to afford me those assistances which I might have expected from 'em, especially such where the common Evidences belonging to each Province were deposited. Moreover, it may well be imagin'd, that the Manuscripts in the King's Library, of that in the College of four Nations, and in some others both publick and private, were never imparted to me: and that I could not find any body that would venture himself to make Extracts useful for my design. I might there have found all the Negotiations tending to the Edict, all the Instructions of the Commissioners, all the Intrigues of the Court at the time of the general Assemblies, the whole Project of the Wars, and Violences put in practice by the Council of Lewis XIII. for the ruin of the Reformed. There is no question but that I might have found in the multitude of those Volumes of Manuscripts, particular things which I could not have met with otherwhere, and to which I could never attain by my conjectures. But there are three Considerations to make us some amends for this defect.

1. I have collected as well as I could, out of such Memoirs as came to my hands, the substance of things which might have been found in those Manuscripts more at large and clearer to the understanding; and I have supplid from those printed Pieces, of which we met with a great number, the defect of the Manuscripts.

2. In regard those Libraries were easie of access to all that wrote against the Reformed, for example, Bernard,

nard, Maimbourg, Solier, la Croix, and other indefatigable Persecutors of the Churches of France, it may be said that whatever was to their disadvantage in those Manuscripts, was recited by their Enemies in their Works; and if they have not extracted much, 'tis a sign they met with but little to feed their Passion: so that no body loses but my self, for want of those Manuscripts, from which I might have had some light toward the justification of those whose defence I have undertaken. Now there is no great likelihood that they who apply'd themselves with so much fury and passion to destroy us, will impute it to me for a Crime, to have forgotten something that might have laid more open the Evidence of their Injustice and Cruelty. 3. If any one shall undertake to refute this work of mine, he must furnish himself out of those Manuscripts with Arms to fight me. Which if he do not do sincerely, his answer will put me to little trouble. But if he acquit himself like a person of Faith and Credit, he must produce entire the Foundations of his Reflections, and by consequence publish many secrets, which may perhaps prove confirmations of our own Collections.

In the main, these Considerations ought to be as equally beneficial to me, in the cause which I defend, as proofs in the claims of particular persons, or strong presumptions of a Robbery, or House-firing, or of any other accident not to be remedy'd, whereby they demonstrate the loss of their Evidences that

should have justifi'd their claims, or the answers which they make to their Adversaries. I prove that the Evidences that might be requir'd of me are detain'd, or taken away from me by a greater force; and which is of more weight, I demonstrate, that the Authors of that Violence or that Robbery, are the same persons that require me to produce the same proofs which they have forcibly rifled from me. That there is knavery in their exceptions against my proofs, because they have by force despoil'd me of my Evidences which were my legal defence. That they had need of great and positive proofs to convince me, because their Prosecution is suspected to be fraudulent; and for that slight presumptions are not sufficient against me, because they have unjustly torn from me those monumental Deeds, from whence I could have drawn stronger proofs. But I am not altogether reduc'd to presumptions only: for that, maugre all the Artifices of a malignant Prudence, an infinite number of authentick Monuments of the miseries which the Reformed have suffer'd, have escap'd the Gripes of Plunder and Destruction.

After these reflections in general, it remains for me to give a particular account of the method which I have follow'd in compiling this History. And first of all it behoves me to answer those who may take it amiss that I adhere to a side, shew too openly of what Religion I am, and declare my self concern'd in the things which I recite. All people would have an Historian observe an exact neutrality; that he should never suf-
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for his particular sentiments to be seen through ; that he should not anticipate his Readers with his manner of writing ; and that in stopping at a description altogether of bare matter of Fact and Circumstances, he should never incur the character either of Party, Advocate or Judge. However, I have dispens'd with these severe Laws ; I have argu'd the case ; I have deliver'd my opinion ; I have prov'd, I have refuted sometimes, as I thought, the Subject requir'd. But I could bring several reasons to justify my conduct, were I not willing to be as short as is possible. The example of almost all those who have undertaken to write, is sufficient to make my Apology. We do not meet with any that have confin'd themselves within these narrow limits : and indeed it is a thing so impossible for a man to reduce himself to that strictness, that if they who prescribe these Laws to others, were to give an account of any Transaction themselves, they could never forbear violating the precepts of this painful exactness. I shall therefore only speak two things in my defence. The first is, that my Opinion and Ratiocinations are to be consider'd as the Opinion and Reasonings of the persons in whose behalf I speak ; either because they are the extracts of Discourses, and Speeches made in favour of 'em, or proceed from the same things, and for that they represent what the Reformed would have said for themselves, had they been judicially interrogated in Court. The second is, That there was a necessity for me to give my History the character of a Defence, because I wrote it

on purpose to serve for a Reply to the violent Declamations of those who have persecuted us. Therefore the mingling my Reflections sometimes with the Rehearsal of matter of Fact, was a thing not to be avoided, to the end I might the better prove the Fraud and Injustice of those whom I accuse, and more clearly make out the Innocency of those whom I justify. Nevertheless you may be assur'd, that upon several occasions where it seems to be my self that speaks, I have so narrowly watch'd my expressions, that there are few among the Reformed that will presume to disown what I say. In the main, this liberty of delivering a mans own opinion is not incompatible with impartiality in an Historian. All that sincerity exacts from him is, that he neither disguise nor dissemble things; and as to that, I have impos'd such severe Laws upon my self as, I hope, will satisfy the most rigid Censurers. But in regard the Readers are no way bound to submit to the private Opinion of an Historian, which is rather as much subject to the Reader's judgment, as the recital it self of the matters of Fact; therefore they ought to think themselves rather oblig'd to the Historian for the trouble which he has taken to prepare the Process, upon which they are to give their Verdict, fit for Hearing, than to complain of his Anticipating their Judgments, by the liberty he has taken to declare his Sentiments. They find the matter ready to their hands, and without toying themselves to reason upon the several matters, they have no more to do than to pronounce whether
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the Author had a true notion of the things, and hath reflected as one that rightly understood 'em.

I have taken the liberty sometimes to alter the expressions of the Aëts which I have cited. But no body ought to be troubl'd at that ; in regard it is impossible to do otherwise, when there is a design to Abbreviate. Moreover, in regard I am forc'd to transmit several of these Aëts to publick view, People have the less reason to blame me for not reciting word for word in the Body of the Book, what I have plac'd all along in the Order of the Proofs. Besides, that when there were any expressions in the Aëts that were remarkable and important, I always exactly retain'd the Sense and Substance of the matter. This is sufficient to satisfy unbiass'd People. Words are not so much the business as Deeds ; and the alteration of words is of little Importance, when the matters of Fact are represented with a faithful exactness.

I have set down almost all the Edicts and Declarations under the Date of the Day wherein they pass'd the Seal, rather than of their verification in Parliament, tho the said Aëts begin to be in force, as Laws, from the day of their being register'd. But I took that to be the better way, in regard the jurisdiction of France being divided under several Parliaments, it rarely happens that the said Aëts are register'd in all Places, or upon the same day. So that it would have occasion'd a kind of intricacy, and would have render'd

der'd the matter dry and sapless, which of it self is not very opulent or pleasant, had I put so many different Dates to every Edict. I know very well, that usually they mind no more than the day of verification in the Parliament of Paris, as having some certain privilege which distinguishes it from others. But since an Edict which is therein register'd has not the force of a Law in another Parliament, till the performance of the same Ceremony there, I thought it more to the purpose to keep to the Date of the Seal, which is fixt and common over all the Kingdom. Besides, that at this day it is a Maxim of the Council of France, that Edicts derive not the force of a Law from their being register'd, but from the King's Pleasure only, and from the impression of the Seal; and that the Parliament has no other authority than to publish it, and to put it in execution. So that I had reason to prefer the Date from whence the Acts derive their force, before that which affords 'em nothing, and only serves to remove from among the People all excuses of ignorance.

I also give this farther notice, in reference to the Dates, that if I have fallen under any mistake, 'tis not I that am to be blam'd. I follow'd that which I met with in the printed Papers, which I made use of, and which being almost all of 'em set forth by the Catholics, have receiv'd from them all the alterations which are there to be found. Moreover if I commit any error in the number of the Articles, several of which I divide into pieces, there is nothing to be imputed to me.

me. For that division is almost arbitrary : and sometimes you shall find it vary in different Editions of the same Ediēt and the same Decree, tho they be all equally Authentick.

You will find, that in some places I suppose that the Reader knows certain things, without the knowledge of which it would be very difficult to understand the matter of Fact of which I give an account. I know that this may well be lookt upon as a fault: and I have found it bad my self, when the Historian neglected to explain somethings which he presum'd I knew before, because they were known to him. But I must confess, I thought it impossible to avoid this fault ; because that if a Historian were bound in favour of strangers to explain whatever may put them to a puzzle, for want of having an exact knowledge of Customes, of Families, of the situation of Places, and an hundred other particulars, my History would have been swallow'd up in Episodes, or Digressions, with which I must have been constrain'd to load it. So that, whether I will or no, I am constrain'd to refer the Reader, who is desirous to know what I have not inform'd him, to such Authors who have particularly treated upon that Subject.

I do not believe they will be offended with me for not enlarging upon Foreign Affairs, because they were not proper to my Subject. Nevertheless, when I thought it necessary, I observ'd their Connexion with those of the Reformed Churches. I have not ty'd my self to

the relation of Sieges and Battles, when I speak of the Civil Wars, because other Historians have made long descriptions of those matters ; besides that I should run astray too far from my principal aim which is only to relate after what manner the Edict was observ'd. I have also taken the liberty to scatter some Sentences in my relations ; wherein I have done no more then according to the practice of all Historians. If they be done with judgment, the Reader will not be offended : if they be little to the purpose, he will not find 'em either so long or so frequent, as to chastize me too severely for 'em.

It may be said perhaps that I tie my self too much to the Histories of the Great Lords, such as Marshall de Bouillon, the Duke of Trimouille, the Constable de Lesdiguieres and several others. But one reflection shall serve for all, to shew that I could not do otherwise. Those Lords were the occasion of almost all the Good, or Mischief that befell the Churches. They did 'em good, when they renounc'd their own interest to serve 'em ; they did 'em mischief, when they engag'd 'em in their own particular Affairs. So that you meet with 'em every where : nor can you speak of the Churches, without having an occasion to mention those Eminent Persons, who have either supported 'em with their Protection, or ruin'd 'em by their Quarrels and Contentions.

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There are some words which perplex'd me not a little. Conversion, Heresie, Hereticks, and the like, have quite another signification from the lips of a Reformed, from what they have in the mouth of a Catholick. But I must have had recourse to endless Circumlocutions, should I have been always studying to avoid the making use of those words in the same sence that the Catholicks take 'em. I thought it sufficient to distinguish the places where the words carry a Catholick sence, by printing them in a different character from the Text: and there is no great likelihood that the Catholicks will be offended at me for calling 'em Catholicks quite through the whole Book. 'Tis a name they glory in; and there are Edicts in France which forbid the calling 'em otherwise. Nor did I think it proper to give 'em any other; because 'tis a long time since it has been made use of by way of President, that it is no longer Synonymous with Orthodox; and for that in common speech it signifies those who acknowledge the Pope for Universal Head of the Church. 'Tis in that sence, that I give it 'em; and I had rather comply with 'em so far, then give 'em any other name, that would not be so pleasing to 'em. There is something more in that of Reformed, which I give to the Protestants of France. For a Reformed Officer, a Reformed Captain, does not always signifie, in the French Tongue, such as profess the Reformed Religion. But I could not meet with one more proper. 'Tis a defect, which all the exactness of the Aca-

my, or the good opinion the French have of their Language, could ever have avoided; that is to say, to have some words that proved to be equivocal: so that the Reader must gather the true meaning and sense of the word from the Subject in hand. I did not think such an inconvenience sufficient to hinder me from making use of a word, that sav'd me the labour of searching after Periphrases and Circumlocutions to express my self: and 'tis my opinion that when we write for the Publick, we are not to mind the distaste of those that take a pett at such equivocal.

I shall not here go about to make any Apology for my sentiments touching the Authority of Kings, and the Duty of Subjects. 'Tis true that the judgment which will be made of my Book, depends in some measure upon the truth of the Maxims which I sustain. But I should unprofitably extend this Preface, by the discussion of a Subject which is at this day become the Theme of all Conversations, and of several Books. There is nothing more *A-la-mode* than to handle this important Argument. And perhaps a fairer opportunity was never offer'd for people to believe this difficult question decided. All Europe has consider'd of it; and all Kingdoms having approv'd the Revolutions in Great Britain, have by consequence pronounc'd sentence in favour of the People against the Pretences of Sovereigns. Liberty has gain'd the point, and Arbitrary Power is generally condemn'd. The Rights
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of Subjects are clear'd up, and the Usurpations of Puissances are disapprov'd. 'Tis not therefore necessary for me to engage in giving reasons for my sentiments; since all Europe has divulg'd 'em for me; besides that, I shall be oblig'd to speak more expressly upon this Subject in another place.

There remain only Three Remarks for me to make, before I conclude this Preface. The first is, That some people may think I have done amiss, not to set down in the Margin the names of the Authors, and the place in their Works from whence I took my observations. It seems, this is come now to be thought as necessary in Histories, as in Polemick Writings. But I must confess, 'tis a custom which I did not think it my duty to submit to. In the first place, I have the example of all the Historians of any reputation on my side; chiefly those who having first of all apply'd themselves to this kind of writing, ought to be lookt upon as Models and Presidents for others. Besides, that it seems as if this abuse were only introduc'd by the Captious, out of the Profundity of their refin'd Cavilling, who are secretly preparing a way to decry the most faithful Histories, under pretence of some Quotation found out as a handle for Censure to lay hold on. The Authors of the first magnitude were none of those that impos'd this Law. But your Maimbourgs and Souliers; a sort of People, who, if they can but find an opportunity to trifle upon some Quotation, believe they have ruin'd at once all the

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Reputation of their Adversary. 'Twould be a very hard case, that a man who has spent several years in reading hundreds of printed Volumes, and thousands of Manuscripts, should see the fruits of all his labours blasted by the Cavils of some captious Monk, or some skue-disposition'd Wit, that should arraign him upon the Truth or Justice of a Marginal Quotation. It would be more to the purpose for those that desire to confute my Book, to take upon 'em the trouble of reading what I have read, that so after that, they may be able to judge, whether I have faithfully reported what I found in the Authors I consulted. Nevertheless, to let 'em see that I do not avoid a fair Challenge, but only Cavil and Impudence, I have in two things, follow'd the footsteps of the best Historians. First, I have given a Catalogue of the Books from whence borrow'd the Materials for my Work: and in the next place, I have publish'd the principal pieces which I made use of to take from thence the matters of Fact, of which I have given the relations. They are Printed at the end of every Part.

The second Remark concerns the Language. You will not find in it perhaps that extraordinary delicacy, which now adays gives all the Life and Beauty to Books. There is a great deal wherein the Reader will find me nothing at all, were but the Lineaments of the Pen, and Features of the Draught only, taken away. For my part I confess, there will be many careless neglects found in the Stile, many little Faults,
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of which Criticks will make great Monsters. I freely give 'em leave; nor will it be any wonder to me at all. Perhaps I am not really perswaded that what they take for Beauties are really such. For it may as well be true that that same Purity of Language, so much celebrated, which is only learnt in Ladies Chambers, and by conversation with persons, who, to make a right judgment of 'em, want nothing but good Sense and Understanding, does more injury, then it affords luster and honour to the Language. It would be more Opulent and Masculine, if the rules and regulation of it were sought for in a better Fountain. However it were, I never labour'd any farther then to make my self understood: nor did I ever take the pains to flourish my Stile with certain allurements, which perhaps I might have found out as well as another: So that where it is not worth my while, I never desire to please those that insist upon Trifles, because they are not capable of any thing that is more elevated. Nevertheless, if they make judicious and impartial Remarks upon my Labours, whether they regard the matter, or whether they have a relation to the Stile and Manner, I promise 'em they shall find a Docility in me, which Authors are seldom guilty of; and that if ever this History of mine be thought worthy of a Second Edition, they shall see that I have profited by their just Corrections.

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The third Remark concerns the manner after which I speak of the Clergy of France, and chiefly of the Jesuites. Some will imagine, that I have suffer'd myself to be somewhat too far transported by my Passion, when I have occasion to say any thing concerning 'em; and that out of the bitterness of my Animosity, there is a mis-becoming tartness and virulency in my Expressions. To which I answer, that they are deceived: for I had not spoken those harsh things of 'em, but out of a necessity of speaking Truth, which I impose upon my self. Besides, that the evil I have reported of 'em, amounts not to a hundredth part of the mischief they have done to all the World: and my opinion is, that the Jesuits would not have known themselves in this History, had I flatter'd 'em. They are so accusom'd to see themselves painted out in black Colours, in all manner of Writings, that it would have been thought I had spoken of some other Order, had I given any other description of 'em. They also know so well themselves, that their Bloody and Perfidious Politicks are the cause of all our misfortunes; and they pride themselves to that degree in not observing any measures of Faith or common Humanity with Hereticks, any more then with all the rest of Mankind, that it may be they will look upon all the Reproaches which I throw upon 'em as so many Elogies, and behold all the Stroaks and Dashes wherewith I blackned 'em as so many Rayes of Glory which is due to 'em. In a word, after all the miseries

ries which by their contrivances we have undergone, for so many years, 'tis a very small revenge, that ought to bedispleasing to no body, to call 'em by their right names ; and only to revize those Reproaches against 'em, with which the most prudent Catholicks have loaded their Society from the very Infancy of their Institution.

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First Part.

ALtho in the first Book, I only comprehend in short what was transacted in *France* in reference to Religion, from the beginning of *Luthers* Disputes, till the death of *Hen. III.* nevertheless that Part has so small a share in my Work, that I may safely say, that it begins exactly from that Accident which brought *Hen. the IV.* to the Crown. So that my design takes in the Reign of three Kings. The first of which, whose Reign was the shortest, granted the Reformed an Edict and Securities; the Second took from 'em their Securities; and the Third cancell'd the Edict. Being therefore to give an Account of three such various Events, which enforces me to relate whatever happen'd most memorable under every Reign; my Subject therefore naturally divides it self into

three Parts. The first contains all that preceded the Edict of *Nantes*; or that since it was granted, regards the Execution of it during the Life of him that was the Author of it. The Second recites the means that were us'd, under the Name and Authority of *Lewis* the XIII. to wrest out of the Hands of the Reformed the Cities and Assemblies that were their Security; and from whence ensu'd the declination and ruin of their Affairs. The Third relates what pass'd under the Reign of that Prince who wears the Crown at present, till the Revocation of the Edict; to which I have added the Events of some ensuing Years, which are natural consequences of the former Transactions: as the flight of so many persecuted Families; their settling in foreign Countries, and several other things of the same nature.

Now in regard our main business was to shew that the Conduct and Behaviour of the Reformed has been always far different from the Portraiture which their Enemies made of it, I thought it requisite, in every part, but chiefly in the First and Second, where they appear with their Arms in their hands, to give an accompt of those things which afford the clearest light for the display of their Intentions; to the end it may be the better discern'd, whether they were not reduc'd to make use of those extraordinary Remedies, by a necessity that admitted of no Dispensation. I shall discourse in another place of what they did after
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the death of *Hen. IV.* But I have here a design to speak one word of what was liable to be blam'd in their Actions, during the Life of that Prince. Not that I intend to repeat what I have said, in their Justification quite through the whole Book, but only to observe in few words the principal Circumstances of Affairs, which you will find more amply laid down in the History it self.

The Reformed then are to be consider'd in three conditions, under the Reign of this Prince. In the First, they had a King of their own Religion, but who finding it would cost him a world of trouble to surmount the opposition of the League, that under the pretence of Religion had arm'd the one half of the Kingdom against him, resolv'd to change his Opinion, so soon as he could do it with some appearance of Advantage. In the Second, they appear'd in the Service of a Prince who after he had abandoned their Religion, seem'd to have alter'd his affection for them too; and to mind nothing but his own Repose, without much troubling himself what became of his most faithful Subjects, who had done him such eminent Services. In the Third condition, you might see 'em living under the Authority and Protection of an Edict, which they obtained at length, after long solicitations; in the prosecution of which they had spent four years, and much longer time in the Execution of it.

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There could be nothing laid to their charge so long as they remain'd in their first condition, in regard they were fix'd to the King's Service, and bore Arms in his Defence, as long as he had any Enemies either at Home or Abroad. If it be objected, that they did not serve him then with the same Zeal and Affection as they were wont to make appear; that their performances were not such as they us'd to be; that they let fall some Murmurs and Reproaches: I answer, that if they had carried it higher, it no way became the Catholicks to find fault. You will perceive then by the History, that the Catholicks were afraid of nothing so much as to see an end of the War, before they had constrain'd the King to change his Religion; that they also held Intelligence with the Leaguers, who might well be lookt upon as Criminals, if the Reformed were Trespassers. Besides that the Reformed were oblig'd to stand upon their Guards as well against the Catholicks of the Royal Army, as against the others; and that by Consequence it was not just that they should expose all their Forces to the discretion of those, who might have ruin'd 'em all in one Night, the more easily to have ingratiated themselves with the League, and have dispos'd of the Kingdom and the King's Person, as they had thought proper themselves. 'Twas Prudence to reserve one part of their Forces against a pinch, to the end the remainder might serve to revive
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and support their own and the Affairs of the Kingdom, if the other should happen to receive a foil. You shall find moreover, from his coming to the Crown, to his Conversion, that the King discover'd to 'em every day more and more sufficient marks of his lukewarmness and indifference for them : That, consequently, they had reason to believe, that the more they enabl'd him not to want their Assistance, the more he would neglect their Establishment and Security. Whence it would follow, That if they made use of all their Forces, they should help to do their Enemies the Catholicks business, and be not only ne're the better, but much the worse themselves. But in the mean time, it will be found, that they acknowledg'd the King without condition ; and that they did not make bargains with him, as the Catholicks did to serve him. They would have put him doubtless to a strange plunge, had they been as nice and as scrupulous as others were. This severity would have been the Ruin both of Him and of all the Officers of the Old Court, much more odious to the League than the pretended Hereticks ; and if there were among the other Royal Catholicks some persons of Honour, they must have had their share in the vexation. It was urg'd against the Reformed as an expression highly Criminal, that they had sometimes given it out, that they accepted of the Edict at a time, when they might
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if they pleas'd, have divided the Kingdom with the Catholicks. I know not whether or no it be at if Crime to speak Truth ; but I know very well, that the Reformed had been but closely united together by their own Interests, without meddling with those of the King or State ; had they kept to themselves above three hundred strong Holds, and almost whole Provinces ; had they expended the publick Treasure upon their own Preservation ; been sparing of their Veterane Soldiers and well disciplin'd Men , to have joyn'd with that Party which had the upper hand of all the rest, they might have pretended perhaps to something more than the half of the Kingdom. Their separation from the rest of the Body would have infallibly been the utter dismembring of it : and if such a thing had happen'd, I know not how it can be deny'd, but that the best part would have fallen to their share. But their Generosity deliver'd the King and all his Servants out of this Perplexity. They sacrific'd all their Policy and their Interests to their Duty. They never hearkn'd to the wholesome counsels of their just mistrusts : and tho they were perspicacious enough to foresee the consequence of their good nature, they saw the Market concluded with others, without being concern'd ; one of the Articles of which was, to ravish from 'em the Person and Affections of the King. This unshaken carelessness of their own Interests fix'd the tottering Crown upon

upon the King's Head: and this piece of service sufficiently deserv'd to have been never forgotten by them who long enjoy'd the Benefit of it.

In their second Estate, after the King had quitted their Religion, more especially after the Chiefs and Cities of the League had submitted to him, they appear'd more fix'd to his interests than they had been before; their Demands were higher, their Union more solid, their Designs better concerted, their Assemblies more Numerous, and more stiffly adhering to their Resolutions. But there could be nothing more unjust than to charge it upon 'em as a Crime; and History shews such reasons for their conduct, that no unbiass'd persons can disapprove. They saw the King resigning his Obsequiousness to the Pope, somewhat lower than became Humility; surrendring up his Heart and Mind to the Catholicks; and abandoning himself to their Politicks and their Counsels. He purchas'd the Heads of the League not only by good Governments, by large Pensions, by vast summs payd 'em in ready Mony; but chiefly by concessions to violate the Edicts, under the protection of which the Reformed were in hopes to enjoy their Lives, their Religion and their Estates. For four or five years together a thousand acts of injustice, a thousand violences were committed in all the Provinces of the Kingdom, to the prejudice of the Reformed; as if the King's conversion had purchas'd

the Catholicks impunity for all attempts of Oppression and Wickedness. The King was so afraid of offending the Catholicks, that to pleasure them, he held the Reformed in suspense for several years together, without granting them any thing more than general Promises, of which they saw the effects delay'd from time to time, upon a thousand disobliging pretences : in a word, he would never listen to the Peace which he afforded 'em, such as it was, till all the Catholicks were satisfi'd with it. So that he was much more careful to gratifie those who had by so many efforts endeavour'd to render his Throne inaccessible, then to protect those from Persecution, who had assisted him by so many services to ascend it. Besides that, the more his Affairs were assur'd by his reconciliation with the Leaguers, the more uneasie he became to the Reformed : and he was every day the more sparing of his Favours towards 'em, by how much he saw himself in a condition not to need their assistance. Certainly that man must be no admirer of Justice, who believes, that in such a posture of the general Affairs it behov'd the Reformed blindly to abandon themselves to the honesty of Catholicks who hated 'em, and the sincerity of a Council that laugh'd at 'em : and who condemns 'em for taking some precautions against that infidelity, of which they had had such frequent and fatal experiences. Upon the whole, seeing that after so
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many importunities and solicitations, they had obtain'd so little, 'tis easie to judge, that so much would never have been granted 'em, had they shew'd less Resolution and less Constancy.

But in their third Estate, after they had obtained an Edict, and some Securities, one would think, that they should not have had any more excuses for the continuance of their importunities ; that their eager desire to maintain themselves in Cities of safety, and to augment the number of 'em ; that the Petitions of their Politick Assemblies, and their general Synods ; that the renewing of their Union, and the Oath that fasten'd it, and other such like Proceedings had had no longer any lawful pretence. The Edict verify'd in all the Parliaments of the Kingdom, was every where observ'd : the King most commonly explain'd the difficulties that arose upon the execution of it in favour of the Reformed ; he cordially made use of 'em ; and he was in Alliance with all the foreign Protestants. One would have thought after all this, that that same Spirit of Distrust, which they shew'd upon a thousand occasions, was no longer to be endur'd, and that it might have authoriz'd the jealousies and suspicions of their turbulent and factious Humour. But History affords us matter of Reply to this same plausible Objection. There need no more then two considerations to shew, that as these Mistrusts were not without a good foundation ; so the precautions,

which they advis'd, were far from being unlawful. The first of these Considerations is drawn from the present state of Affairs, the second from future Events.

The present condition of the Reformed was not so calm or free from disturbance, but that every day presag'd an approaching declination, with which the Constitution of Affairs threaten'd them, if they forbore to stand upon their Guard. The alterations made in several Articles of the Edict by the King himself, and by his single authority, only out of a Prospect to please the Clergy and Parliaments, were not so slight, whatever was said, but that they were no less sufficient demonstrations that the King, in other things so jealous of his word, had suffer'd the Catholics to have a powerful Ascendant over him. They who could persuade him to violate nine Articles of an Edict so long time under negotiation, and concluded with so much solemnity, might well one day oblige him to elude and frustrate all the rest of his Concessions. Besides, the excess of his Obsequiousness to the Pope; his Ambition to bear sway in the Conc'aves, and to procure himself Friends and Creatures in the Court of Rome; His Alliance with an Italian Prince, upon Conditions which the Pope had dictated; The art of terminating Controversies, and of a converter of others, in which he took a Pride; The Affront which he caus'd to be put upon *du Plessis* at *Fontain Bleau*, tho he were one of his

his most ancient and faithful Servants ; and several other things of the same Nature, were sufficient grounds of fear, that at length his Affection would be quite estrang'd from the Reformed ; and that in some important Affair or other, he would not stick to make an entire Sacrifice of their Interests to the Catholick Religion. Which was the more probable, because he was accus'd of inconstancy in his Friendship ; and because among all his Heroick Qualities, he wanted that of being Grateful : and therefore, tho the remembrance of the Services which the Reformed had done him, were not utterly extinguish'd, yet Time might bring it to pass. A Prince who had led a Life not very regular, or rather, to speak the real Truth, who had wallow'd in excess of Debauchery, might well be sensible as he grew in years, of the Pains of another World. And when these Pains once terrifie the Conscience, he would be willing to rescue himself from those Terrors, at any price whatever. All Services and Friendships are forgot, when the main concern is to make ensurances against eternal Death: and when there needs but one Victim for a man to deliver himself, he never minds the value of the Sacrifice. The recalling the Jesuits, wherein the King suffer'd himself to be led away by a sole fear of a Stab from their Hands, contrary to the desires of all good French men, and apparently
against

against the interest of the Reformed, shew'd what a power fear had over him ; and what he was ready to do, to preserve himself from being assassinated. But the Credit, into which that Pernicious Society wound themselves at Court, so soon as they had set their feet in it , the King's erroneous Complacency for *Cotton* the Jesuit, of whom he made choice for his Confessor ; his toleration of the Frauds, Attempts and Treacheries of that Villain, who as if he had been assur'd of being secure from punishment, never gave himself the trouble to conceal 'em : His weakness in entrusting the Education of the *Dauphin* to his care ; and which oblig'd him to bequeath his heart to that Society, for an Ornament to the Church *de la Fleche*, still augmented more and more the mistrusts which the Reformed had of his tottering kindness. And indeed there were enough to oblige people whom so many experiments had render'd wise, and who had so often been chastiz'd for their credulous simplicity, to provide well for their safety ; to the end they might have wherewithall to defend themselves, should their Enemies once go about to renew their Acts of Violence and Injustice.

But the foresight of Future Events, more especially requir'd 'em to be watchful over their own Preservation. The King might dye : there had been frequent Conspiracies against his Life ; besides, that his Health was often attack'd by dangerous

gerous symptoms. What tho he might live out twenty or thirty Years longer, and that in his extreme old Age he might be vigorous enough to uphold his Edicts, this was no more then a lingring of twenty or thirty years, after which he was to pay the same Tribute to Nature with all the rest of mankind. But there appear'd such preparations against that time, that people might be justly then afraid of strange Revolutions. The Jesuits would have had time to make themselves Masters of Affairs. A King of their own breeding up, and Educated in a mortal hatred of the pretended Hereticks, and in the most paltry practices of superstition, terrifi'd the Reformed, as a Prince who would never think himself bound in Conscience to a faithful observation of the Edicts. An Italian Queen, by inclination a *Spaniard*, imbu'd with the Politicks of *Rome*, and fully perswaded that the Reformed might shake the Fortune of her Children, by supporting against 'em the interests of another Prince, was a new reason for 'em to expect some unlucky Revolution. The Projecters of a double Alliance with the House of *Austria*, to say truth, little listn'd to by the King, but very agreeable to the Queen, supported by the Court of *Rome*, push'd forward by the Jesuits, by the Leaguers, and by the *Spanish* Pensioners, were other motives to make 'em provide against future Events, and to be cautious to prevent surprises. The *Dauphin* being as yet

yet in his Cradle, 'twas no wonder the King gave no ear to propositions to an Alliance so unseasonable: but he might change his mind, when his Son came to be of years ripe for Marriage. And in truth the King at his death, left a Court that thirsted after that Alliance between the two Crowns, which the Reformed could not choole but look upon as fatal to their Churches. Nor is it to be said, that these were vain fears; as the Event has too severely justifi'd. The King's death, the Alliance with *Spain*, the profound engagement of *Lewis XIII.* in superstition, his natural hatred of the Reformed, his Obedience to the Councils of the Jesuits, whatever the Reformed had reason to be afraid of, all happen'd almost at the same time, and by degrees advanc'd the declination of that Party who had now lost their Protector.

History affords us proof of all this; that all these Events of the Life of *Hen. IV.* and the whole Conjunction of Affairs, threaten'd the Reformed with approaching Desolation, if keeping to their Antient Maxims, of believing all things, hoping all things, and never mistrusting the sincerity of other men, nor making use of any other Buckler but that of Simplicity, Generosity and Innocence; not thinking of the Future, but with an imprudent resignation, they provided not better for themselves than before the Massacres. I conclude from hence, that the fears of the Reformed being
but

but too well grounded, it was a great piece of injustice to blame 'em for taking measures to secure themselves. And since that time has made it out, that they were not so provident as they should have been, that which may be hence asserted is, that they had prudence enough to foresee the Mischiefs, but that they had not the good Fortune to prevent it.

As to what remains, I have this farther Advertisement to give the Reader, that it is impossible but that I must have made some mistakes in the Date of the Years, in the First Book of this Part. The custom of beginning the Year at *Easter* not being laid aside till under *Charles IX.* as I did not think my self bound to count the Years according to that custom, so neither did I shun it altogether. So that it may so fall out, that I have related under the Date of one Year, what according to the custom of time ought to have been put down under the Date of the Year preceding. If I did not take that care, my reason, is that in so short an Abstract as that of my First Book, the mistake of a Date which refers to the beginning of the Year that which belongs to the end of another, can be of no great consequence. I should have been more exact, had I handl'd that part of the History more at large.

The Epistle of the famous James Augustus de Thou to Hen. IV. which serves for a Preface to his History, having always been lookt upon as a most accomplish'd Piece, and not only for one of the Four Writings of that nature which have most deser'd the Approbation of the learned, but for an authentick Monument of the Sentiments of all the most worthy Men of his Religion at that time, concerning Oppression and Persecution, there were many persons who believ'd, that Piece had some affinity with mine, and that I should oblige the Reader if I gave him a faithful Translation of it. I took it therefore for good Advice; and it is done as much word for word as could be without speaking Latin in English: or if any liberty be taken, to explain some things which the manner of expression or the length of Periods might a little incumber, it is not such as can any way render suspected the Fidelity of the Translator.

To the Most
Christian King
 OF
France and Navarr
HENRY IV.

Done from *Thuanus* himself in *Latin*.

SIR,

WHEN first I apply'd
 my Thoughts to
 write the Story of
 these Times, altho'
 I were not ignorant
 that this Laborious Work of mine, what-
 ever it were, would be obnoxious to va-
 rious Censures, This however was my
 comfort, that I know my self spurred
 forward, not by Ambition or vain Glory,
 but by the Reward attending a good Con-
 science: And I was in hopes, that the
 Public Animosties being allay'd and
 extinguish'd by a long series of Time, the
 Love of Truth would one day get the up-

per hand; more especially, You reigning
 King, who by the particular Favour of
 Heaven, having subdued the Monsters of
 Rebellion, and eradicated the Fuel of
 those Factions that have long laid us waste,
 became the Restorer of Peace to France;
 and with Peace have linkt two Things
 together thought incompatible by others,
 Liberty and Sovereign Power. Add to
 this, that we first set our Hands to this
 Attempt, at a time, when we could not
 but bewail the Causes of the Civil War
 invelopp'd in the Private Affections and
 Desires of Ambitious Men, and all hopes
 of Peace excluded from Public Counsel

and Advice; and for that reason, thought it so much the more lawful for us to speak freely, yet on this side Envy or detraction, naked Truth. But as this Work went forward, which being begun in the Camp, amidst the confused Noises of Trumpets and Sieges, grew up to Balk in your Court, and now among the Hurry and Clamours of the Barr, and the delays of Travel, has reach'd your Reign, I perceiv'd my Inclinations far different from what they were at the beginning. For then my Mind intent on the Variety and Importance of the Transactions to be related, and seeking Respite from the Public Calamities, was wholly taken up in Meditation and Writing. And this has brought a fear into my thoughts, that what I wrote, surrounded with the clattering of Armes, and which might then perhaps be acceptable, or at least not unworthy of Excuse, will now, that our Commotions are appeas'd, not only be less pleasing, but offensive to the morose and difficult Ears of some Persons: it being the general default of Human Kind, that men are more prone to do ill, than to hear of Evil Actions committed. But in regard it is a Law most exactly to be observ'd in History, for the Author not to presume to utter Falshoods; yet on the other side, to be bold and daring in the delivery of Truth, I made it my business with all my might to dig for Truth, absconded often, sometimes more profoundly ingalph'd in the Animosities of contending Parties; and thus dig'd up, deliver it sincerely to Posterity: no less careful, lest prevaricating in so just a Cause, through a preposterous Affectation of pru-

dence I should injure the Felicity of Your Time, but seldom known, wherein every man is permitted to think what he pleases, and to speak what he thinks. For my own part, how far I am from Dissimulation, I hope is well known to those who are acquainted with my Person and my Manners. Nor have I liv'd so obscurely, that the most Partial can be ignorant of my candid and upright dealing in Public Actions. For after once Your Prowess and Your Clemency had reduc'd us to a peaceful Reconciliation, I so absolutely forgot all personal Injuries, if any had been offer'd, and so freely laid aside the least Resentment of 'em both privately and publicly, that I may justly assure my self, that no man will have occasion to reproach my defect of Equanimity and Moderation in what relates to the Remembrance of things past. I might call those to witness, whose names will frequently occur in these following Books; who when they have wanted my Assistance in any thing relating to that Employment by You entrusted to my management, have always found me ready to do 'em any kindness that might not brand me with Corruption. What therefore upright Judges ought to do, when they debate the Lives and Fortunes of Men, that did we also, when first we undertook this History: often interrogating our Conscience, whether it were touch'd with a smarter sence than usual, that might turn us aside from the fair Path which we propos'd to follow. To that purpose have I soften'd, as much as in me lies, the Harshness of some Things by smoothness of Expression; I have every where suspended my judgment,

and

and avoided all Digressions: Lastly, I have observ'd a plain and naked manner of Writing, that by my Stile I might shew my self no less exempt from Disguise and Ostentation, than from the Partialities of Hatred and Favour. On the other side, I beg both of my own Countrymen and Foreigners, that shall peruse these Sheets, that they bring nothing of Prejudice along with 'em, nor pronounce sentence upon this Labour of Mine, till they have diligently read it over. I will not deny, but that it is a Task superiour to my strength; and that the due performance if it requires many Accomplishments which in me are wanting. But the Public Good and my ardent Desire to serve my own Generation and succeeding Ages, prevail'd with me beyond all other Considerations; and when I consulted the satisfaction of that passion, I rather chose to be accounted inconsiderate than ungrateful. Nor am I so anxious for what may be thought of my Sincerity, in reference to which I am not Conscious of any thing that can be laid to my charge; or of my Industry, in excusing the defects of which I despair not so much of your Clemency, or the Candor of the Reader, as I am afraid, lest what I make the Greatest part of my History, may be tedious and irksom to most People, who being out of Danger, as they believe, themselves, or are either not so just in censuring the Miseries, or else over-remiss and unconcern'd for the Calamities of others. For to those other Mischiefs, with which this Age, in Hostility with Vertue, abounds, that fatal Discord has joyn'd it self, occasion'd by Religion, which, for almost this whole

whole Century, has turmoild the Christian world with continual Wars, and will continue still to vex, unless timely Remedies, and other than hitherto have been employ'd, be carefully apply'd by those whose chiefest Interest it is to manage that Affair. For we have learnt by Experience, that Fire and Sword, that Exilement and Proscriptions have rather exasperated, than cur'd the Distemper deeply rooted in the Mind: and therefore not to be reliev'd or heal'd by Medicines that only work upon the Body, but by sound Doctrine, and sedulous Instruction, which being gently infus'd, persuades an easie passage to the Mind. All other things are subject to the Sanctions of the Civil Magistrate, and consequently the Sovereign Prince; Religion only admits not of Domition, and never enters the Seat of human Judgment, but when rightly prepar'd by a well grounded Opinion of the Truth, assisted by the accession of Divine Grace. Torments prevail not to enforce it; they but confirm the Obstinate, rather than subdue, or persuade. What the Stoics have so haughtily boasted of their Wisdom, much more justly may we assert of Religion; that where People are deeply affected with it, Torments and Grief are little fear'd or valu'd, and all other Inconveniences whatever, are overwhelm'd and vanquish'd by that same Fortitude, inspir'd by Zeal and Devotion. All the sufferings that Mankind is liable to undergo can never terrify 'em. All the Misfortunes and Calamities that are dreadful to Human Frailty, they never complain of Enduring. They know their strength, and whether falsely or truly, if

once

once assur'd of Heavenly support; they believe themselves sufficiently able to bear the burthen. Let the Executioner stand at their Elbow; let the Tormentor appear with his Irons and his kindled Fires, it will not shake their Fortitude: nor will they consider what they are to suffer, but what they are to do. The source of their Felicity remains within 'em; and whatever happens from without is but a fly-blow, and only grazes the surface of the skin. If Epicurus, branded among other Philosophers for the impurity of his life, had such a high notion of a wise Man, that burning in Phalaris's Bull, he would cry out, 'Tis pleasant, and concerns not me at all; can we believe a character less signal due to their Courage, who a hundred years since condemn'd and slighted all manner of Torments, all the inventions of Cruelty for Religions sake? Or that they would not be the same again, upon as terrible a Prosecution, of the same inhumanities? 'Tis worth the while to hear what one among the rest both said and did, when ty'd to the Stake on purpose to be burnt to death; how first he fell upon his knees and sung a Psalm, which the Flames and Smoak could hardly interrupt; and when the Executioner, to mitigate his terror, would have kindl'd the Fire behind his back, Come hither, said he, and kindle it before my Face: for had I fear'd a little scorching, I had never been brought to this Place, which it was in my power to have avoided. In vain therefore, men by Torments labour to suppress the Zeal of those that meditate innovations in Religion; which do but rather harden their minds to sufferings more painful, and more daring undertakings. For when

others have sprung up out of the Ashes of others, and that their number has increas'd, their Patience turns to Fury: no longer Suppliants, as before, they then begin to be importunate and trouble some Exposulators and Demanders; and they who fled from cruelties before, have of their own accords betaken themselves to Arms. This we have seen in France for forty years together, and little less in Germany. And things at length were brought to that extremity, that the growing Mischief could not be lopt off with the punishment of two or Three, which at first perhaps might be securely done. But when once it had ore spread whole People, whole Nations, and consequently the greatest part of Europe, in vain the Civil Sword is then made use of; it requires the weapons of spiritual warfare to mow down the Harvest of Oppression. They ought to be instructed, and invited to friendly Colloquies and Conferences, where Equity and Moderation preside. This did St. Austin, writing to Proculianus, a Sectary of the Donatian stamp. He it was, who also interceded for 'em to Donatus, Proconsul of Africa, that they might not be put to death. Believing it became the professors of true Religion not to recede from their perpetual resolution of surmounting Evil by Acts of Lenity. And in another place, he writes to the President Cæcilianus, that the Aposteme of sacrilegious vanity was rather to be cur'd by impressions of Fear, than to be cut off by the Sword of Revengeful persecutions. Therefore in that splendid Epistle to Boniface, he adds, that in Causes of this nature, where by reason of the Fatal scissures of Dissention, not this or that single Person

runs a hazard, but whole Communities of people lye liable to ruin, there ought to be a Relaxation of Severity; and that the greater evils were to be redress'd by the more indulgent applications of Charity. Which Opinion so far prevail'd in the Church, that the sentence was more than once transcrib'd into Gratian's Decree. St. Austin therefore, a Person both of a pious and meek spirit, thus delivers his Sentiments, that the Career of those Mischiefs was not to be stop't by rigour, by violence or domineering Authority; and more advantageous progresses would be made, rather by instructing than commanding; rather by admonition, than menaces; and that multitudes of sinners were after that manner gently to be dealt with, severity only to be inflict'd upon the transgressions of a Few. Or if they who are superior in command are sometimes constrain'd to make use of threats, that they ought to be utter'd with a real grief and sorrow for the miscarriage of the Offender; and that the Terror of Vengeance should be deriv'd from Scripture; not to render their own authority formidable, but that it may appear to be the awful voice of God threatening his Judgments upon Transgressors from their Lips; as he writes in his Epistle to Aurelius, the Bishop. And certainly, if we have a love for Truth, of necessity we must acknowledge, that in all the ancient Monuments of sacred Antiquity we find not any approv'd example extant of capital punishment inflict'd upon Sectaries; and that the Primitive Church had always in abomination the effusion of Blood. Or if such an accident fell out at any time, the Bishops truly pious, manifested still their detestation of

the Fact. As appear'd in Priscillian, who having spread the Poyson of his pernicious Doctrine among the Churches of Gaul, but more especially in Aquitaine, together with his Followers, was in the year 383. put to Death at Treves, by Maximus, otherwise a good Prince, only that he had usurp'd the Empire from Gratian, whom he depriv'd of his Life at Lyons. Tho St. Martin had obtain'd a promise from the Emperor, that nothing Bloody or Cruel should be acted against the Guilty; and had earnestly exhorted Itacius, and some other sticklers to desist from their accusations. For all the rest of the Bishops blam'd the violence of their proceeding, as unjust and unbecoming Christians. And tho Itacius, after the fact perfidiously committed, fearing the scandal of it would fall upon his Shoulders, had withdrawn himself; yet afterwards he was condemn'd by Theognistus. Nor was it without great reluctancy, and by constraint of pressing necessity, that St. Martin could be perswaded to hold Communion with the Itacian Party. In like manner St. Ambrose, who was sent at the same time to Maximus by Valentinian, the Brother of Gratian who was put to Death, testifies in his relation, that when he was at Treves, he refrain'd the company of those Bishops that sided with Itacius, who demanded that they who deviated from the Faith might be punished with Death. Afterwards, when those hair-brain'd Prelates had prevail'd with Maximus to send certain Tribunes into Spain with Plenipotentiary Power to enquire after Hereticks, and being apprehended to punish 'em with loss of Life and Confiscation of Estates, the same

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St. Martin never left the Emperor, till he had obtain'd a revocation of that inhumane Decree. For it was the care of that pious Bishop to set free, not only the Christians, who were to be molested under that pretence, but even the Hereticks themselves. Foreseeing in his mind, that that same Tempest, were it not diverted, would cause a great depopulation of the Faithful: there being then but little difference made between the sorts of Men, when only the Eye was judge of the distinction, and Hereticks were mark'd out rather by the paleness of their Looks, or by their Habit, than by their Faith and Doctrine.

However, after Priscillian was put to death, the Heresie propagated by himself, was so far from being eradicated by the severity of his punishment, that it gathered strength and spread it self more and more; and his Followers who before had honour'd him as a Holy Person, began to adore him as a Martyr, remov'd the bodies of those that suffer'd, into Spain, and solemniz'd their Obsequies with extraordinary Pomp. Nay, they carry'd on their Superstition to that degree, that it was accounted a most sacred Oath to swear by Priscillian: which occasion'd so cruel and so long continu'd a Division between the Bishops of the Gallican Church, that fifteen years Bloody contention could hardly put an end to; while the people of God, and all good men were in the mean time expos'd to Affront and Obloquy. Which words as often as I read in Sulpitius Severus, who wrote the History of that Age with equal Eloquence and Fidelity, I call to mind the years of my childhood, when at the beginning of the Commotions about Religion,

men were mark'd out by the Eye for Slaughter; not upon any suspicion of their manners, or of the corruption of their past Lives; but only out of a particular malice to their looks, or the fashion of their Cloathes; and what with their heats of Contention and Animosities, what with favours ill bestow'd, the pusillanimous Fear, Inconstancy, Drowsiness, Sloth and Arrogancy of those that sat at the Helm of Affairs, the Kingdom was rent into Factions, and Religion it self pusht almost to the brink of the Precipice by the Troubles and Agitations of the State.

After St. Martin's time, more moderation was us'd in the Church toward those that deviated from the Faith; whom they only either Banish'd or Fin'd, but always spar'd their Lives. So that in the year 1060, when certain of the followers of Berengarius Archdeacon of Angiers went about sowing his Doctrine in the Territories of Liege, Juliers, and other parts of the Low Countries, Bruno, Archbishop of Treves, thought it sufficient to expel 'em out of his Diocese, never thirsting after their Blood.

Nor were they, after this, more severely handl'd by the Church, till the time of the Vaudois; against whom when the most exquisite of Torments little prevail'd, but that the mischief was rather exasperated by the remedy unseasonably appli'd, while their number encreas'd, compleat Armies were set on foot, and a War of no less bulk was decreed against 'em, than that which our Ancestors wag'd against the Saracens; the event of which was, that Mardred, Massacred, Chas'd from their habitations, Plunder'd of their Goods, and despoyl'd of their Estates and Signiories, their

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Persecutors gain'd a depopulated Country, but not a Convert that was thereby convinc'd of his error. Some there were who had defended themselves at first by force of Armes; who being vanquish'd by superior power, fled into Provence, and the Alps adjoining to the jurisdiction of France, where they met with a sort of skulking holes, wherein to shelter their Lives and Doctrine: others retir'd into Calabria, where for a long time they sett'd themselves, even till the Pontificate of Pius IV. Some wander'd into Germany, and fix'd their Habitations in Bohemia, Poland and Livonia; while another Remnant, turning Westward, sought for sanctuary in England. And from some one of that number 'tis thought that John Wickliffe descended, who for a long time taught Theology at Oxford, where after various Contentions and hot Disputes about Religion, he died a natural Death, above 300 years ago. Natural indeed, and yet more fatal to him than his common mortality: for that several years after his decease, the Magistrate order'd him to be taken up again, arraign'd him, and caus'd his Bones to be publicly burnt. After that time started up several other Sects that have continu'd till our Age, wherein after the severity of Torments in Vain experienc'd, the contest flam'd out from private Disputes into open Wars, and Rebellions of numerous multitudes, both in Germany, England and France; uncertain whether to the greater detriment of the publick Tranquillity, or Religion it self: such a Schism being form'd and corroborated, and too long neglected by those, in

whose power it was, and whom it behov'd to have apply'd proper Remedies in time.

These Things, of so great consequence, I have not so largely insister upon, with a design to revive that so often harrass'd Question, Whether Hereticks ought to be punish'd with death; which neither my Time nor my Profession will admit of. My aim is only to shew, that those Princes have acted most prudently and most conformably to the Institutions and Maxims of the Primitive Church, who have rather chosen to extinguish the conflagrations of War about Religion, with disadvantageous conditions of an amicable composition, than to continue the desolations of an obstinate contest, not to be determin'd but by the uncertain chance of absolute Conquest. This Ferdinand, a most prudent Prince foresaw; who having learnt by experience, in the furious and dangerous Wars of Germany, under his Brother Charles the Fifth, the ill success of the Emperors Armes against the Protestants, no sooner attain'd the Imperial Diadem himself, but he re-establish'd the Peace of Religion by a solemn Decree, which he afterwards ratify'd several times. And farther observing, that greater progresses were made in matters of Religion by friendly Conferences, as he himself had experienc'd in the Dyets held at Ratisbonne and Wormes, he resolv'd a little before his death, and immediately after the breaking up of the Council of Trent, to follow the advice of his Son Maximilian, a Prince of great wisdom; and to satisfy the Protestants who were not at that Assembly, design'd

to have granted 'em another Conference: In order to which, the Emperour made choice of George Cassander, a person no less moderate than learned, in a friendly Conjunction with the Protestant Doctors, to examin the Articles of the Confession of Aulspurg, that were in Dispute. But the Crazie Constitution of that worthy man, and the soon ensuing Death both of the one and the other, envyd Germany the Fruit of so Noble a Determination. After the Example of the Germans, the Nobility of Poland took the same Course in their Republick,

But Immanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, after he was restor'd to the ancient Possession of his lost Territories, by vertue of the Peace concluded with us, having rashly engag'd himself, to his great Dammage, in a War with the Vaudois of Piemont, (whether it were to raise his Reputation in Italy, or to gratifie others at the Expence of his own Jeopardy, it matters not) made amends for his mistake by a Timely Repentance; granting the free Exercise of their Religion to his, otherwise, Innocent People, and afterwards no less religiously observing the Articles which he had concluded with 'em.

I now come to what concerns our selves, and am going about to handle a sore, which I am very much afraid will draw no small inconvenience upon me, for only laying my Finger upon it. But since I have enter'd into the discourse, that I may dispatch in a word, I shall take the Liberty, allow'd under your Reign, frankly and ingenuously to declare, That War is by no means a Lawful way to extirpate

Heresie out of the Church. For the Protestants of this Kingdom, whose Number and Credit daily lessen'd in time of Peace, have always gather'd strength in times of War and Division; and whether out of a preposterous Zeal, or through Ambition, and a Desire of Innovation, it has been the pernicious Error of our States-men to renew their Designs of extirpating the Protestants by Wars often inauspiciously begun, and as frequently unluckily compos'd, to the great hazard of our Religion. What need of Words? The thing it self speaks loud enough. For after various Troubles and Commotions, and during those, innumerable Cities, in every Corner of the Kingdom, wrested from the Public, no sooner was Peace restor'd by the Restitution of those Places in 1563. but 'twas a wonder to see what a suddain Serenity once more overspread the Nation. How joyful was that Four Years Interval to all Good Men! While our Religion sate safely protected, and most Excellent Laws, of which France will never have cause to repent, were made by a most upright Moderator of Justice and Equity. But then, the Fate of France again declining, we began to grow weary of the Publick Security established by those wholesom Constitutions, and spurning from us Peaceful Counsels, threw our selves into a War, not only Fatal to the whole Realm, but to the Advisers of it also. They who were present at the Unfortunate Conference at Baionne, are sufficiently sensible what persons I mean. For from that time forward, while we were still deluded and cajol'd by foreign Fraud, all things were carried on by Artifice and Force of Arms. Then.

Then it was, that the Duke of Alva being sent with a Potent Army into Flanders, after Margaret of Parma, who had govern'd those Provinces with Extraordinary Moderation, had by tacit compulsion laid down the Regency; then it was that Alva mingled all things with Fire and Sword; erected Fortresses in every Corner, sapp'd the Public Liberty with unheard of Impositions for the support of the War, and breaking in upon their Liberties, reduc'd opulent Cities to meagre Poverty, like strong Bodies emaciated by depriving 'em of Nourishment. But these harsh and unadvised Counsels, the fruits of Precipitation, were attended with the despair of the People, and lastly with Revolts. Which however for a time appear'd, ended in this at length, that the larger and more abounding Part, and most commodious for Navigation, wherein the Wealth of those Provinces chiefly consists; being as it were mangl'd and dismember'd from the rest of the Body, acknowledges now no Sovereign Authority; but that of the States General, and wages auspicious War with all the Force of Spain. Which misfortune of the Spaniards, Francis Balduin, one of the most famous Lawyers of this Century, fearing long before, advis'd the Peers of the Low Countries to petition Philip, that he would vouchsafe their former Liberty of Conscience to the Protestants every where turmoil'd and harass'd; and surcease the Rigour of Torments and Inquisitions after suspected Persons. And to this purpose he wrote a Treatise in French, wherein he prov'd by dint of strenuous Arguments, that the Affairs

of Religion, disquieted and tormented by restless Controversies, would sooner be compos'd by Conferences, and an equilibrium observ'd among the Dissenters, than by violence and force of Arms. Wherein if they persever'd, he foresaw that the strength of the Protestants, then but inconsiderable, and here and there dispers'd, would be united by Factions; and that from verbal Contests they would betake themselves to Arms and Revolt. I have the more willingly recited this Prophecy of a Low Country-man, concerning the Low Countries, more especially to your Majesty, for that he, having at first embrac'd the Protestant Faith, yet afterwards upon diligent perusal of the Fathers, having alter'd his Opinion, nevertheless preserv'd the same Moderation of mind; so as not to be transported with an Implacable Hatred, as many are, against those whose Doctrine he had relinquish'd; but by a rare Example of Christian Charity, foreign to this Age, admonish'd by his own Error, to compassionate the failings of others, and to make it his whole Business, that what had been done amiss out of precipitancy, and desire of innovation, might be redress'd by reviving the Practice of better Antiquity. With these sentiments and resolutions returning out of Germany into France, he found his Counsel no less prudent than pious, readily embrac'd by your most serene Father, in whose Court he held an honourable Employment; sometimes admitted into Council, and made choice of to take care of your Natural Brother's Education.

Away then with those Ostentatious Vains, to the Dishonour of the Gallick Name,

Name, so frequent in the mouths of many aspiring to a higher strain of Zeal than other Men, and boasting that they never subscrib'd to any Treatise of Peace with Hereticks. Let 'em consider, what became at length of all their egregious Counsels; and lament at leisure the loss of so many Flourishing Provinces, and the Ruinous Dissipation of their own Estates consum'd by Tumult and Sedition, or sequester'd by Conquest. How glad would they be now to learn from our Example, what with so much Affectation they before detested! What would they give to redeem the Loss of so many Years, which had they profitably employ'd against the Common Enemies of Christendom, they had expelled those Infidels long e're this out of Hungary, and both Mauritania's, to their Immortal Honour, and no less to the Advantages of Profit.

But I am afraid, the same Imprudence which we blame in others, may be justly laid to our Charge, while either spur'd on by our own precipitate Fury, or push'd forward by the Evil Counsels of those I have already mention'd, we have pamper'd the Occasions of most pernicious Disturbances; wherein we have seen our Cities sack'd, our Churches levell'd with the Earth, Churches which the Rage of former Commotions spar'd; whole Provinces laid waste; old Animosities, that Peace had lull'd asleep, reviv'd; Suspicions encreas'd, and Arms laid down to be resum'd with more Implacable Rancour. Yet after all these foul Enormities committed, at length a Peace was concluded, which the more pretious it ought to have been, so much the sooner

was it violated by an Act, scarce ever to be Expiated, unless Heaven, and that is all we dare to wish, would be pleas'd to bury it in Eternal Oblivion; I mean the Massacre perpetrated two Years after, wherein, Great Sir, Your self, of old by Heaven design'd to re-establish the Languishing Affairs of France, had like to have been envelopp'd.

After we were got clear of this same Formidable Capharcus, we fell in among several other formidable Rocks, against which with equal Imprudence we Shipwrack'd our selves, Heaven's incens'd Wrath not long procrastinating, but revenging the Impieties of France by the Death of a Generous Prince, misguided rather by the pernicious Counsels of others, than sway'd by his own Inclinations. What did his Successors? Returning out of Poland, the Emperour Maximilian and the Republick of Venice, in whose Territories he rested by the way, besides their Magnificent Entertainments, gave him sincere and wholsom Counsel; which he contemning, at his entrance into the Kingdom, prefer'd a wicked War, which they dissuaded, and from which the suppliant Protestants implor'd him to desist, before a su'd for Peace. But soon repenting, he chang'd his mind, and at the end of three Years made an Edict of Pacification, which he peculiarly call'd his own, and which was attended with a seven years profound Peace, unless it were for some slight Insurrections and Incursions of the Soldiers: otherwise, no Important Commotions on either side. Till certain Persons impatient of Ease, and not enduring that Peace had brought the Affairs

airs of France to such a Condition, as not to stand in need of their Assistance, kindled an unreasonable and mournful War, to which the King perniciously advis'd and by a fatal Mistake suffer'd himself to be drawn in: and though Your self at first were the pretended Mark, against which those Armes were turn'd, yet all their Fury fell at length on his own Head. I tremble, when I call to mind that Execrable Parricide, no less to the eternal Infamy of the Gallic Name, than to the indelible Infamy of those that so inhumanly chuck'd at it: which doubtless had involv'd the Kingdom, and together with the Kingdom, Religion it self in ruin past recovery, had not You, Great Sir, reserv'd for these unhappy times by the unlookt for Favour of the Almighty watching over our safety, like a well fixed Column, supported the tottering Commonwealth; and by Your Courage stop't the Headlong Wheel of Public Calumity ready to crush in pieces what ever it rowl'd over. Yet all this while have justifi'd by Your own Example, that all things else what ever are subject to Human Laws, but that Religion only, as I have already said, is neither to be compell'd or lorded over. For having been constrain'd from Your Infancy to struggle with so many Adversities, in the midst of Civil Wars; having been surrounded with several Armies at the same time; after so many Buttels won and lost (for it was then equally mischievous to vanquish or be vanquish'd) tho' you had all along before, like a stout Soldier fighting in his Rank, stood stedfast to your first Religion, not to be shaken either with hopes or fears, at length however at a time when you

found that all things gave way to your Promess, you surrender'd of your own accord to the humble Prayers of Your Subjects, and in the full Career of Victory, suffering Your self to be overcome, return'd to the Religion of Your Ancestors. Yet after that, You still preserv'd the same sedateness of Temper and Moderation of mind, which you had always experienc'd so beneficial to your self. For thus perswaded, you recall'd the Edicts which had been publish'd in despite of your Predecessors against the Protestants, and consequently against your self. And after a Peace, to your loud Fame concluded not only with your Subjects, but with Foreigners, you by a Third confirm'd two former Edicts in favour of the Protestants, whereby you restor'd 'em to their Houses, their Estates and their Honours; and dignifi'd several with the highest Employments in the Kingdom. For it was your firm belief, that all Animosities asswaging by degrees, the Concord ratifi'd by the Edicts, would be more readily observ'd among Dissenters in Opinions; and that Serenity and Tranquillity being restor'd to the Minds of Men, all Heats and Passions, like a scatter'd Storm, dispers'd, People would be able with more sedateness to discern what in Religion was best to be made choice of; as most conformable to Antiquity. And indeed, this was the Course which those Holy Fathers always thought most proper to take with those, who either out of hatred, or sway'd by Error, ran astray from the Rule and Communion of the Church: to the end they might make it appear, that they were rather led by Charity than any desire of violent

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Conquest. And upon these Considerations it was, that St. Augustin ever calls the Pelagians Brethren; and that Optatus of Milevum no less affably treats the Donatists. For this reason it was, that St. Cyprian, before them, was wont to say, that as it was his hearty wish, so it was always his advice and counsel to the Church, if possible, never to suffer any of the Brethren to perish; but to foster in her Bosom, like an Indulgent Mother, all without distinction, as one Body of People agreeing in their judgments. For indeed there are many among those that are separated from our Communion, who, that I may use St. Austin's words, would in order to their private Resolutions return, were once the Storms allay'd. But seeing 'em continue, or else fearing lest they should grow more outrageous upon their reunion, they continue their Inclinations to advise and comfort the weak; still without separating from their particular Congregations, defending till death, and by their Testimony upholding that Faith which they know to be taught in the Catholick Church. Yet all this while they patiently suffer, for the sake of the Church's Peace, the Contumelies and Injuries offer'd on both sides, and by their Example teach us, with what sort of Zeal, Sincerity and Charity, God is to be serv'd.

Upon these Considerations, as well taught by my own Experience, as confirm'd by Your Example, that 'tis my duty to consult the Peace of the Church, I have abstain'd from all bitterness of language: I mention the Protestants with honour; more especially those that excell'd in Learning. Nor have I conceal'd the Vices of our own People; as being of the

same Opinion with all vertuous Men, that they are infinitely deceiv'd, who believe, in reference to the manifold Heresies which at this day torment the World, that there is a more Contagious Malignity in the evil Intentions and Artifices of their Teachers and Followers, than in our Vices and Impieties. And I am verily perswaded, to the best of my judgment, that the only way to provide against Both Mischiefs, as well the Deviations of the Dissenting Party, as our own Enormities, would be to remove from the Church and State all manner of Traffic and Brokage; That Vertue be rewarded; that Persons who excel in Piety, Doctrine, Learning, and Sobriety of Manners, such as have given proof of their Prudence and Moderation, should be advanc'd to the most sacred Functions: that no new Upstarts, persons of no value, but such as fear God and hate Covetousness, should be preferr'd to secular Dignities, not for favour or by purchase, but only upon the recommendation of their Vertues. Otherwise, where good and Bad are admitted without distinction, 'tis evident that the Reign of Peace will be but of short continuance; and that those Cities of necessity must perish, whose Rulers are not able to distinguish the Vertuous from the wicked; and suffer, according to the Proverb, what the Bees should only enjoy, to be devour'd by Drones.

There is nothing, Sir, more opposite to that Fidelity which in the first place we owe to God, and next to Your self, and the People subjected to your Empire, we that are entrusted with the Highest Employments and Preferments in the Kingdom, than the hope of filthy Gain. With
which

which if we commence our entrance into the Magistracy, 'tis to be fear'd that that will prove the Cynosure of all our Thoughts and Cogitations; and that at length, blinded with Avarice, and laying aside all care of Honesty and Justice, we shall falsifie the Trust which God, Your self, and your Subjects have confided in us. Avarice is a cruel, inhuman, and insatiable Monster, that never cries, It is enough; and therefore not to be endur'd. Tho' the Golden Mountains of Persia, the Treasures of both Indies were added to the Immense Heaps of France's Opulency, You would not have wherewithal to satiate the greedy Maw of Covetousness. For Vices know no Bounds; their motion is restless; always rowling headlong, and never cease but with their own perdition. On the other side, Vertue, according to the saying of Simonides, resembling a Cube, stedfastly withstands all Shoggs of Fortune and Human Casualties; and subjecting it self to Nature, that varies after several ways the manifold Chances that befall the Life of Man, preserves the Mind and Conscience free and uncorrupted, contented with it self; sufficient of her self for all things. Restore but to this same Vertue, which thus forms the Minds of Men, her due Luster and Dignity, and you will have an overflowing Plenty liberally to reward the Truly deserving, without burdning your Exchequer, or laying heavy Impositions on your People.

That the same Care may be taken in the Church, if it be not directly under Your Majesties Administration, certainly it is a part of Royal Sedulity to be urgent, to entreat, request, and interpose Your Authority with those on whom the

Burthen lies, that there be no neglect on their side. Assume to your self this Glory, Sir, to which new Encomiums belong; and ponder this continually in Your Royal Thought; that this blessed Ease and Leisure, which we now enjoy, together with Your self, can never otherwise be expected to be Diuturnal, than by strenuously employing this Interval of Peace, by the Almighty so favourably granted, to the Advancement of his Glory, and Composing the Divisions of Religion. 'Tis a Great Thing which I propose to Your Majesty; nor at this time, in the Opinion of many, who contented with their present condition, disrelish wholsom Counsels against future Inconveniencies, to be too hastily undertaken. But Great Rewards attend Great Enterprizes; and a sublime and Towering Genius, the Gift of Heaven conferr'd upon Your Majesty, can never stoop to common Attempts. Certainly, after the suppress'd Ulcentiousness of Riot and Rapine, and particular Families confin'd to moderate Expences proportionable to their Incomes, in which respect France is more beholding to Your Majesty, than can be exprest, You can revolve in Your thoughts nothing more worthy the sublime Pinnacle and Station where you govern, than to compose and reduce into Order the Laws of God and man, all in confusion through the Civil Broils of so many Years. Whence You will doubtless reap this high Advantage, that the Wrath of God incens'd against us being thereby atton'd, and the Bishops and Magistrates strenuously labouring in the several duties of their Employments, Candor and Sincere Charity will prevail against Hypocrisie and Dissimulation; the Laws will combat

Avarice

Avarice and Luxury; which two contending Vices the depravity of the Age has intermix'd: good manners will be esteem'd and improv'd; Modesty and Chastity, Liberties continu'd and decid'd, will regain their Ancient Reputation; and lastly, that Virtue recovering her lost Honour, the Adoration, Lustre and Authority of Money will abate.

These are Your own Wishes, Alighy Sir. For I have often heard 'em from Your own Lip; when you have profess'd your self ready to purchase so great a felicity to the Kingdom with the Mutilation of Your own Limbs. These are the wishes of all Your most faithful Subjects: and this is my sence of the Common-Weal. Wherein, if I have been somewhat too prolix; or if I have us'd too great a liberty of Speech, you will vouchsafe your pardon to an Innocent Person, bred up under that Liberty, the Restoration of which to our Country is a debt we owe to Your Majesty, and who had not otherwise presum'd upon Your Royal Patience, but that he deem'd himself oblig'd to fix something by way of Preface at the Portal of the Work; in some measure to restrain the Assassinations of Calumny, and heave off the Burthen of Envy from his Shoulders.

But when I thought that what I had hitherto said, either in excuse, or defence of my Labours, had been sufficient, my Friends admonish me, that there will be some who will object against me, that I might have spar'd such an exact Commemoration of particular things relating to our Liberties, Immunities, Laws and Franchises; affirming it no less to the disadvantage of Your own, and the Dignity of the Kingdom, then Injurious to Private

Persons. To which, altho' there be abundant matter of Answer, yet should I enlarge my self too far: I am afraid, lest many should think I affected an Occasion to fight with Goblins; or if I should be altogether silent, lest Caring and Censure should lay hold of the Opportunity: I shall therefore, as to this matter, deliver my self with all possible succinctness.

So season'd by Tradition to me from my Father, a most worthy Person, as all men knew, to him from my Grand-Father and Great Grand-Father deliver'd; so prepar'd, and with such Inclinations I enter'd into the Administration of the Commonweal, that next to my Duty to God, there was nothing that I esteem'd dearer to me, or more sacred, then that Love and Duty which I ow'd my Country; and that all my other private Affections, all other Considerations were to give way to that. For so I always most rigorously perswaded my self, that my Country, according to the Opinion of the Ancients, was a second Deity, and the Laws of my Country a sort of other Deities, which whosoever violated, under a sought for pretence of Piety, were liable to all the Penalties of Sacrilege and Parricide. These Franchises, these Laws, upon which this Kingdom being founded, had advanc'd it self to such an extended Grandeur of Dominion and Power, if there be any, and would to God there be not, who work under Ground to sap and ruin, when all their open Force proves vain, and unsuccessful, may we nere be deem'd worthy of the Gallic Name, who ere we are that would be thought true Patriots, if we do not might and main oppose the Inroaching Mischiefs, more especially while You reign.

For

For it is the voice of our Ancestors, men highly eminent for Religion, that this is that Celestial Pledge of publick safety; This, that other Palladium of Franco-Gallia, which so long as we can keep, there is nothing to be suspected from Foreign Treachery: but being once lost, nothing can be secure from their Attacks. Wherefore, should it happen, through sloath or stupidity, that these Ancilia should be stolen from us, there is no question to be made, but the same Person that wickedly commits the Theft, like another Ulysses, Master of Pelasgic Fraud, will certainly suborn another Sinon, to get admitted into France some other fatal Horse, cram'd full of armed Enemies; and by that means depopulate the most flourishing part of Europe, with the same Conflagration that laid Troy in Ashes. But God avert it for the future: for while you live and govern, and while Heaven preserves the Dauphin safe, there's no such dire Misfortune to be fear'd.

And here it might be justly expected, that we should tell the World how much you have deserv'd of the Republic; and that we should enlarge upon your Praises, to whom we are beholding for our Lives, and the enjoyment of our Country and Estates. No more perhaps, then what they may with reason require from us, who measure the undertaking rather by the copiousness of the subject, then the meanness of my capacity. But besides that I design'd not any Panegyric here; 'tis known, You take more pleasure in the knowledge of what you have done, then in the loud Applauses of Haranguing Eloquence.

Your Majesty, sprung from the most noble and Ancient Family of all that ever Scepters held, and deducing Your more certain Original from Male descent, by Birth a Pyrenæan, grew up, under the Education of Adversity, in the midst of War; by providence protected, your Infancy escap'd the treacherous Ambuscado's of Your Adversaries. Your early Youth; and riper Manhood, both, became a Terrour to your Enemies. At last in the most furious heat of Hurry and Confusion you were brought to the King, or sent for by him, from the farthest part of Aquitaine, to the end no other but the Lawful Heir might possess the vacant Throne; and vacant suddainly it was. Having obtain'd the Crown, you temper'd Sovereign Authority with an Alloy of Clemency and Humility, choosing rather to win the alienated Affections of Your Subjects by acts of Favour and Kindness, then to ride 'em with the Curb of fear. And such was the Confidence that men, before your mortal Enemies, repos'd in their now acknowledg'd Sovereign, that they thought themselves more safe in Your Mercy, then secure in the strength of their own Arms; and were not so sorry to see themselves vanquish'd, as they were glad that You were the Victor. Of Suppliants they became Friends and familiar Acquaintance: and the Delinquents were more deeply sensible of their past Offences, then you were apprehensive of their Injuries. Your readiness to pardon was such, that they repented they did not sooner acknowledge their Error. But what other way for them, who saw that the rapid course of Your Victories could not be stemm'd by any Opposition, but of their own accords to submit

10 Your Majesty, whom nothing could withstand, and rather to trust the Clemency of the Victor, then to try the doubtful Chance of Battle? For your Promises seem'd to have restrain'd even Fate it self, in such a manner, as that it seem'd to have fix'd the events of War, and clipt the Wings of Victory, to prevent her flight from Side to Side. Not, but that to all this uncontroll'd Prosperity, your Vigilance, your Indefatigable Industry, your patient enduring Heat and Cold, your neglect of other dyet then the Place or Season afforded, your Diligence in the Trenches, your Military Labours day and night, your marching through tempestuous Showers and Storms of Hail and Snow, your short Reposes, Naps on Horse-back, sometimes on the Ground, and other Personal Vertues mainly contributed and assisted. Thus by your own Example, the most alluring way of commanding Obedience, you still preserv'd that exactness of Discipline, which by others is hardly maintain'd, where want of Pay breeds mutiny and disorder. By this felicity You every where became so terrible to Your Enemies, that tho, for the most part superiour in number, and all other supports of War, they thought it sufficient to defend themselves within the Walls of their fortified Towns and Cities; and lookt upon their bare Defence as an Achievement no less Glorious, then for You to vanquish in the Field. So that 'tis no wonder, that after so many heinous offences against your Majesty committed, they should so greedily embrace an Opportunity of Reconciliation offer'd 'em by Heaven it self, out of a certain hope of sincere pardon, and no less afraid of Victory always abiding on Your side.

But if it be so, that War has render'd You so formidable to your Enemies; the publick Tranquillity shews you no less acceptable to those You have receiv'd into favour; while the encourag'd Arts of Peace are every where receiv'd by Rewards and Immunities. Witness the vast and lasting Piles in every Corner of the Kingdom rear'd within so short a space of Time; adorn'd with Statues of incomparable workmanship, exquisite Pictures, and costly Tapestries, where the Figures seem to speak and move; eternal Monuments to Posterity of the Greatness of Your Soul, and Your desire of Peace. But above all things we return Your Majesty Thanks, for restoring the Muses to their Seats from whence they were expell'd by the Barbarity of the War, and for the restoring State of the Parisian Academy, under Your Auspices restor'd to former Reputation, by your Addition of a signal Embellishment, in calling thither Isaac Casaubon, the second Luminary of this Age, and entrusting him with the Custody of your truly Royal Library. By all which Acts of Princely Munificence it may appear, that the uninterrupted course of so many Laurels was not so much Your Encouragement to more Ambitious undertakings, as to cultivate Peace among your Neighbours, and to restore Tranquillity and Repose to your Subjects tyr'd and almost worn out with the vexation and turmoile of the preceding Wars.

Continue and prosper then, Great Sir, in your most generous purpose; and proceed to establish that Peace, which you have procur'd your Kingdom and your Country at the Expence of so much toyl and Labour, by restoring the Authority
of

of the *Laws*, as already you have been begun to do: and be assur'd, that the *Mind*, the *Soul*, the *Counsel* and *Authority* of a *Commonweal* reside altogether in the *Laws*; and that as a *Body* without a *Soul*, so neither can a *City* without *Laws*, make use of her *Organs*, her *Nerves*, her *Blood* and *Members*. Consequently that the *Magistrates* and *Judges* are but the *Ministers* and *Interpreters* of the *Law*; and lastly that we are all the *Servants* of the *Law*, to the end we may be truly *Freemen*, and enjoy the *Blessing* of our *Liberty*.

In hopes of obtaining this *Liberty* under Your *Reign*, and taking advantage of the same recover'd by Your *Means*, in the general *Hurry* and *Confusion*; and after our *Troubles* were compos'd, I wrote the *History* of this *Age*, the first part of which I now make publick to the *World*, and dedicate it to Your most *August* Name, for many reasons of greatest *Consequence*, both in reference to my own *Person*, and the *Thing* it self. It would have argu'd me strangely *ingrateful*, not to acknowledge any *Advancement*, begun by your *Predecessour* of *Blessed* Memory, and by your Majesty still dignifi'd with greater *Advantages* of higher *Preferment*. And because I was continually attending both in the *Camp* and at the *Court*, Your Majesty entrusted me with several *Commissions* of *Importance*; by the management of which I attain'd to the *Knowledge* of many things requisite to carry on the work which we had then in hand. This farther *Advantage* also I had from my familiar converse with several *Illustrious* Personages grown old in the service of the *Court*, more diligently to examine the *Truth* of many things that were publish'd upon several occasions

concerning our *Affairs* in various *Anonymous* Pamphlets. And thus I improv'd my *knowledge*, during my *Attendance* on your Majesty, in the midst of publick *Business*, till the *Duty* of my *Employment* constrain'd me into this *Workhouse* of the *Law*. The honour of my being known to Your Majesty is of no fresh date: For it is now above twenty years ago, that I was sent with other *Commissioners* of *Parliament* by the deceased *King*, to attend Your Majesty in *Aquitaine*; at what time You were pleas'd to vouchsafe me particular *Demonstrations* of Your *Particular* Favour and *Benevolence*. And since that, I presum'd to a peculiar *Confidence*, that the *Fruits* of my *Wit*, if it were possible for so barren a *Plant* to bear any, would not be unacceptable to Your Majesty. But there is yet another more important Reason why this *Work* should be devoted to Your Majesty; for that he who undertakes an *Enterprize* so full of *Danger*, must of necessity stand in need of powerful support against the *Detractions* of repining *Calumny*; nor could I desire a more piercing *Judgment* than Your Majesties, wherein you govern your own *Affairs*, to examine the *Truth* of all those *Great* *Transitions* which I have transmitted to future *Ages*. For to Your *Censure*, as it behoves me, I dare be bold to stand; whether you command me to impart the rest, or list what I have already publish'd; which indeed cannot be said so much to be made public, as to be laid at your Feet, a *Specimen* to be rejected or approv'd. What ever you ordain or command concerning it, shall be to me in place of a *Celestial* Oracle. Nor do I question, but whatsoever you allow will be unanimously suffer'd to pass cur-

rant over all the World. Or if there be any who are not pleas'd with your unerring Approbations, they must be such who having been advanc'd to high degree by the Freaks of Fortune, yet never doing any thing worthy to be remember'd in story, think it an Injury to themselves, when there is a true account given of all mens Actions. But as I should wrong my Reputation by a compliance with their unjust desires, so neither will my Conscience permit me wickedly to bury in silence their Vices, generally in conjunction with the ruin of the State.

I cannot make a better Conclusion of this Preface, than with my vows and wishes. Great God, the Author and Giver of all our Blessings, who with thy only Son, together with the Holy Ghost, art God in three Persons, yet one in Goodness, Wisdom, Mercy and Power, always one in all things; who wast before all things, and wilt be Eternally in all things; who by thy Prudence dispos'est and govern'st lawful Dominion, without which, nor any private Family, nor City, nor the whole Race of all Mankind, nor Nature it self, by thee created out of Nothing, can pretend to any thing of stedfast and durable; Thee, with the Prayers of the whole Kingdom I implore, and most humbly adjure, that what thou hast vouchsaf'd to France and consequently to all Christendom, thou wouldst be pleas'd to appropriate the same to us; and as an accumulation to thy Blessings to make 'em Diuturnal. In order to which, we put up to thy sacred Throne but this one Supplication more, which comprehends all the rest, that thou wouldst preserve the King and the Dauphin. For upon their safety, we must acknowledge that our Peace, our Concord, our Security,

our Wealth and Welfare, and what ever else is desirable on Earth, depend. To which purpose direct his Counsels to rule with moderation that Empire which he has rescu'd from Destruction: while the Young Prince springs up, like an auspicious Tree that grows upon the Banks of some delightful River; to the end he may prove a Protecting Shade to our Children's Children, under the security of which to be at leisure to improve the more noble Arts of Peace, and promote both Learning and Piety. Grant that both may raign together over France, in that order which is most acceptable to all good men: that by their means, the pristine Sincerity and Religion, the Ancient Manners, the Institutions of our Ancestors, and the Laws of our Country may be restor'd to their Primitive luster; that all new Monsters of Sects, new Fictions of Religions, and other Forgeries of Artifice and Ambition to inveagle and corrupt the weak and inadvertent, may be utterly confounded; and that at length all Schism and Discord remov'd, Peace may be establish'd in the House of God, quiet in Consciences, and security in the Commonwealth. Lastly we invoke and beseech thee, most Great and Merciful God, through the Grace of thy Holy Spirit, without which we neither are, nor can do any thing, that as well they who are now living, as Generations to come, when they shall read what I am now preparing to declare to all the World, may meet with nothing deviating from that Liberty, Truth & Fidelity which becomes a sincere Historian; and that my whole Work may be as free from the suspicion of Adulation and Envy, as it is from any Constraint or Necessity of being Partial.

The Patent from the States of *Holland*
and *Westfreizland*, for Printing this
Work, is a follows, viz.

THE States of *Holland* and *Westfreizland*
Publish, that *Adrian Beman* Bookseller
at *Delft*, having made known to us, that
he has been at great charge and trouble
in Printing a certain Book Intituled [*Histoire de*
1^o Edit de Nantes, contenant les choses les plus Re-
marquables qui se sont passées en France avant & apres
sa Publication a l'occasion de la diversite des Religi-
ons, &c.] in Quarto in four Parts, and fearing
that some other Person in our Dominions to his
great loss and damage might attempt to print
the foresaid Book after Our foresaid Petitioners Copy,
has apply'd himself to Us, in most humble man-
ner, Praying that we would favour Our said Petition-
er with a *special Patent or Priviledge*, by which
Our said Petitioner, his Heirs, Administrators, &c.
may be favoured and allow'd to Print the said Book
for 15 Years next ensuing, and that they only may
be allow'd to Print Publish and Sell the said Book
during

during the said time in Our Territories, in such manner and Languages as they shall think fit, forbidding any other to Print the said Book in any manner, either in the whole or in part, or to Sell or Publish any of the said Books that may be brought into Our Country from other Parts.

We therefore having consider'd the Case and Petition aforesaid, and being inclin'd to hearken to the said Petition, have of Our true Knowledge and by Our Sovereign Power and Authority, Consented and Agreed to and Impowred, and by these Presents do Consent and Agree to and Priviledge the said Petitioner, his Heirs, Administrators, &c. only to Print the said Book for the term of 15 Years next ensuing, in Quarto in four Parts, within Our Dominions, and that he, &c. only may Print or cause to Print, Publish or Sell the said Book, in our Dominions, &c. Therefore we forbid all others to Print Publish or Sell the said Book in our Dominions during the said term, or to import or Publish or Sell the said Book, tho, printed in any other Country, on pain of forfeiting all the said Books printed after the foresaid Coppy or imported in from Foreign parts, and besides to pay a fine of 300 Guilders, one third part to be given to the Officer that prosecutes; one third to be paid to the Poor of the Town where the fault is committed, and the remaining third part to be paid to the foresaid Petitioner.

And

But notwithstanding any thing contained in [this
Our Patent with which we have gratified Our Petitioner, Our intent is that it shall only defend him from such damage as may be done him by printing after his Copy, and no way authorise or avow, much less being Protected by us as aforesaid, give any reputation or credit, to the Contents of the Book, nor is the said Petitioner exempted from answering any thing that may be charged on him, if it contains any thing that is unlawful, and to that end We expressly command that he shall place *this our Patent* in the fore part of the Book without any abbreviation or omissions: and he shall be obliged to bring one of the said Books well Bound and in good condition to the *Library of our University of Leyden*, and bring thence a sufficient testimonial thereof on pain of losing the Effect of these Presents. And to the end our Petitioner may enjoy this priviledge, We Command all whom these Presents may concern, that they suffer the said Petitioner peaceably to enjoy the full benefit of these our Letters Patents.

Given at the Hague under Our Great Seal hereunto annex'd, the 23d. of Feb. 1693.

The History of the Famous Edict of Nants, containing an Account of the most Remarkable Things that have hapned since its Publication to the Edict of Revocation; as likewise of the principal Events that have follow'd since that New Edict, till this present Time.

The First Book.

A Summary of the Contents of the First Book.

The Occasion, Design, and Platform of this Work. The Beginning of the Reformation, and its Causes. Its Entrance into France. How it was received at Meaux, and at Bearn. The Execution of John le Clerc, and Lewis Berquin. The State of Religion in Germany. The Schism in England. The Inclination of Francis the I. towards the Reformation, and how he was diverted from it by the Cardinal de Tournon. An Accommodation proposed. The Synods of Bourges, and of Paris. The Beginning of Calvin's Doctrine. The Year of the Placards, or Remonstrances. The Devotions and Executions ordered upon them. Edicts against the Lutherans. The Council of Trent, and its Translation. The Death of King Francis. Henry the Second persecutes the Protestants. The Edict of Chateau-Briant. The King protests against the Councils being transferred back again to Trent. The Dutcheffs of Valentinois Cruel to the protestants. The Great Credit and Influence of the Clergy. The Business of Merindol and Cabrieres. New Severities and Punishments that forward the progress

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gress of the Reformation. Protestant Churches formed at Paris, and other places. The Spirit of Moderation prevails upon several Judges. An Assembly at Paris. The Character of Catharine de Medicis. Calumnies against the Protestants. The Psalms sung in publick. The Original of the Factions. The Constancy of Anelot, and his Disgrace. The Counsellors of the Parliament of Paris suspected as to their Religion. The first Protestant National Synod in France. The Death of Henry the Second. The State of the Court. The Nature of the Intrigues then carried on there, with the Character of the Heads of them. How Religion came to be made use of in them. Courts of Justice Erected for the Burning of pretended Hereticks, called, Burning Chambers. The ensnaring Superstitions used towards Images, to discover and intrap the Protestants. The Tragical Execution of Counsellour Du Bourg. The Apologetical Writings, published by the Protestants, which exasperate the Higher Powers. A Project against Arbitrary Power. The Enterprize of Amboise. The Cruelties of the Court. The Original of the Word Huguenot. An appearance of Moderation. The Imprisonment of the Prince of Conde. The Death of Francis the Second, falsely imputed to the Protestants. The General Estates assembled, who seem to favour them. The Rise of the Triumvirate. The Conference at Poissy. The settling of the Jesuits at Paris. The Fickleness and Inconstancy of the Cardinal of Lorrain, and of the King of Navarr. A Sedition at Paris against the Protestants. The Massacre of Vaisly after the Edict published in January. The strength of the Protestants. The Admirals short continuance in Favour. The first War against the Protestants begun by the Queens Orders, but afterward disowned by her. The League between the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Guises, against the Protestants. The Cruelties of Monluc, and of Adrets, and of the Roman Catholicks in general. The Massacre at Sens. Foreign Forces brought into France. The Battel of Dreux. The Siege of Orleans. The Death of the Duke of Guise, with which our Author charges the Admiral. Peace agreed upon. The Marriage of the Cardinal of Chastillon, and what followed thereupon. Tithes secured to the Roman Clergy. The retaking of Havre de Grace from the English. Prosecutions against the Admiral. The End of the Council of Trent. A Revolution in Bearn. New causes of Jealousie given to the Protestants. The
Voy-

Voyage of the Court, and the Counsel of the Duke of Alva. The progress of the Reformed Churches, The Reconciliation of the Admiral with the Guises The Enterprize of Meaux, and its consequences. A Peace clapt up before Chartres, without any design to observe it. The 3d War. The Death of the Prince of Conde, and of Andelot. Battels lost. The Admiral restores the Party, and gives new life to them. A fraudulent peace. The incredible Artifices of the Court. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Princes of the Blood obliged by force to change their Religion. The Inconstancy of Des Rosiers. The Sieges of Rochelle and Sancerre. Factions in France. The Duke of Alanson Protector of the Protestants, and of those called the Politicks. The Death of Charles the 9th. Henry the 3d returning from Poland, and succeeding him, continues the War. The Retreat of the Princes. A peace broken as soon as made. The Edict of 1577. Synods. The Conferences of Nerca and de Fleix. The King eludes the Edict under pretence of observing it. Outrages committed by the Leaguers against the King, who is forced against his Will, to make War upon the Protestants. The Courage of the King of Navar. La Trimouille turns Protestant. The Battle of Courtras. The Defeat of the Reiters. The Death of the Prince of Conde. The Edict of Union. The Insolence of the Leaguers. The Estates held at Blois. The Death of the Duke of Guise, and of the Cardinal his Brother. The Duke of Mayenne escaping revives the Leaguers party. The extremity of the King's Affairs. He makes a Truce with the Protestants. The King's Affairs in a State of Recovery. He besieges Paris, and is stabb'd by a Monk.

THE Reformation, which changed the Face of Religion all over Europe, at the beginning of the last Age, met with great Oppositions wherever it was preached. For the Court of Rome used her utmost Endeavours to extinguish at its very Birth a Light that was likely to prove so fatal to her Grandeur, and set in motion all the Springs of her most Refined Politicks, to maintain the Errors and Abuses from which she drew such vast gains, against those Enemies that so clearly revealed and laid open its ambitious Artifices. She raised against them all the different Bodies of her Clergy, whose miserable Ignorance and Corruption they so briskly attackt. She spared neither her Bulls nor Anathema's, to render them odious to all the World. She armed against

them all the Temporal Powers, where she had Credit enough to procure her *Maxims* to be embrac'd ; and on the other side, the Princes of those Times, who had their secret aims for the advancing of their Authority, were glad of so fair an occasion to satisfy their Ambition, and greedily laid hold on't. For the aspiring passion after Arbitrary Power had so possess'd the Heads of the Sovereigns then Reigning, that thinking their Power too much confin'd by some certain Relicks of Liberty, which were by the Laws preserv'd to the people, they were ravish'd to meet so patly with a Religious Pretence to employ one part of their Subjects to ruine the other, as being very confident, that when the soundest and most understanding part of them should be once oppress'd, they should easily master the rest. And the Court of *Rome* likewise in her turn, when she smelt out the Intentions of the Princes, was in no small fear of them, as well as of her pretended Heretick Enemies; and looking upon Absolute Power as a Jewel fit only to be reserv'd for the Triple Crown, she never sincerely assist'd those whose power was in a State of giving her any Umbrage in that ticklish pretension. Yet for all these precautions the Emperor *Charles* the 5th upon this occasion, had very like to have reduced all *Germany* under his Yoak, but that after he had defeated the *Protestants*, an unexpected Revolution reduced into Smoke all the prosperities of his life; And his Son *Philip* the 2^d was still more unfortunate, in that by his ill-managed attempts upon the *Liberties* of the 17 *Provinces*, he gave the first Motion to those mighty concussions that have since proved so ruinous to the *Greatness* of his House. But the *Crown* of *France* has succeeded better in those designs; for tho in the contest it has been reduced more than once to the very brink of Ruin, yet *Religion* has been at last so useful an Expedient to its *Monarchs*, to advance their power beyond all bounds, that they at this day acknowledge no other limits to it but their own lawless *Wills*. However, all the Oppositions formed by divers Interests against the progress of the *Reformation*, were not able to hinder it from spreading every where in a very few years time. It was too necessary and too just, not to find some hearts disposed to embrace it; and a multitude of good Souls had too long groan'd under the intolerable Yoke of the *Superstitions* and *Tyranny* of *Rome*, not to receive with open arms those which preached with such forcible

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Evidence against her *Corruptions*, as well in points of *Doctrine* and *Worship*, as of *Manners* and *Discipline*. But yet it met not every where with the same contradictions, nor with the same easie successes. For there were some *States* where it was receiv'd almost without resistance, others where it found such Obstacles which it could never surmount, and others again where the Difficulties it met with could not be mastered but by an infinite number of Crosses and Pains. *France* was one of the places where the longest oppositions were raised against it, and it was firmly settled in many other parts of *Europe*, before it was known what would be its destiny in *France*; and if we except the 10 or 12 last years of *Henry IV.* it may truly be said, it never enjoyed any peace there, and that since its first dawning in that great Kingdom, till now, it has always been persecuted. For if its Adversaries have seem'd sometimes to give it any respite, and to renounce the further use of any violent means to oppress it, 'Twas only to gain opportunity to compass it by other more hidden, and consequently more dangerous and effectual practices. They have successively employ'd against it *Capital punishments*, *Wars*, *fraudulent Treaties*, *Massacres*, and *all the Artifices of a profound and refined policy*, and whenever they met with a Juncture of time they thought favourable to their design, they never were ashamed divers times to make use of the most odious and infamous methods of Sham Processies, Law quirks, and down-right breach of Faith, to promote its Ruin. And even in our days they have pursued the Remainder of the *Reformed*, with *penal Executions* and *Massacres*, because they found them too weak and disunited to defend themselves. It is not to be imagined what has passed in that Kingdom upon this occasion, especially within these last 30 years. Certainly never did over-powering Force, or wheedling Treachery, in any other Age or Place produce Effects either so infamous to their Authors, or so dismal and fatal to Millions of ignorant people who demanded nothing else but bare *Liberty of Conscience*, and who giving no occasion by their Conduct, either to be fear'd or hated, had reason to expect nothing less than to be treated with those unparallel'd Cruelties and Injustices with which they have all along been so implacably pursued.

I have undertaken in this Work to inform *Posterity* of what has been done in *France* towards the bringing that design to its

*The Occasion
and Design
and Plot-
form of this*

PRO. Work

proposed end. But my project would be too much above my Power, if I should take upon me to give you the History of all that has hap'ned in that Kingdom upon that account, from the first Preaching of the Reformation, to our days, such a work as that would be great enough to deserve to be parted among several persons. And therefore observing that the time relapsed since that new Light first begun to shine in the World, till our time may naturally be divided into 2 *periods* almost equal in duration, *viz.* The first, containing all the Occurrences of about 80 Years, till the *Edict of Nantz*, when the *Churches* enjoyed a little Respite. And the other comprehending the Transactions which have past since that famous *Edict* to our days. I thought I might pass over the first period, without speaking much upon it, as well because the Histories of that Time are so full of events that relate to *Religion*, whose concerns were then so intermixed with those of the *State*, that it was impossible to separate them; as because the short Account I shall give of them, will be sufficient to inform the Reader of all he needs to know of the affairs of those times, to enable him to understand those which have followed since; but I shall make it my main business to unfold the Events of the second *Period*, because the affairs of *Religion* that belong to that space of time, are not so well known. and that we have as yet no faithful Collection of them in any History extant.

The ground of my subject shall therefore be the *Edict of Nantz*, all the consequences and dependencies of which, I here undertake to represent as exactly as I could draw them out of all the publick and private Memoirs it was possible for me to get, having bound myself under the obligations of a very strict Resolution, not to write any thing for which I could not produce good *Authority*. But first, that they which are not better informed otherwise, may see at least in general what passed before that *Edict*, without some knowledge of which he cannot perfectly understand the justice and advantage of it; I will premise a summary account of what past in *France* about Religion, till the Death of *Henry III.* And because *Henry IV.* who succeeded him, was the Author of the *Edict* which is the principal Subject of my Discourse, and which that *Prince* granted to his *Protestant Subjects*, as a Recompence of their faithful Services, I will begin to treat amply of those transactions that

that concern the *Reformation*, since *the Crown* was devolved upon that *K.* After which it will be much more easy to discern whether that *Edict* was a *Favour extorted*, or a *pure Effect of Gratitude and Justice*; and whether the continual *Contraventions* of the *Successors* of that *Great Monarch*, in prejudice to that Work of his Wisdom, and the *solemn Revocation* that was made of it some few years ago, to the great astonishment of all *Europe*, be proper *Motives* to induce *posterity* to bless the *Memory of their Authors*.

After *Luther* once began to preach against *Popery* in *Germany*, 1517. there past but a very little time before his *Doctrine* was communicated to *France*; and tho the *Faculties of Divinity*, and particularly that of the *Sorbon*, as well as the rest, had condemned it, yet in spite of all they could do, it found Disciples every where which greedily received it. Learning, which the favour and encouragement of *Francis I.* had newly revived, had inlightned many persons, and made them ashamed of the great number of Errors which had been introduced and establisht in the times of Ignorance; and the Benevolence of that liberal Prince inticed into his Dominions all the choice men of Learning that were to be found in the rest of *Europe*, because the Pensions and Priviledges he bestowed upon them sufficiently secured them both from contempt and misery; Among whom there were some that came from *Germany*, where they had taken some tincture of the *Doctrine* which was called *New*, either out of the Sermons and Books of *Luther*, or by reading of the *Scriptures*, which were dispersed into the hands of all the World. They imparted the same light to others, many of which took a liking to those *Opinions* accounted *New*, because they were already disposed to it by the contempt they had justly conceived for their blind Conductors. For in earnest, the Ignorance of the ordinary *Pastors* was so great, that many of them could only read, almost all of them led scandalous Lives, and their Corruption was so general, that those of them which had no other Vice but an insatiable *Covetousness*, and an *unmeasurable Ambition*, might be called *vertuous men*, in comparison of their other more profligate companions. Yet among the very *Clergy themselves*, they which had any reliicks left them of *Modesty* or *Piety*, were ashamed of the abuses which were laid to the Charge of the *Roman Church*; and tho the greatest part of them were more inclin'd to keep their Vices and their Errors

than

The beginning of the Reformation, its progress and its causes.

1520.

Its entrance into France.

1523

How it
came to be
received at
Meaux,

and in
Bearn.

than to hazard by a Reformation, both their Greatness and Revenues, or to subject their Lives to the Rules of a stricter Morality. yet there were not wanting even some *Bishops* whose Eyes were stricken with this Light; *Briffonnet*, Bishop of *Meaux*, was one of that number; He got some tincture of the Reformation at *Paris*, at some Conferences there held between 3 or 4 Learned Men, whom he heard with so much delight, that he carried them into his *Dioceß*, and permitted them to spread their Opinions there. He further gave leave to his people to read the *holy Scriptures*, and made no opposition to *Conferences* and *Meetings*, and sometimes he took the liberty himself to preach the same Doctrine which those private men taught; so that in little time there were at *Meaux* above 400 persons who had imbibed *Luther's* Opinions. But at last, the Reproaches of the other *Bishops*, the threats of being prosecuted for *Heresy*, and the fear of losing a *Bishoprick* so commodious for them that love the Court for the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, prevail'd over *Briffonnet*, and reduc'd him to the profession of his former Errors; after which, his *Doctors* finding no longer security in his *Dioceß*, separated, and shifted every one for himself. *Le Fevre*, who was one of them, found protection at the Court of *Navar*, where he was well received by the Queen, who was Sister to *Francis I.* and as great a Favourer of Learned Men, as the King her Brother. *Roussel*, one of his Companions, after a Journey into *Germany*, came back to *Bearn*, where the same Princess gave him a like entertainment as to the former, and both of them together so strongly inspired her with their Opinions, that she retained them to her dying day, tho for several years 'twas thought she had quitted them.

1523

in Exami-
on of John
Clerk.

These two men lost no time in those remote Provinces, and prepared the minds of the people there the more easily to embrace the Doctrine of *Calvin*, when it came to be preached there 10 or 12 years after. Their Retreat hindred not the Church which they had in some measure formed at *Meaux*, from preserving it self, and increasing, which was the Reason that was the first place where the Courts of Justice began to take cognizance of those pretended Novelties. One *John Clerk*, who had an indifferent understanding in the *Scriptures*, the only book he had studied, served for a Guide to those converted people, who received corporal punishment for calling the Pope *Antichrist*, and after he had been banished from *Meaux* up-
on

on that account, was not long after burnt at *Mets*, because his Zeal had transported him so far as to break an Image. Six years after, *Lewis Berquin* was condemn'd at *Paris*, to the same punishment, and of Lewis is Berquin. for teaching the Doctrine of Luther.

The progress of the Reformation was more rapid in Germany, 1529. The State of where it was embrac'd by several Princes and States, who in the year 1530, presented their Confession of Faith to the Emperor, and the Protestant Religion or in Germany. within a little while found themselves strong enough to League together at *Smalcalde*, against those which designed to oppress them. 1528. The Schism of England. The Schism made in England by *Henry VIII.* was only a step which open'd the way to a greater Work carried on in the following Reigns. But yet that Prince, who had done Luther the Honour to write against him, and was answer'd by that Dr. in somewhat too harsh and insolent a strain, would never suffer the Opinions of his Adversary to take root in his Kingdom, tho at the same time he would fain have perswaded *Francis I.* to have broken with Rome, as himself had done. The K. of France would by no means hearken to him, and answer'd him with this Compliment, That he was his Friend as far as the Altar, but there he must leave him. But he continu'd not always so obstinate, for he was almost perswaded once The Inclination of Francis I. to the Reformation. time to yield to the earnest solicitations of the Q. of Navar; for she had inspired him with some inclination for the Doctrine which she her self had embrac'd, and of which she also had communicated some tincture to the King her Husband, whom she carried privately with her to hear the Sermons of her Teachers. The Dutches of *Estampes*, who possess the heart of *Francis I.* and may likewise be reasonably suppos'd to have abetted the same inclination in him, because she was instructed and principled in the Lutheran Opinions, openly favoured those that profess'd them, and, after the King's Death, lived a very retir'd life in all the exercises of the Protestant Religion, protecting all those that profess'd it, to the utmost of her power.

This at least is certain that the King writ to *Melanchton*, the most 1534. renown'd of Luther's Disciples, and esteem'd the most moderate of 1535. them, inviting him to come into France, and assuring him he should take pleasure to hear him. But whilst *Melanchton* spun out the time in delays, the Cardinal of *Tournon* put by the design, and wrought so absolute a change upon the King's Mind, who had let From which the Cardinal de Tournon divers him. him gain a very strong Ascendant over him, that he would after-

1535.

An accommo-
dation propo-
sed.

ward listen neither to his *Sister* nor *Mistress*, nor be perswaded to shew the least favour to those accus'd of *Herésie*. There is no doubt but *the Cardinal* had Orders from *Rome*, to that purpose. For *the King* had discovered his Mind to *that Court himself*, in the Instructions he gave to *Cardinal du Bellai*, whom he sent thither, in which he ordered him to give *the Pope* an account of the Letter he had written to *Melanchton*, and of that *Dr's* Answer, and most especially to move *his Holiness* to consent to a kind of Accommodation, which he had a design to negotiate in *Germany*, by an *Embassy* on purpose. The most important Article of that Accommodation was to be, *That the Pope should be acknowledged to be Head of the Universal Church*, and in other things *the King* would take from the Protestants *as much as he could, and as far as he could*: That is to say, He would consent to gratifie the Protestants in many things that concerned *Faith, Religion, Ceremonies, Institutions and Doctrine*, at least till a Council should determine them, and it was already agreed what Concessions and abatements to make them; which consisted of 7 Articles, in which the Mass was to be reform'd, without changing any thing in the Ceremonies of its celebration; viz. 1. *That Mass should never be said without a publick Communion.* 2. *That the Elevation should be retrenched.* 3. *And Adoration abolished.* 4. *That the Cup should be restored to the Laity.* 5. *That in it no Commemoration should be made either of male or female Saints.* 6. *That it should be celebrated only with ordinary fine Bread, which should be broken by the Priest, and distributed to the people.* 7. *And that Marriage should be allowed to Priests.* The Mass so reform'd was called by the Vulgar, *The Mass with 7 points*. But alas, an Accommodation of this Nature could not find acceptance at *the Court of Rome*, which was very sensible, that *the Authority of the Holy See* could never be sufficiently supported by the bare Title which was, given there to the Pope, and that to maintain it in so exorbitant a power as it had assumed, it had need of the united force of all those Errors, by which it first mounted to, and afterwards establish'd it self in its present Greatness. And therefore that Court employed all their policy to divert the King from that dangerous project.

1285.

The Synod
at Bourges
and Paris.

The Cardinal of Tournon had already signaliz'd his Zeal against the Reformation, in a Synod assembled at Bourges, of which he was Archbishop, and had there condemn'd the Doctrine of Luther. The

Car-

Cardinal du Prat did the same, about the same time, in a *Synod of the Province of Sens*, which he held at *Paris*, as fearing perhaps the *Reformation* might ruin the *Concordat*, which was his Work, and by which he had compleated the *Corruption of Ecclesiastical Discipline* in *France*. But all this hindred not the Number of the *Protestants* from daily increasing, especially after *Mr. John Calvin* had begun to preach and write about *Religion*, who had several years before already taken distaste at the *Roman Doctrine*, and already run great dangers upon that account at *Paris*, where he had some *Disciples*. He had likewise made himself known in *Berri*, whilst he was yet a *Student in Law*, in the *University of Bourges*, and a Lord of that *Neighbourhood* had permitted him to preach privately in his *Parish*. He had afterwards conferred about *Religion* at *Nerac*, with *Roussel* and *Le Ferre*, whom he found concurring almost in the same principles with himself. But he spread his *Doctrine* most effectually in *Saintonge* and *Poitou*, in the latter of which *Provinces* 'tis thought he gave the first Form of a *Church* to the *Assemblies* of those who had embraced his *Opinions*. When by persecution he was forc'd to leave the *Kingdom*, he made some stay at *Basil*, where he publisht his *Institutions* dedicated to *Francis I.* But that Prince being prejudiced against all Works of that Nature, would never read them. From thence *Calvin* passed into *Italy*, where he was well receiv'd by the *Dutchess of Ferrara*, Daughter to *Lewis XII.* who testify'd a great affection to such as labour'd to reform *Abuses*. At his return he was detain'd at *Geneva*, which had newly shaken off the yoke of its *Bishop*, where, after he had weather'd some *Oppositions* and *Encounters*, he settled his *Residence* for the rest of his life. From thence he filled all *Europe* with his *Writings*, which were greedily read, both for their matter and eloquent stile.

1534.
The beginning of Calvin's Doctrine.

There was a seeming prospect then as if *Francis I.* who had so great an inclination to an *Accommodation*, would have conniv'd at the progress of the *Reformation* in his *Kingdom*, especially because of the *Confederacy* he was engag'd in with the *Protestants* of *Germany*, who were always either in *War* with, or apprehension of the *Emperour*. But it hapned quite contrary to expectation; for the *Placards*, or *Libels* which were found fixed all about *Paris*, and at the very *Court* it self, and which treated the *mysteries of the Roman Religion* in very injurious terms, and the *Clergy* in a very Scurrilous

1534.
The year of the Placards or Libels.

1535. rical manner, put the *King* into a great Rage. So that to expiate those pretended *Blasphemies*, at the Request of the *Clergy*, he made a solemn Proceſſion, at which he aſſiſted in Perſon with his *Children*, and all his *Court*, and ordered the Pomp to be concluded with the Execution of ſome of the poor ſuppoſed Criminals, who were burnt. He publiſht a very ſevere Ediſt at the ſame time againſt the *Lutherans*, in which all that harbour'd, or conceal'd them were made liable to the ſame puniſhments with them, and the Informer againſt them encourag'd with the reward of the 4th part of all their Conſiſcations. The *Germans* were offended at it, but ſome *Lutherans* of their Nation reporting at their return into their Country, that they had been very kindly uſed in *France*, took off the edg of their Reſentments, and diſſipated their fears. Nevertheless, the *King*, about 5 years after, by a new Ediſt, ſtirred up all perſons of every Order and Degree, againſt the *French Lutherans*, and the *Emperour* making a new War upon them, the *King* afforded them but little aid, becauſe the *Cardinal of Tournon* fill'd his Head with ſcruples concerning *Alliances* with *Hereticks*; and he further gain'd ſo much power over that Prince, that he perſwaded him to renew the puniſhment of *Death* againſt them all over *France*, that he might not appear leſs religious, and leſs an Enemy to thoſe pretended *Hereticks* than the *Emperour*, who had taken the way of Arms to deſtroy them.

The Council of Trent. The Pope not being able to reſiſt any longer the inſtances of the *Emperour*, nor the deſires of all *Europe*, after he had been long importun'd to call a *Council*, and for a long time by divers Artifices eluded the Solicitations of the *Princes*, had at laſt reſolved to fix it at *Trent*, and publiſh a *Bull* of *Indiction* for that effect in the year 1542. But yet it was not opened till 3 years after, by reaſon of new difficulties that aroſe every day. The *K.* being willing to contribute to the ſucceſs of that aſſembly ſummon'd to *Melun* ſeveral illuſtrious *Drs.* in order to confer there together, and prepare matters fit to be repreſented to the *Council*. But there were but few Prelates, one of which being the *Biſhop of Lavar*, appear'd there as *Ambaſſador*, who ſignaliz'd himſelf chiefly by the answer he made to a *Par-tiſan* of the Court of *Rome*, who being minded to droll upon the Remonſtrances of a *French Dr.* concerning the Abuses committed in the matter of *Benefices*, in alluſion to the *Latin* word *Gallus*, that
fig-

signifies both a *Cock* and a *Frenchman*, had said to one of his Companions, 'Tis but a *Cock* that crows. The *Bishop* keeping still to the same allusion, and applying it to the story of *St. Peter*, whose Successor the *Pope* pretends to be, answer'd him immediately, *God grant that by the crowing of this Cock Peter may be stirred up to tears and repentance*. Some time after, the translation of the *Council* to *Bolonia*, and the *King's Death*, changed the state of affairs, and made most of the *Potentates* take new Measures.

1547.

The Council translated.
The King's death.

But the Condition of the *Protestants* in *France* was never the better for that; The new *K. Henry II.* proving more rigorous to them than his *Father*, being pusht on to it by the *D. of Anmale*, who was afterward *D. of Guise*, and in favour of whom the Land of *Anmale* was erected into a *Dutchy* and *Peerage*. He therefore in imitation of *Francis I.* made such another like Procession at *Paris*, and terminated it as he did his, with a like Sacrifice of some poor Wretches who were condemned to the fire. And besides, tho he was at first in very good intelligence with *Paul III.* so far as to declare himself for the translation of the *Council*, and to send his Ambassadors to *Bolonia* with good instructions, yet he soon fell out with *Rome* after the Exaltation of *Julius III.* which still redoubled but the more the persecution against the *Protestants*, and produced against them a very severe *Edict* at *Chateau-Briant*, by which it was forbidden so much as to solicit for those accused of *Herésie*. Since which time it has been remark'd, that the same policy has been often followed in *France*, always to persecute the *Protestants* every time they had any difference with the *Pope*, and that they never were more cruelly handled than when there hapned any Quarrels between the Courts of *France* and *Rome*. Those contestations were great at that time, and produced the *Protestation* which the *King* made afterward by the *Abbot of Bellosane*, against the *Council* which the *Pope* had removed back to *Trent*.

1548.

Hen. II. persecutes the Protestants.

1549.

1551.

The King protests against the Removal back of the Council to Trent.

The *Dutchess of Valentinois* the *King's Mistress*, exasperated him likewise against the *Protestants*, both out of spite to the *Dutchess of Estampes*, whom she mortally hated, and out of interest, to gain by the *Confiscations* of the Goods and Estates of the *Condemned*, which she obtain'd for her self. But especially after the *Edict* of *Chateau-Briant*, she was accused of making advantage by the rigorous Prosecutions then carried on against the *Protestants*, and

The Dutchess of Valentinois cruel to the Protestants.

The great
Credit of the
Clergy.

1550.

1545.

The affairs
of Merindol
and Cabrie-
res.

1550.

was thought even to have kept *Emissaries* on purpose to inform against those who were rich enough to tempt her covetous inclination. The *Clergy* on their side took *pleasure* in seeing so many innocent people *Sacrificed* to the flames for their interests, tho on the other side, they had a great deal of *Indulgence* for themselves; and accordingly, to put the world out of all hope of the amendment of the *Church-men*, they obtained from the Kings *Council*, the annulling of an *Act* of the *Parliament* of *Tholouse*, which tended to nothing else but the suppression of the looseness and debauchery of *Priests*. That *Parliament* was likewise lasht with bloody *Satyrs*, published by the *Clergy* on that occasion, and when one of the Members of that *Court* had written an *Apology* for that venerable *Body*, in which the *Vices* of the *Ecclesiasticks* were too openly *reprehended*, they yet had so much power as to cause it to be censured. However all this hindred not some seeming *Justice to be done* for the cruelties committed some years before by *Oppeda* the Executioner of an *Act* of the *Parliament* of *Provence*, against certain remains of the *Vandois* inhabiting about *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*. That affair had been husht up in silence during the Life of *Francis I.* because the *Cardinal of Tournon*, who then was very powerful at *Court*, was suspected to have been the *Counsellor*, or *chief complice* of that *Barbarous Action*; but after the Government was pass'd into other hands, that *Cardinal* was removed from the helm of Affairs, and the *Constable* who bore him no great good will, was suspected in his turn to have excited those that were left of those poor People, to demand *Justice* on purpose to bring the *Cardinal* into trouble by the success of their *Complaints*, There was much ado about fixing upon Judges fit for *that business*. The *Great Council* first took Cognisance of it, from thence it was call'd up before the *King*, and by *him* at last turn'd over to the *Parliament* of *Paris*, where it was pleaded for 50 *Audiences* together; but yet after all *that great Bustle*, it came to little effect, the principal *Criminals* escaping unpunisht; and the *King's Advocate* in the *Parliament* of *Provence*, was the only man that lost *his life* for it; as for the *Count de Grignan* he was only frighted with the fear of losing his *Estate*, which was preserved to him by the favour of the *Duke of Guise*; and *Oppeda* himself was acquitted by producing his *Orders*, and by the *Dukes* interposition, who served him with all

all his credit ; so that the *Protestants* obtain'd no other vengeance for his *Cruelties*, than the satisfaction of being inform'd, he Died afterwards a horrible Death; and of saying openly, That he suffered it by a just Judgment of God.

Those *Executions* did not at all diminish the number of the *Pro-* New Executions do but advance the progress of the Reformation.
testants, the constancy of those who were burned serving to make more sensible impressions upon peoples minds in their favour, than either their *Books* or *Preaching*; but the *King* however, was inexorable, and tho the doleful spectacle of those he had caused to be burned, after the procession above mentioned, and their horrible cries in the torments of their sufferings, had so deeply struck his imagination, that the remembrance of them was a *lasting Terror* to him all his life after, yet did he not at all abate his *severities*; for they burned, after that, some persons come from *Bearn* into *France*, where they preached the *Doctrine* of their Country, among whom *Lewis de Marzac* was most taken notice of, for that having been a *Soldier* all his life, and being dispensed with from having a rope put about his neck at the stake like other sufferers, out of respect to that noble profession, he complain'd, that such a difference should be made between him and his Brethren, as if by retrenching any thing from the infamy of his Punishment, they had design'd to lessen the glory of his *Constancy*.

That year the use of the *Gag* was first practis'd, invented purposely to hinder the *Protestants* that were put to death from speaking to the People, or singing *Psalms* for their consolation, when they were led to *Execution*: And 'tis reported, that *Aubespine*, who was the inventor of it, was some years after struck with the *lowfie disease*, which put him into so great a despair, that he would needs let himself starve to death; which furious resolution obliged those which were about him to open his jaws with a *Gag*, to make him take nourishment by force, so that he increased the number of those, that have been known to suffer those *torments* themselves, of which they were the first inventors. Amidst these *Executions*, the *Churches* took the firmer root; and there were already some that were governed by a regular discipline, and settled *Pastors*. And at *Paris* itself, where the *fires* never went out, and under the *King's Nose*, there was one which had its peculiar *Pastor*. The several Jurisdictions of the *Kingdom* accused one another reciprocally upon

1553.

Churches
 found as
 Paris, and
 many other
 places.

1555.

upon this occasion, for not executing rigorously enough the Court-Orders; for which Reason the cognizance of Crimes of Heresy was sometimes committed to the Royal, and sometimes to the Ecclesiastical Judges, and sometimes parted between both those Tribunals; so that since the first introduction of that kind of Proceſſe, there had been publiſht 5 or 6 Edicts about the competence of Judges, which revoked one another by turns. Nay, and in the following Reigns, there was nothing fully fixed as to that matter. That year the Cardinal of Lorrain, to please the Pope, depriv'd the Parliaments, in spite of their Remonstrances to the contrary, of the power of hearing Causes of Heresy, which was transferred to the Bishops, leaving to the Royal Judges nothing but the Executions of the Criminals. And indeed this proceeding of the Cardinal was very reasonable, if measur'd by the interest of the Clergy. For the Parliaments began to incline to a Temper of Moderation, and there were some Spirits among them that could not think those Rigours agreeable to Justice. Nay, there

1556.
The Spirit
of Moderation
prevails
over some
Judges.

were some Judges at *Bordeaux* that maintain'd, it was a thing unheard of, that ever so many cruelties were at any time before practis'd, as had been exercised within the last 40 years; and that it was against Equity, to condemn any man for simple Errors, before Endeavours had been used to instruct and reclaim the person accused: And that since the Council was still on foot, as being only suspended, which was finally to determine that affair.

Their Decisions ought to be waited for, before they proceeded to condemn, to such extraordinary punishments, any persons before-hand accused upon such accounts. The party of those moderate men was so strong, that the Judges were equally divided. But the zeal of Religion carried it against the Order of Justice, and instead of following, according to rule, the favourablest side in criminal matters; when Opinions are equally divided about them, they turned over the Cause to the great Chamber, where the Order in case of division was over ruled, and the severest Opinions preferr'd before the most mild and equitable.

1557. The perplexity into which the Court was put, by the loss of the Battle at *St Quentin*, gave the Protestants some hopes they should be allowed a little respite; and therefore they assembled with less caution than before, and among other meetings, they had one at *Paris*, in *St. James's street*, so numerous, that it being impossible to escape the eyes

A Protestant
meeting at
Paris.

of

of the people who saw them come out of the House where they met. The Rabble fell upon them, which caused such an uproar, that the Officers of Justice were fain to come to appease it. In which scuffle some of the Meeters defended themselves against the aggressours and got away, and others *escaped* by several means; but however, above 100 of them were seized, among which, were some Maids of Honour to the *Q.* And that Princess herself who was nothing less than what she had a mind to appear, and who desired to pass for a sober chaste Lady, was not unwilling to be suspected to incline to the Protestant opinions. The better sort of People had a high conceit of them, and thought them of unblameable Manners; but the Rabble were incensed against them by most horrible calumnies; for sometimes it was reported they were Jews, and used to eat a Paschal Lamb at their Nightly Meetings; sometimes that they eat a Pig there instead of a Lamb, and sometimes, that they roasted Children there, and made great cheer at those monstrous entertainments, after which they put out the Candles, and coupled together with all manner of unlawful Embraces. Nay, and there were some so furiously Zealous against them, that they had the impudence to affirm they had participated at those infernal Devotions. Several of those thus taken were burnt, but the rest fortunately made use of all the shifts they could find out in Law, to delay their Sentence, during which time, the Germans and Swissers, of whom the K. at that time stood in great need, interceded for them, and those severities were by little and little moderated, for fear of offending such necessary Friends as they. The next Summer the people took a fancy to sing in the Clerks Meadow, a place where all the Town used to divert themselves with walking, Marot's singing Psalms that were set to very fine Musical Tunes: which novelty at first was so pleasing, that the next day after, the K. and Q. of Navar went thither, with an incredible multitude of People: but the Clergy were terribly alarmed at it, and endeavoured with all their power, to procure all such Assemblies to be suppressed; and their zeal in that was very singular, because they could not endure people should sing in the open Field what they had without controul sung in their Houses several years together, and at the Court it self; during all which time, that singing was never thought any mark of Heresie. But ever since that Enterprize, to these last years, the singing of

The Character of Queen Katharine de Medicis.

Calumnies against the Protestants.

Singing of Psalms in publick.

Psalms has always been insupportable to the *Clergy*; and tho the y never employed any *serious* efforts to hinder the singing of *Prophane* and *filthy* Songs, which have been too rife at all times; yet on the contrary, they never pursued any thing with so much eagerness as their endeavours to deprive the *Protestants* of the *Consolation* of singing with freedom those *holy Canticles*.

The Original of the Factions.

About that time first appear'd in *France* that competition of those two *Rival Parties*, that afterwards had like to have ruin'd it, and which was, as 'twere the *Fountain-head* of all the other *Factions*. One of them was that of the *Princes of Lorain*, who took advantage by the defeat and taking of the *Constable* to augment their own greatness. The other was that of the *Constable himself*, and his *Family*, who possessed most of the great *Employments*. That Lord huddled up the *Treaty of Cateau in Cambresis*, out of eagerness, by a *Peace*, to procure his *liberty* and opportunity to return to the *Court*, to prevent the ruin of his house. But the *Cardinal of Lorain* made use of the same *Treaty* to find occasions to destroy him; for he had a *secret Conference* with *Granvelle* Cardinal, Bp. of *Arras*, who complain'd to him how highly persons tainted with *Hereſie*, were favoured in the *Court of France*, and named in particular *Andelot*, Brother to the *Admiral of Chatillon*, and Nephew to the *Constable*; which was an *Artifice* to engage the *Lorain Cardinal* whose *Genius* *Granvelle* very well knew, in a *Quarrel* with the *Family* of those *Lords*, in assured expectation that by the *mutual opposition* of those two *Parties*, the *Kingdom* would be brought into great *confusions* which would be of *considerable advantage* to the *House of Austria*. The *Cardinal* being a vain and busy man, and who in his great designs had not always the *prudence* and *constancy* to carry them on, snapt presently at the *Bait*, thinking to find his account in the *News* he had heard, because he knew the *suspicion* of *Hereſie* was enough to *Exasperate* *Henry II.* to ruin the greatest of his *Favourites*. And accordingly he accuses *Andelot*, upon which the *K.* immediately sending for him, and requiring to know the truth from his own Mouth, he answered in so resolute a manner, and declared his sense about the *Mysteries of the Roman Church* in such vigorous terms, that the *Historians* of that time durst not repeat his *Expressions*. At which the *K.* fell into such a fit of fury, that he suffered his passion to transport him to commit very *undecent Actions*, for

1559.
The courageous behaviour of Andelot.

for he would have Kill'd him, and in the attempt, wounded the Dauphin his Son who was near him. In fine, Andelot was sent to Prison, and depriv'd of all his places. But when the K's passion was over, the Constable, after some difficulty, found credit enough to procure his Restoration. And so the Cardinal's artifice had no other effect for that time, than to provoke against him the Resentment of those puissant Houses, and to inform the Protestants, That some of the most considerable Lords of the Kingdom were of their Opinion.

This then hindred not the Reformation to continue its progress, 1559. for it was embraced by persons of all sorts of conditions. It gain'd a great number of Church-men and Men of Learning, and was well re-lished by the most eminent Persons in the very Parliament of Paris; so that the severities there went on more heavily than ordinary, tho the K. hotly pressed the Execution of his Edict of Chateau-Briant. Having then sent a new Order to the Parliament, commanding them exactly to observe it; Some Spies inform'd him, that notwithstanding that, their Votes tended still towards moderation; upon which, he goes suddenly thither, when he was least expected, and surpris-es them when their deliberations were already very far advanced, and after he had patiently heard them till they came to a conclusion, he ordered several of them to be seised. Du Bourg and Du Faur were taken in their Houses, and search was made after others which could not be found. The Prisoners were Tryed by special Commissioners; but tho they drove on the business with all the hast they could to satisfy the K's impatience, yet he had not the pleasure to see the end of it; for Death prevented him, and when he thought of nothing but Joy and Divertisement, he was kill'd by Montgomery whom he would needs force to break a Lance with him. The Death of Henry the 2d.

A little before the renewing of those severities, the Deputies of the Churches already form'd in the Provinces, held, in the Suburbs of St. Germain at Paris, their first National Synod, and drew up that confession of Faith, which they retain to this day, and the first articles of the Discipline which has since been observ'd in all the Churches of the Kingdom. That Synod lasted four days in the midst of the Fires and Gibbets, which were prepared in all quarters of the Town, and it was held with so exact a secrecy, that the Assembly was neither discovered nor disturbed. The first French Protestant National Synod.

Francis II.
succeeds.
The state of
the Court.
The Nature
of the In-
trigues and
Characters
of the chief
persons.

After the *Death* of Henry II. all things changed at Court, except *Vices*, which having taken root there during his *Luxurious Reign*, assumed still a greater *Empire* under those of his *Children*. The *Interests* there were very different, and the *Intrigues* much divided. The *Q. Katharine* being *Ambitious, Voluptuous, Cruel, Vindictive, Perfidious*, and of a humour to sacrifice every thing to her *Passions*; had a mind to retain the *Authority* in her own hands. The *K. of Navar* was of an unequal *Temper*, wavering in his *Religion*, weak-spirited, timorous, devoted to his *Pleasure*, and easy to be govern'd by any that knew how to take him at their *advantage*, and bore a greater *Figure* than sway at Court. The *Prince* his Brother was *Bold, Valiant, Active*, firm in his *Resolutions*, and fixed in the *Reformed Religion* by motives mixed with *Ambition* and *Conscience*, but most extremely poor for a person of his *high Quality*. *Mompensier* and *la Roche-sur yon* had more zeal than knowledg in matters of *Religion*. The *Guises* were animated with a violent *Ambition*, and besides were all-powerful at Court, as well by the consideration of the great *Merits* of the *Duke* of that Name, and because they were *Uncles* of the young *Queen*, Wife to *Francis II.* who being a very beautiful *Princess*, was in power, by virtue of that charming *Prerogative*, to assume a great *Empire* over the *K.* who was of an easy disposition, and even confining upon down right simplicity. And besides, she was able the more powerfully to second her *Uncles* *Ambition*, because she was a very apt *Scholar* in *Politicks*, and knew to a hair, how to imitate all the *Maximes* of her mother in *Law*, as by the *Sequel* of her *Life* sufficiently appeared. The *Constable* was a little wedded to his *Interest*, but otherwise superstitious, and not very knowing in *Religion*. The *Title* of the first *Christian Baron*, and the *Cry* of War used by those of his *House*, founded upon the same *Fable* from which his *Ancestors* had drawn that *Elogy*, was to him a decisive argument in all controversies. The *Coligni's* were puissant, brave, and persons of Great Honour, and if their *Uncle* had not abandoned them, they might easily have made Head against the *Lorain Princes*. But he supposed to find his account better in joining with the *Guises*, as likewise did *Mompensier* and *La Roche-sur yon*, which obliged his *Nephews* to join with the *Prince of Conde*, whose *Constancy* and exact fidelity to his *Word*, gave them sufficient assurance he would never sacrifice them to his *Fortune*. All which Combinations were

God assists
the just
Christian.

in their first Original nothing but pure *Court-Intrigues*, and Religion was taken into them only by accident, *the Guises* making use of it as a pretence to clear the *Court* of all those that gave them any jealousies; and the *others* were obliged for their better defence against such powerful Enemies, to unite themselves in interest with those which were already united with them in Religion. *Philip II.* then K. of *Spain*, follow'd *the Maxims* of his great Grandfather *Ferdinand*, and like him, in all things he did, improved the pretence of Religion to the utmost advantage. He had signalized himself by the persecution of *the Protestants* in all his Dominions, to that degree of Rigour, that he spared not the Memory of his own Father; and therefore was far from neglecting so fair an occasion as the same pretence of Religion then gave him to divide *France*, by exciting one of these Parties to ruin the other. All this, joyned to the extream corruption of *the Court*, in which debauchery and impiety were made soon after, the most powerful Tools of Policy, were the Cause why the Condition of the Protestants was rendred not a whit better than before.

How Religion came to be concern'd in these Intrigues.

There were erected in the Parliaments certain Courts of Justice called *Burning Chambers*, which burn'd a sufficient number of those who past for *Hereticks*, to deserve the Title given them. The President *de St. Andre* signalized himself by his Cruelties, in the Jurisdiction of *the Parliament of Paris*, being vigorously seconded by *Le Moine*, *Inquisitor de Mouchi*, so named from the Village where he was born, from whence likewise those that served him for Spies or Informers, to discover *the Protestant meetings*, took the Name of *Mouchards*, which has since remain'd to all those that have follow'd the same Employments. That bloody Hangman afterwards changed his Name, and assumed the barbarous appellation of *Demochares*, under which he is known in History. And those Spies, or some like them, who were almost all of them *Apostates from the Reformation*, were the men that published those Calumnies against the Protestants I have before recited. A little while after, the people, the better to discover those that were season'd with *Protestant principles*, being mov'd thereto, either by their own *Superstition*, or by the *Zealots*, took a Freak to set up *Images at the corners of streets*, and to force all passers by to salute them, and they that refused it were accounted to have good luck, if they escaped only with a basting,

Courts of Justice call'd Burning Chambers, erected.

Abominable Superstitions towards Images.

because such a Refusal was reckon'd a mark of *Heresy*. It's true indeed, many of those Objects of Superstition were taken from the people, but instead of being abolisht, they were placed in the *Churches*; And since that, their Passion for Images has increased so prodigiously, that there is not a Town in which they have not erected new ones, and where the people are not used to paint them, to dress them up, to light Lamps and Wax Candles before them, to meet and kneel down before them in the middle of the streets at certain Hours, and sing Hymns and Litanies, all which Extravagancies are at this Day committed more than ever in *the open view* of those very same Guides that take Heaven and Earth to witness *they pay no manner of homage to Images*. In the mean while, *the Trials* went on against the Prisoners, most of which came off with a *slight punishment*. But Counsellor *du Bourg*, after he had shewn some weakness, which he soon retracted, by the Exhortations of *the Ministers*, and *others who writ to him, or visited him*, was condemned to the *flames*, as if he had been a common person. They endeavour'd to blacken him, by accusing him as a Complice in *the assassination of the President de St. Andre*, who had been one of the Commissionated Judges appointed to try him. But that Accusation being sufficiently refuted by the known Probity of *that Venerable Senator*, fell of it self. That President had acted in the whole Examination and Prosecution of that business, more like a passionate Adversary, than an equitable Judge, which *Du Faur*, one of the Prisoners, charged him with very courageously one day; which cruel man hapning to be kill'd before *the Trial of the Prisoners* was over, one Mr. *Stuart*, a *Scotch Gentleman*, and who pretended some Relation to *the Queen*, but in complaisance to *her Uncles*, was disowned by *her*, was taken up upon suspicion for *that murder*; to which, to make weight, they added several other Accusations. But with all their Tricks, they could not convict him by any sufficient Proofs, nor extort any confession out of his Mouth, no not by the torments of *the Wrack*, which he suffer'd with such an unshaken constancy, that as they were unwilling to condemn him upon imperfect Evidence, so they durst not acquit him, because they fear'd him.

Whilst the Protestants were thus outrageously handled, their severe usage exasperated them both to speak and write somewhat warmly in their own defence. But *their Apologies* had the ill luck to

incense the higher Powers but so much the more against them, because they maintain'd, That Women Foreigners ought to be excluded from the Government, and that the administration of it belong'd to the General Estates of the Kingdom, and to the Princes of the Blood, during the minority of Kings, whom they would by no means acknowledg at age fit to govern at 14 years. And about 3 years after, they still brought upon themselves more mischief, by reading in a Synod a Writing drawn up by a certain Author, exhorting them to unite together against despotick Power, Popery and Abuses in Law, which they called the three plagues of human Kind, from which they who live by the Corruption of Religion and Justice, fail'd not to give a malicious turn to the aversion they shew'd for Arbitrary Power, and to take advantage there-from, to reproach and traduce them to this day, as Republicans, and sworn enemies to Monarchy; as if not to flatter Tyranny, were the same thing as to Rebel against a legal Government. The power of the Guises began to grow Insupportable, and there began likewise from that very time, to arise between them and the Royal House of Bourbon, a competition that soon after degenerated into a declared Enmity, so that from that time forward, those two Houses became Irreconcilable foes, which was the true occasion of the attempt of Amboise, tho some will needs have it pass for a pure business of Religion. I shall leave that talk to others, to treat more amply of that subject, and to make use of the Testimony of those who assure us that Q. Katharine had secretly solicited the Admiral to free her out of the hands of the Guises who had assumed all the Authority, and for my own part, shall only be content to assert, That Religion was concern'd in it only by accident, by reason that those who were deprived of their part in the Government due to them by their high Birth, professed the Reformed Religion. Among near 1200 unhappy persons that were destroyed upon that occasion by divers sorts of Punishments, and most of which suffered all the severities of the Tortures; there were but two in all, whom they could force by Torments to say what they would have them; all the rest unanimously maintaining, that their design was only to seize the Lorrain-Princes, and divest them of an Authority, which they ought not to enjoy to the prejudice of the Princes of the Blood. There is therefore as little reason to charge the Reformed Religion with the blame of that Enterprize, supposing that accord-

A project a-
gainst Arbi-
trary Power.

1560.
The enter-
prise of Am-
boise.

ing to the *Rules of Policy* it deserved any, as to *impute to the Roman Religion*, the *conspiracies of the Catholick Princes and Lords*, against the *Tyranny of the Marshal D'Ancre*; or that of the *D. of Orleans*, against the excessive power of *Cardinal Richelieu*; or those of the *Parliaments*, and of the *Prince of Conde*, against the Ministry of *Cardinal Richelieu*, who went on in the steps of his *Predecessour*, to oppress the *publick liberty*: The heads and principal Members of those *Conspiracies*, being *Catholicks*, as those concerned in the design of *Amboise* were *Protestants*. Since therefore the persons concerned in all those several *Intrigues*, were all engaged by the same motives, and the same prospect, they must either be equally imputed to the *Religion of their Authors*, and by consequence the *Roman Religion* must be judged so much the more *Guilt* in this matter, than the *Protestant*, as it has oftener stirr'd in those sorts of *Com-motions* than the other; or else it must be confessed, that *Religion* had no share, but by accident, in those *affairs*, which were purely Politick of their own Nature, and that those *Interests* which set the *Wheels* of those attempts in motion, were indeed properly none of Hers. But the *Cruelty of the Court*, the principal heads of which *diverted* themselves with the horrible *Spectacle* of so many *Executions*, and seeing the blood run down in all the streets of *Amboise*, struck a horror in all moderate persons: And this first *Essay* which was follow'd by so many *Massacres* that stain'd the succeeding reign with so much *Blood*, touched the *Chancellour Oliver* so much to the Heart, that he *Died with grief*, and *L'Hopital* was put in his place, who in *acknowledgment of that Favour*, always adhered to the *Q's interest* as his own. That *Princes* seeing the *Authority of the Guises* increased by their *Success* in the *Enterprise of Amboise*, would not suffer the *Protestants* to be prosecuted to extremity, yet could not induce them by that to place any confidence in her, since for all that they examined in one of their *Synods*, a *Memorial* to be presented to the *General Estates*, in which several things were made use of not at all to her advantage. But however the *Court* kept fair for a while with the *Prince of Conde*, tho they were well enough persuaded, he was privately the chief contriver of that *Enterprise*; and the *D. of Guise*, by a profound *Disimulation* of his *Thoughts*, seemed to assent to his *justification*.

The Cruel-
ty of the
Court.

The Origin-
al of the
word Hug-
uenot.

About the same time the name of *Huguenot* was introduced into the

the World, and because it has been ever since retain'd *as the distinguishing name of a Party*, I may very well without breaking off the thread of my *History*, say something of its *Original*, than which nothing perhaps is more unknown. For they *themselves* that saw this word first brought forth, yet give very different reports of its rise, and perhaps it may not without reason be concluded from thence, that it is one of those *names the rabble invent they know not why*, and that they retain in use without knowing how they came by it. Only every one endeavouring to *explain the Original of the word*, according to their own *particular passion and Interest*, have by false *Etymologies* produced by those causes, made us lose all traces of the true one. For some derive that word from *John Hus*, or from a certain *Sacramentarian*, named *Hugues*, who is feign'd to have liv'd in the time of *Charles VI.* which is grounded only upon an *Analogy of Grammer*, or upon some conformity between the *Doctrin of the one with the other in some Articles*. Some think it comes from the word *Gnostick* ill pronounced, which was applied to the *Protestants*, because they were charged with the like *abominations* those *Hereticks* were accused of, which seems to be a *meer conjecture*, without any ground; as is likewise the *Fancy* of those that fetch it from a certain *Speech* made by some *German Envoys*, which began with these words, *Huc nos*, and which were so ill pronounced, that they made our *Courtiers laugh*, which is indeed a story only fit to be *laught at*. They who have observed, that in process of time the *Protestants* were offended at that Name, as an injurious Term, imagined it came from certain words in the *Suissers Tongue*, signifying *seditions people*, or that it was taken from a sort of small money, of less value than the *Mailles*, which because they were currant in the time of *Hugh Capet*, were called *Huguenots*, which Name was afterwards in contempt applied to the *Protestants*. But there are 3 *Opinions*, which as they are more common, so they are more probable than the rest. That which is most follow'd, is, That it is deriv'd from a certain Spirit, or *Robin Goodfellow*, called at *Tours*, *King Hugon*, from which one of the Gates of the Town was by corruption named the *Gate Fourgon*, instead of the *Porte Hugon*, because that Spectre appear'd sometimes in the *Night*, near that Gate, in the form of *Fire*. Now because the *Protestants* held their Meetings about that quarter, in the *night time*, by reason that the

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persecution was too hot to let them do it in *the day time*. Occasion was thence taken to call them *Huguenots*: To which they further add this story, *That the first advice of that Conspiracy came from Tours, and that they which gave it made use of the term of Huguenot already known in their Town, and which has ever since remain'd in use.* But there is one thing remark'd by Historians, that gives us great reason to doubt of *the solidity of this conjecture*, which is, *That according to them, that Enterprize was carried on so secretly, that the Guises received the first notice of it out of Foreign Countries, and that the first man who informed them of it in France, was one Des Avenelles, an Advocate of the Parliament of Paris, at whose House La Renaudie, a known Ringleader in that Conspiracy, was lodged, and to whom he was forced to reveal it, to obviate the suspicions the great concourse of people to his house had justly rais'd against him: So that it could not be from Tours that the Court received the first Information of that Mystery.* The 2^d Opinion is much more probable, which deduces that word from those words in the *Swiss* Language, *Eid genossen*, which signifies, *Allies*, and which were brought into *France* by the *Ministers* which come from that Country, as for a like reason they were called *Fribours*, in *Poitou*, whilst it was believ'd that the *Canton of Fribourg* corresponded with those of *Geneva*, in matters of *Religion*. Which Name became more common after the *Enterprize of Amboise*, because that was the first occasion in which the *Protestants* appeared united for their common Interest, and in which they most constantly observed the Faith they had mutually given to one another. And yet the 3^d Opinion is no less probable than that, which pretends that Name to be derived from *Hugh Capet*, because the *Protestants* were headed by a Prince of that Royal House, and stiffly maintain'd their Interest against the *Intrigues of Foreign Princes*, who endeavour'd to deprive it of the Government. 'Tis true, it is not very likely the *Guises* had as yet fram'd any designs upon the *Crown*; but there are several unquestionable Circumstances that give a great appearance of probability to this Opinion. The *Guises* were then become very newly allied to the *Throne*, by the marriage of their Niece to the K. and had any Children proceeded from it, they would have been much nearer a kin to them than the *Bourbons*, who were 9 or 10 Removes off; That is to say, at such a degree of distance, in which

all *Hereditary Right* seems naturally to cease of it self. They had likewise at that time a great power at *Court*, close correspondence with *Spain*, a particular Enemy to the *House of Bourbon*, because of their mutual competition for the *usurped Kingdom of Navar*, and had entertain'd a formal design entirely to usurp the *administration of affairs from that Noble House*. Besides, it appears by the Writings, and by the Acts of the *Synods* of the Protestants, that even in those early days they already asserted the *Rights of the Bourbons*, and endeavour'd to maintain them in *that Authority*, against the encroaching attempts of all Foreigners, not excepting the *Q. Mother her self*: So that they were declared Partisans of the *Capetians*. As therefore from the *Name of Pope*, the *Guises*, and their Adherents, who made Religion a serviceable Tool for their Interests, were called *Papists*, and from the *Name of Guises* were called *Guisards*, or *Guishians*, by the Protestants; It is probable, that from the *Name of Hugues*, i.e. *Hugh*, the Rights of whose Family the Protestants so stiffly maintain'd, they were called *Hugenots*, which Name grew publick at the time of the Enterprize of *Amboise*, because that was an eminent occasion in which the opposition of those 2 *Factions* first broke out, and put the world upon inventing Names to distinguish them. Which is the more confirmed, because in the Memorials of that time we find that the Protestants at first esteem'd it an *honourable Name*, as thinking without doubt, it was in effect a *Glorious Monument of their Loyalty*, in defending the Interests of *their lawful Princes* against the attempts of *Usurpers*. But after the Memory of those Transactions was abolish'd by divers Edicts, and especially by the Extinction of the *Guishan Faction*, they had reason to complain they should still be called by *that Name*, because it renewed the Memory of those Troubles, and was given them by *the people*, who were ignorant of the Original word, as a Name of some party of Conspirators, on purpose to brand them with disgrace. But to return from this digression, and re-continue the Series of Events, I shall remark, That attempts were made about that time to establish the *Inquisition* in France, and that the *Chancellor*, who would fain have hindered *that pernicious Institution*, unwillingly consented, that *Causes of Heresie* should be once more turned over to the *Bishops*, of whom there were some not very ill-inclin'd to the Protestants: For *Marillac*, Archbishop of *Pienna*, and *Monluc*, Bp. of *Valence*,

spoke favourably for them in an Assembly held at *Fountain-Bleau*, where *the Admiral* presented a Petition in the Name of the persecuted party, for whom he begg'd Liberty of Conscience. The Court seem'd dispos'd to *moderation*, and accordingly talkt of calling a *National Council*, prohibited all provocations on either side, and put a stop to any further Executions; so that during that shadow of peace the Protestants began to hold publick Meetings in several Provinces. But yet when they least expected it, the P. of *Conde* was made Prisoner, his Enemies having gain'd time in that deceitful Calm with which they had purposely amused the World, to take *the surer measures against him*, and pretended a discovery of *his being engag'd* in new designs; upon which he was prosecuted with *such extraordinary diligence*, that *the Sentence of Condemnation* was already signed by all his Judges, except only *the Chancellor*, who *held off* as long as he could; and he had certainly lost *his Life*, if *the K.'s sudden death* had not deliver'd him from that tragical end; which hap'n'd so patly for his advantage, that it gave occasion to their *Adversaries* to impute it to the Protestants, to insinuate as if they had shortened that *Princes days* by the hands of his Surgeon who was of their Religion. But sincere Historians have discharged them of that reproachful Calumny, by informing the World, That Francis II. had some natural Infirmities that brought on him that fate; that his Brain had no vent at all to purge it self by the ordinary Conduits made for that use, as in other men; that about a year before his Death there appeared upon his Face, some pimples that were taken for signs of some extraordinary Distemper, which 'tis reported, his Physicians went about to cure by a yet more extraordinary Remedy. From which it may easily be judg'd, how much his Blood was tainted, and how extreme full his Body was of corrupt humours.

A false appearance of Moderation.

The P. of Conde imprisoned.

The sudden death of Francis II. fairly imputed to the Protestants.

Charles IX records. The Estates assembled, who seem to favour the Protestants.

The Estates who were in great haste Assembled towards the end of the year, gave the Protestants some hopes that the Q. Mother would be no longer so much against them; because the Chancellor her Creature was so bold there, as openly to censure all violent proceedings upon the account of Religion; the Guises were fallen from their former Credit, as not having the same Ascendant over Charles IX. who succeeded his Brother, as they had had over the deceased K. who had Married their Niece; the Admiral having been

been offensively treated in the *Speech made by the Deputy of the Clergy at the opening of the Assembly*, reparation was made him for the *Indignity*. The *Prince of Conde* was acquitted; and the *Bishops of Seez and Valens* having *Preached at the Court* something very like the *Doctrin* of those called *Hereticks*, were by the Q. protect-
ed against the clamours of the *Zealots*; nay, she writ to the *Pope* himself in their favour, and seconded their demands for the *Resti-
tution of the Cup to the Laity*, and for the celebration of *Divine service in the vulgar Tongue*; and granted them the first *Edict for Tolera-
tion* that ever was vouchsafed them: but she not being a Woman that could long forbear shewing her self in her true Colours, she her self stir'd up the *Constable* to *Murmur at it*; and the more ef-
fectually to hinder the *Parliaments* from obeying it, she slyly or-
dered it to be directed contrary to custom, to the *Presidial Courts*, and accordingly the *Parliaments* fail'd not to complain of such an
Irregularity, and to oppose it by *contrary Decrees*. And the *Court* fell again into the same *irresolution* they had often been in before, whom to declare the most competent *Judges of Causes of Heresy*, and by an *Edict* of the Month of *July*, divided a new that *Jurisdiction*
between the *Presidial* and *Bishops Courts*, authorising the one, to
judg of the *unlawfulness of Assemblies*, and the other, of the *Doctrin*
Preached in them, the *Clergy* having well *Bribed* them for that fa-
vour; for taking a *hot Alarm* at some proceedings of the *Estates* who
were removed to *Pontoise*, that tended to favour the *Protestants*, they
politickly ransomed themselves from that fear, by consenting to a sub-
sidy of four tenths of six years. But the best thing done in the *Edict*
of the *Protestants* was, That it moderated the punishment of *Heresies*,
which before was *Death*, to *Banishment* only.

In that year was the first rise of the *Triumvirate*, that is to say, *The Rise of
of the threefold League* between the D. of *Guise*, the *Constable*, and the *Trium-
virate*,
the *Marshal de St. Andre*; the last of which engaged in it to exempt
himself from giving an account of *immense sums of Money* he had
embezel'd And the *Constable* did the same, for fear of being oblig-
ed to pay back a sum of 100000 *Crowns*. And tho *Religion* was one
of the pretences of the *Union*, by which they did a World of *Mis-
chief to the Protestants*, yet it was to those other sordid interests that
the *Roman Religion* was chiefly obliged to for its preservation. But *The Confe-
rence at Pon-
idy*,
there was nothing more remarkable in the whole course of that year
than

than *the Colloquy or Conference of Poissy*, which held all *Europe* for some time in suspense. There never was any *Assembly* that ever made so much noise, nor yet any that produced so little effect, excepting only that they gave some *Alarm* to *Rome*. The beginnings of it were *pompous and stately*, for all the *Court* was present at it, as well as several *Cardinals* and *Bishops*; it began on both sides with very solid and grave *Orations*; but one word which *Beza* unluckily let fall in his *Discourse*, served for a pretence to the *Cardinal de Tournon*, and others of his party, to make a noise, and to dissuade the *K.* from continuing to honour those *Disputes* any longer with his *Presence*. And so that publick *Conference* dwindled into private *Disputations*, and the *Bps.* either disdainig, or being afraid to confer with the *Ministers*, the whole business was committed only to some private *Doctors*, and at last the *Conferences* were quite broken off; after which, instances being made in vain to Renew them, The *Protestant Deputies* grew weary of being sham'd off with so many delays, and went away when they found they were amused only with vain hopes. They spent some Months in reconciling the differences about some controverted Articles; but when the persons commissioned to treat of them, had agreed upon any point, it was always travers'd by some zealous *Drs.* who made *Oppositions* and *Protestations* against such *Accommodations*; which particularly hapned about the matter of *Image-Worship*. For the *Dean of the Colledge of Divinity* hotly opposed what had been concluded concerning their use, and stiffly maintain'd, that they ought not to abate an ace of what the *Roman Church* had once *authorised*, tho' own'd to be introduc'd at first by *evil custom*. And so obstinately have the *Clergy* of our times adher'd to that *Maxim*, that they never would consent to purchase the return of the *Protestants* to their *Communion*, with the price of any of the least *Abuses* tolerated by the *Roman Church*. And besides, from the very beginning of that *Conference*, there appear'd a certain *presage*, That no good could be expected from it, since the *Clergy* at *Poissy*, about 11 days after the opening of their *Assembly*, which was the 4th of *September*, when the *Parliament* had referred to them the *Jesuits Petition*, for leave to settle in *France*, authorised them to fix in *Paris*, upon condition which that *Society* never observed. And so that very *Assembly* from whom the *World* expected an equitable accommodation of dif-

1561.

1562.

The name
of the French
at Paris.

dis-

differences in Religion, effectually served for nothing else but to establish in the Kingdom the most mortal enemies of all equity, and that have taken up *ambition, perfidiousness and cruelty* for the chief maxims of their Politicks.

The Cardinal of Lorrain had shewn some little inclination to the Lutherans Opinion about the real presence, and had order'd a Formulary to be drawn up, that differ'd not from their principles. Now whether he was really of that Opinion, or only dissembled an inclination for it, out of some politick consideration, is not known. But certain it is, at least, that he, and the Duke his Brother, made use of that Artifice effectually to hinder the Duke of Wirtemberg, with whom they had an interview with Savern, from confederating with the P. of Conde, who sought his Alliance. The K. of Navar likewise, at the persuasion of the Tutor to his Natural Son, had testified the same inclination, but yet never stuck to any settled Opinion in Religion, but continued wavering and doubtful in that matter to his dying day.

The inconsistency of the Cardinal of Lorrain.

and of the K. of Navar.

1561.

There hapned a great sedition that year at Paris, where the Protestants were met for their Religious Exercises. For the Catholics having a Church hard by their Meeting, were so malicious as to ring their Bells with more noise, and much longer than ordinary, purposely to disturb the Minister, and his Auditors, by their jangling; upon which the Protestants sending 2 men unarmed, civilly to intreat them to leave off that troublesome ringing, The Catholics were pleased to knock one of the messengers on the head, but the other got away. Upon that, the people easily took fire on both sides, and fell so fiercely together by the ears, that the City Guards, which were then employed to prevent such Accidents, were not able to suppress them. The Protestants over-powered their Adversaries in this Scuffle, and the doors of the Church were broken open, the Images battered to peices, some Catholics killed, and some Priests put in prison. But the Protestants were made to pay dearly for that advantage; for the Parliament condemn'd them for it, and hang'd up 2 or 3 of them, and imprison'd their very Witnesses for appearing in their favour. Which Example has been followed ever since, and the unhappy party always judg'd in the wrong even after they have been treated with the most outrageous violence. They were used in the same manner too a little while after, upon the occasion

A sedition at Paris against the Protestants.

1562. cation of *the Massacre at Vassè*, which the Domestick Servants of the D. of Guise committed in their Mrs. presence, killing about 60 persons, and wounding above 200. For tho' the Q. promised them Justice for it, yet the K. of Navar, whom the *Triumvirs* had wrought over to their *Interests*, received Beza but very ill, when he came to complain of it to him; and the Duke of Guise, and Marshal de St. Andre baffled all their Prosecutions for the punishment of the *Criminals*, and the whole blame of the *Massacre* was at last thrown upon the pretended impatient humour of the *Protestants*. And yet that action was a thing of no slight consequence, because besides the cruelty of the Fact, it was a Breach of the *Edict of January*, which was the first that granted a free exercise of the Reformed Religion in publick, and was drawn up with the approbation of an *Assembly of the Notables, or select Council of Nobility*, but not verified without great opposition, especially at Paris, where after several reiterated commands, it was at last Registered with this *provisional clause*; That it was done in consideration of the present conjuncture of Affairs, without approving the new Religion, and to remain in force no longer than the K. should order otherwise. That *Edict* was an effect of the extraordinary favour the Admiral was then in with the Q. who highly caress'd him, which gave so much jealousy to the *Triumvirs*, that they retired from Court. But that

The strength of the Protestants. The French term for Protestant Meeting places. The short favour of the Admiral with the Queen.

The first man undertaken by the Queens Order.

great Lord suffering his eyes to be dazled, by the Artifices of the Queen, discovered to her a little too much the strength of his Party by demanding of her the liberty of building Temples or Churches for 2150 Protestant Congregations. For the Q. thereupon demanded to see a particular account of the number of each Congregation, which he refusing, as being sensible he had already been too open-hearted with her. Ever after that she was shie of the Admiral, as being unwilling to depend on him.

But the *Triumvirs* were not long absent from the Court, but returning and restoring to the *Parisians*, who where passionately affected to them, their Arms again, they reduced the Q. into such danger of losing her Authority, that she was forced to have recourse to the Prince of Conde to deliver her out of their hands, authorising him by pressing Letters, wherein she recommended to him the K. the Kingdom and her self, and complains, *That the Guises*

Guises kept her in Captivity, requiring him to take up Arms, under the specious pretence of delivering the King and Queen. But that Princess afterwards falling into the power of the Confederates, and being constrain'd to disown the Commission she had given the Prince to take Arms, he sent her Original Letters to those German Princes to whom he had a mind to justify his Conduct, which she took for so heinous an Affront, that she would never pardon it to him. However, to hinder the people from joyning with the Prince, another *Edit* was publisht in the King's Name, to confirm the *Edit* of January, which granted an Indemnity for all that was past, and permission for the free publick Exercise of the Reformed Religion every where, but in the City and Suburbs of Paris. But the Prince baffled that Stratagem, by publishing the Copy of a Treaty of Confederacy concluded between the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Guises, against the Protestants, which he had newly intercepted. Not but that on that, and all other like occasions, there was always a considerable number of Protestants that suffer'd themselves to be deceived by those *Illusory Edicts*; Nay, and that there always was some of them that have been wheedled in to bear Arms too against their Brethren, for the Court-Interest. But yet still the Division was not so great as very much to weaken the Princes Party; who, sometime after the Queen had disowned them, having called a Council of Conscience of sixty Ministers, to consult whether it were lawful after that, to continue the War; they came to this Resolution, That since those Arms were at first taken up by Order of that Princess, whilst rice, against the Enemies of the King, and the State, and the Violaters of Edicts, they were lawfully taken up, and ought not to be laid down (by any Counter-Order proceeding from her) whilst under the force of hers, and their common Enemies.

The Triple League between the Pope, the R. of Spain, and the Guises, against the Protestants.

This War was very cruel in many places, because there were some Commanders on each side, that prosecuted it without any Mercy. For *Des Adrets*, on the Protestant side, was noted for his Cruelties, and *Monluc*, on the other, would spare no body; Nay, and *Mompensier* too, signalised himself not a little by his Inhumanities. However, this difference there was between the Cruelties of the Two Parties, That those of the Catholicks were a continuation of what they had exercised for near 40 years past, by so many Butcherly Executions; and those of the Protestants were but actions of men made desperate by so long and barbarous a persecution. Which, by the way, deserves to be remarked against the *Roman Catholick Historians*, who always excuse, as much as they can, the Excesses of their own people, though never so villainous, but represent the Violences of the Princes Forces much horridier than they were. And indeed the Protestants found no mercy at all; No Faith of Treaties was ever kept with them, and not being content to destroy them by Fights and Massacres, The Catholicks wherever they had power, further employed against them the forms of Justice. But nothing more furiously incensed the People

The Cruelties of Monluc, and Des Adrets, and of the Catholicks in general.

ple against them, than their breaking of *Images*, and burning of *Relicks* in several places. That likewise occasioned many bloody *Edicts* against them; and the *Parliaments* would needs stretch the severity of those Acts of the Council yet to a higher pitch, by their *Decrees*, especially those of *Paris*, *Rean*, *Dijon* and *Tholouse*. And tho the *Catholick* Armies were guilty of as many outrages as the others, yet the *Protestants* bore the blame of all, and were charged with the Sacrileges even of their Enemies.

The Massacre at Sens.

Foreigners called into France.

The battel of Dreux.

A new *Massacre* of the *Protestants* which hapned at *Sens*, by the Cardinal of *Lorrain's* fault, who was *Archbishop* of that Town, broke off the *Negotiations* for a Peace, and the War was continued a fresh both by Arms and Writings. In which the *Catholicks* were the first that had recourse to Foreign Aid, and the *Protestants* imitated them, by procuring assistance from *Queen Elizabeth* of *England* who leased of *Havre de Grace* for her security. But before her forces could joyn the *Princes* Army, a Battle was fought near *Dreux*, the success of which on both sides was so equal, that the Duke of *Guise* was the only gainer by it. The King of *Navar* died some time before of a wound he received at the Siege of *Rean*, the *Marshal de St Andre* was killed, and the *Constable* taken in this Battle, so that the Duke had now neither superiour nor competitour at Court. The Prince of *Conde* was likewise taken Prisoner, but that hindred not his party from standing upon such high conditions, that no Peace could be agreed upon. The Duke afterwards laying Siege to *Orleans*, was there Assassinated by one *Poltrot*, which miserable wretch being taken, Accused the *Admiral* and *Reza*, and several others as his litigatours to that enterprize, and tho he often varied in his answers upon Examinations, yet he accused the *Admiral* with a little more constancy than the rest. However he was willingly credited in that point; and the young Duke of *Guise* continuing, ever from that time, a resentment against that Lord, as guilty of the Charge, revenged himself nine years after, upon several thousands of Innocents, whose blood he mingled with the *Admirals*, to expiate the death of his Father.

1563.

The Siege of Orleans.
The Murder of the Duke of Guise,
charged upon the Admiral by the Wretch that did it.

The *Tragical Death* of that great Man, damp't the vain thoughts of the Cardinal of *Lorrain* then at *Trent*. whither the Council had been removed the third time by a Bull of *Pius IV.* where the *French Ambassadors* had waited a good while for the coming of the *Bishops* of their Nation; but the Cardinal came thither at last, attended with some *Prelates*, with a full Resolution to insist upon thirty four *Articles of Reformation* which seemed to be much desired by the *Queen* and especially the *Restitution of the Cup*, and the *Marriage of Priests*. The same accident likewise put the Court upon other Measures, and dispos'd matters to a Peace; for which an *Edict* was agreed upon at *Amboise*. The Prince took advice only of the Nobility of his Party who were weary of the War, and would not hearken to the Counsel of threescore and ten Ministers, who would have persuaded him to abate nothing of the

A Peace concluded.

Edict of January. The Admiral was not at all content with this proceeding. But however he was forced to seem to approve of what he could not hinder; and to accept an Edict much less favourable than the former, and where the *Distinction of Rights of Exercise by virtue of Fiefs, Possession, and Bailynicks*, was introduced.

The Peace was followed by an Event at which the Court of Rome was highly offended. The Cardinal of Chatillon Bishop of Beauvais, which is one of the most antient Peerages of the Kingdom, turning to the Religion of the Admiral his Brother, quitted both the Name and Habit of his Ecclesiastical Dignity, and retain'd only that of Count of Beauvais. The Pope thereupon cited him, and depriv'd him of his Cardinals Hat. But that Lord, to shew how little he valued the Papal Censure immediately took up again his Cardinals Habit, and wore it at all Ceremonies at which he was present, and even at the Registring of the Kings Declaration upon the Subject of his Majority; nay and to carry his contempt further he Married a Lady, and wore his Cardinals Habit on his Wedding day. The same year the Cardinal of Lorrain called a Synod at Rheims, where the Cardinal of Chatillon appeared not, tho he were Suffragan of Rheims, as Bishop of Beauvais.

They who were present at it, were content only to agree upon a resolution to give notice to the King, that that Prelate was Excommunicated at Rome for a Heretick. But that was put off till 1569. when the Parliament Declared him a Rebel, and deprived him of all his Dignities, turning him over to the Judgment of his Superiour as to what concern'd the Common Crime. But they durst not at first explain what they meant by the term Superiour, for fear of offending the Pope; but in another Decree, they plainly owned, that by Superiour, they meant his Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Rheims with the Bishops his Suffragans, conformably to the Liberties of the Gallican Church. And in fine, when this Cardinals Widow moved after the passing of that Edict, to have her Marriage confirmed, she could not obtain it, as I shall shew more fully in time and place. The pretence urged against her, was, That there appear'd no Evidence neither by writing nor witnesses, to prove it an Authentick Marriage, and not Claudefine. It's true indeed it was then 20 years since it was done, and there remain'd but one man alive that could witness it; but yet that hindred it not from being very true, that the Marriage was celebrated by the consent, and in the presence of the Cardinals Brothers, and with all the Solemnity that the Simplicity of the Reformation, and the circumstances of that juncture of time could permit.

That Cardinal passed in the time of the following Wars, into England, to demand assistance from Queen Elisabeth, but as he was about to return into France, he was basely poisoned by one of his own domestick Servants.

The Chancellor took his opportunity after the Edict of Peace, to publish another commanding all the King's Subjects to pay Tithes as before, to the Church men. And it was not doubted, but that Edict

1564.
The Marriage of the Cardinal of Chatillon, and its consequences.

i. e. Heresy.

1568.

1571.

1563.
Tithes confirmed to the Roman Clergy.

was the preservation of the *Roman Church*, because had the *Protestants* been suffered to escape free from paying those dues, all that had any Goods or Estates lyable to pay Tithes, would have wheeled about to their Party, out of greediness to augment their Revenues at one jerko a full tenth part. Yet for all that, it appears by the repeated complaints of the Clergy in all their Assemblies, that they had much ado to enjoy the benefit of that Edict. And 'tis only since the *Edict* of *Nants*, that they have been established in the full possession of those dues. And then indeed that question was contradictorily decided to the advantage of the Church-men, and the recompense granted to the *Protestants* to indemnify them for what they paid in Tyths, took from them all colour of renewing any more preences on that Subject; for till then, the Clergy had not been able to keep possession of those Rights, because the *Protestants* paid them nothing in places where they were strong enough to avoid it; and the *Catholicks* in many places, and especially the Gentry paid them but 'en what they listed. But that Edict fortifying them with a new Title, they recovered by little and little the full enjoyment of all their Rights, and under pretence of explaining, or confirming them against the pretensions of the *Protestants*, they often procured orders, which they made use of to the Disadvantage of the *Catholicks* themselves; So that they that for time out of mind had been obliged only to pay certain fixed Tythes, were then forced to pay Tyths of the *Artichokes*, *Melons*, *Pumpions*, nay, and of their *Marjoram*, and in a word, of all the Herbs of their Gardens. And for the obtaining those Orders, the Clergy was not ashamed to vacate the old customs that were confirmed by an interrupted possession of 2 or 300 years. After the Peace, both Parties contended which should be most active in re-taking *Havre de Grace* from the *English*, who had a mind to keep it; and the *Protestants* seemed to espouse the cause with more heat than the others, the better to wipe off the reproach cast upon them, of having given new footing in the Kingdom, to a Foreign People that had been so long its mortal Enemies. At his return from that Expedition, the King was declared Major at *Roan*, and put forth a new Edict to confirm that of *Amboise*, which was again renewed towards the end of the year by another which explained some dubious Articles of it. But when the King was return'd to *Paris*, the *Admiral* was impeacht for the Murther of the *Duke of Guise*; the affairs was very difficult to decide at that Juncture of time, because of the equal Ballance that seemed to be between the power of the *Accusers*, and that of the *Accused*, and therefore after several insignificant proceedings, it was cunningly put off for three years.

The same year likewise there began to appear, at *Tholouse* and elsewhere, some seeds of a League against the *Protestants*, and the famous Council of *Trent* was at last terminated, which having been long desired, as the only salve for the Divisions of Europe, was for some time

At *Tholouse*
6. & 8.
March
1640.
At the great
Council, the
23. Feb.
1648.
The re-ta-
king of *Havre de*
Grace.

The end of
the Council
of *Trent*.
1563.

time as 'twere the Shittle-stock of the Policy of Princes, and the Terror of the Court of Rome, which was afraid, that in such a ticklish time in which she was so much cried down, a Council would in spite of her attempt a Reformation of her intolerable Errours and Abuses. But yet at last that Court found its account well enough here, and that Council degenerated into a manifest Cabal, confirmed all Abuses to the advantage of the Roman See, exalted her above Princes, and made the yoke of the Roman Church more heavy than ever upon mens Consciences.

The next year, the Spaniards did what they could to re-kindle a new War; but the time was not yet seasonable to hearken to them. In expectation therefore of a better occasion, they conspired with the Catholics of Bearn to seize the Queen of Navar and her Children, and to deliver them to the Inquisition for Hereticks, which if effected, would have given a fair occasion to Philip II. to make himself Master of the rest of their Dominions, which had elcaped from the Ambition of his Great Grandfather. The Conspiracy was discovered, but yet Queen Katharine had particular reasons worthy of her self, not to order the person to be taken up, that was the chief Intriguer in it. Four years after, the Queen of Navar, who was forced to provide for her own and her Childrens safety, by flying to Rochel, from the fury of the same Revolted Subjects, sent from thence Montgomery to chastise them, after which she Banisht quite out of her Country all exercise of the Roman Religion, under the pretence of which, such a horrid Treatment was design'd her; And that was done by the consent of the States, without which nothing can be legally done in that Principality, So that the Catholics lost all their Priviledges there, by a just punishment for their furious Attempt, in going about to deliver their Lawful Sovereign Princess into the Power of a Foreign Jurisdiction, and the Reformation was by this means received there by the concurrence of that double Authority in which the Legislative Power of that Country Resides. We shall see afterwards what respect was had to those considerations, under the Grand-child of that Princess.

But in France the Protestants were not long at quiet, without new occasions to be jealous of the Court; for they were ill treated almost every where, and saw their Tranquillity openly conspired against; And the Pope, the King of Spain and Duke of Savoy loudly demanded by their Ambassadors, that the Edict might be Revoked, and the Decrees of the late Council Publisht, to which the King's answer was in such general and ambiguous Terms, that the Protestants could not but be alarmed at it. And besides the Pulpits every where resounded with nothing but the praises of the King of Spain, whom they extolled to the Skies, as the great Extirpator of Hereticks; and a Deputy of Burgundy in an Oration to the King, passionately prest him to suffer but one Religion in his Kingdom. Many Violences and Massacres were committed in divers places without any punishment

1564.

1568.

AR. voluti-
on in Bearn.

1569.

1565.

New occa-
sions of jea-
lously given
the Protest-
ants.

inflicted on the Authors. The concessions of the *Edict* were invalidated by distorted Interpretations, which were renewed again in our Time. The Ministers were forced to reside in the places where their Temples, or Meeting places were; and they were permitted to teach no Schools. The exercise of the *Protestant Religion* was suspended in all places whither the Court hapned to pass. The Privileges of the Protestant Lords were clipt, and none suffered to come to the Religious Exercises in their Houses, but such as were their own Subjects or Vassals. All *Synodical Assemblies* were forbidden. No Money was suffered to be Levied for the Maintenance of their *Ministers*. The Marriages of such who had been Priests, Monks, or Nuns, were disannulled. The *Fortifications* raised by the Protestants in the Time of the War, were demolished, and yet strong *Citadels* built to awe these Towns that favoured them. In a word, nothing was omitted to induce them to believe, that the Peace was granted them with no other design, but to disarm and disunite them, and especially, to break the neck of those *Alliances* they had with Foreign Protestants. All these violations of the Peace, obliged the Prince of Conde to present a *Memorial of Complaints* to the King; wherein, among other things, he reckons up no less than 130 murders committed since the Peace, for which he could obtain no Justice. But yet all the Satisfaction he got from his Majesty, was only a *general Answer*, and civil words.

It's true, the K. made a Progress all over his Kingdom with all his Court; but the Protestants were never the better for it; and then it was the Court had an Interview with the D. of Alva at Bayonne, where they learnt of him, that fatal and bloody *Apothegm* which they afterwards so well improved in practice, viz. *That the Head of one Salmon is better than those of 50000 Frogs*. The Prince then but a child, and much caress'd at that time by Q. Katharine, being present at the Conference where this advice was given, tho he was but young, yet well apprehended its consequence, and learnt thereby to keep himself upon his guard, against that Princess, after he had lost her favour. Whilst those Intrigues were carrying on, as there was yet no open War, The Protestants were busy in confirming their Churches by convenient Regulations, and held some *Synods*; by the acts of which, it appears, that the custom of *Annexes*, or *Pluralities* was already received among them, because they had more Churches than Ministers; tho in our time, their Adversaries have been pleased to cavil with them upon that account, as if the serving of several Churches by the same Minister, had been a novelty among them. The Catholics on their side, fortified themselves by Leagues, and some private ones were concluded in several places, and Montluc propos'd to the K. to make one too with his Catholic Lords. At the same time the Admiral was attacked by dangerous Calumnies; and a wicked Villain that had attempted to Murder him, thinking thereby to escape Punishment, accused him of endeavouring to persuade him to Kill the Q. But the time being not yet seasonable to accept such black Impositions for good Evidence, that Traytor was convinced of Fugery, and broken upon the Wheel.

The progress
of the Pro-
testant
Churches.

1555.

But

But because the Court had a mind to trick the *Protestants*, they pretended to reconcile that *Lord* with the House of *Guise*. And accordingly the accomodation was made with all the cautions usually observ'd in a sincere *Treaty*. But the young *D.* was not at the conclusion of it, as designing, by his absence, to reserve to himself a Right to violate at pleasure, the promises advanced by his Family. Yet for all that, a thousand wrongs were continually done every where to the *Protestants*; for in places where they were weakest, they were openly oppress'd and their complaints denied; but where they were strong enough to make themselves be fear'd, the *K's* name and authority was made use of to stop their mouths and make them tamely suffer all the evils their enemies had a mind to inflict upon them. And besides all this, the March of the *D.* of *Alva's* Army, which he was leading towards the *Neitherlands*, where peoples Spirits were in a shrewd ferment, still more Alarm'd the *Protestants*, and made them apprehensive, lest under a colour of some other design, the Court should make use of him to destroy them. All these considerations induced the *Prince of Conde* once more to take up arms, who attempted to seize, and carry away the Court then at *Monceaux*, in which he narrowly mis'd succeeding, and would certainly have effected it, had he not been timely hindred by the diligence of the Constable: However the boldness of the attempt made such an Impression upon the *K's* Spirit, that he would never pardon it to the *Prince*. The most remarkable event in that War was the death of the Constable who was kill'd at the attack of *Paris*, by the Forces of the *Prince of Conde*, who with a handful of Men, in the View of a *Turkish* Envoy, who beheld the fight from the Walls, resisted the whole effort of the Royal Army, tho backt by all the people of that great City. The War from thence spread it self into the *Provinces*, whether both parties once more call'd in Foreigners to their assistance. At last a Peace was clapt up, whilst *Chartres* was besieged, by which the *Edict of January* was restor'd to the *Protestants* without restriction, more out of design to make them send back their *Foreign Aids*, than to restore Tranquility to the State. The most part of the *Protestants* were against this peace, because they rightly enough judg'd, it was granted them only for a decoy. And the *Prince* himself was much afraid of it too, and therefore made no hast to perform the Articles of the *Treaty* that related to his own concerns; and, to say the truth, the *Catholicks* gave him but too much occasion of jealousy: For there was much ado to get the *Edict* verified by the *Parliaments*, and that of *Tholouse* refus'd it till after 4 Reiterated commands; and before that too, had the insolence to put Rapin to Death, that was come thither from the *Prince*, to press its *Registring*. But the Court stop't not there: For they sent into the *Provinces* a form of an Oath, in which under pretence of Allegiance the *Protestants* were to swear never to take Arms more, and to confess themselves worthy of the most rigorous punishments, if there should happen any disturbance through their fault in the places where they liv'd. That is, they made them thereby responsible for all accidents, tho it were to their own wrong, since they had learnt by experience, that the blame was always laid upon them, right or wrong. In 3 Months time more than 2000 of them were Massacred in several places, and nothing was to be seen every where but Injustices to destroy them, or artifices to divide them. That was the drift of an *Edict*, in which the *K.* pretended to take into his Protection all *Protestants* that should live peaceably at home; but that trick had no effect, because it was too soon discover'd. Then came out another *Edict*, which revok'd the liberty to exercise any other Religion but the *Catholick*, which was soon

1566.

The reconciliation of the Admiral with the Guises.

The attempt at Monceaux, and its consequences.

1568.

A peace made before Chartres, without any intention to keep it.

followed by another, commanding the Protestants to quit all offices; and the Order for Registering it in the Parliament of Paris, added this clause, That all who succeeded in any Offices for the future should be obliged to swear, to live and die in the Roman Religion. The Protestants likewise intercepted some Letters written by the Court, to the Magistrates in the Provinces forbidding them to observe the Edict of Peace. There are others extant from the Q. of Navar to the Cardinal of Bourbon, where she reminds him of a thing at which he was so terribly alarm'd, that he could not sleep for one whole night, which was, that during 2 Katharines last sickness, A design was laid to act over again in France the Sicilian Vesper. This fright of the Cardinal, as may be a hint by the way, was a sufficient proof their malice aim'd as much at the House of Bourbon, as the Reform'd Religion. They attempted likewise to surprise the Prince of Conde at his house at Noyers, and that so subtilly, that he had hardly a minutes notice to make his escape. But nothing more clearly betrayed the Courts intentions, than the Bull of Alienation of some Ecclesiastical Revenues granted towards the support of a War against the Hereticks, and which being dated some days before the Protestants took Arms, was an evident proof, that the Court that had solicited it was the first that designed a Rupture. However the Chancellor suffer'd it not to be made use of, for fear the Protestants should improve it to their advantage; and they were fain to procure another three Months after, that granted the K. the same Alienation, under the notion of a Recompense of his Revoking the Edicts of Toleration. Yet for all that, the Chancellor was disgraced, either because he was against the War, or was suspected to favour the Protestants for the sake of his Wife, his Daughter, and his Son in Law, who were of their Religion. Thus the Protestants were forced to a third War, in which they suffered great losses. For Andelot Brother to the Admiral, and one of their best commanders died of sickness; and but a little before that the Prince of Conde was kill'd at Bassac near Jarnac, by a treachery without example, committed in all appearance by the Court and Orders to the D. of Anjou; since that Assassinate was done under his Nose by the Capt. of his Guards, himself shewing no dislike at the exploit. This was the first noble head sacrificed to the D. of Alva's Counsels. The same year the Protestants also lost the Battle of Moncontour, so that after so many misfortunes, the Court seemed to have a prospect of having a cheaper bargain of the rest. For indeed, the Admiral himself, tho never so great as in Adversity, was then so stupified with so many cross blows, that he was some time before he could recover himself. But however, when they saw him take fresh Courage, and that after he had Marcht almost round the Kingdom, through so many Hostile Troops and Towns, he was still in a condition with his Army, as much tired as it was, and unprovided of all necessities to oppose the Royal Army sent against him, they quitted all thoughts of destroying him by open force, and resolv'd to dispatch him by some master stroke of Treachery; and accordingly struck up with him a third Peace, by which they granted him so many things so much beyond his hopes, that it was easy to see they had a mind to trick him. That was the first Peace in which there were mentioned any cautionary Towns. But then 4 such were given to the Protestants for 4 years. And the Protestants content with that security, tho they had been so often deceiv'd by the Court, because they thought that time might be sufficient to execute the Edict, and to accustome the French to live in Peace together, for all their difference of Religion. All the great persons in the Kingdom swore to this Peace, and the Spanish Ambassador seem'd to be highly discontented at it.

The third War.

1569.
The death of Andelot and of the Prince of Conde.

Battles of

The Admiral re-establishes the Peace.

1570.
A fraudulent Peace.

But

But the better to surprize the *Protestants*, they prevented their desires in many things.. For they consulted about the War in *Flanders*, which the *Admiral* was very zealous for ; they made applications to *Queen Elizabeth*, and the *German Princes*, whose Ambassadors, and Exhortations to observe the Peace, they received very well. They Negotiated a Marriage between *Henry Prince of Navar*, and *Margaret* the King's Sister, as if they designed to stifle all suspicions by so strict an Alliance. And in particular they caressed the *Admiral* so highly, that the Old Gentleman, as wise as he was, let himself be so insnared by them, that he made the places of Security to be yielded back before the two years were expired, and answered them who gave him private advice of the Court-designs, that he had rather be drawn about the Streets through the dirt, than to begin a New War.

*Incredible
Artifices of
the Court.*

1571.

During this Calm, the *Protestants* held two *National Synods*, at both which *Beza* assisted, and at the first, which was held at *Rochelle*, were present the *Queen of Navar*, the *Princes* and the *Admiral*. And the *Queen* was pleas'd to take the Advice of the *Synod* for regulating the Religion of her Domesticks, The Complaints of that Assembly were favourably heard at the Court, who checkt a Sedition that had been raised at *Roan*, and promised Redress against another that had been stirr'd up at *Orange*, and suffered 1200 Families of the County of *Avignon* that had been persecuted there for Religion, to take Refuge in *Dauphiny*. and in fine, omitted nothing that might convince the World, they were heartily weary of the War.

But notwithstanding this fair Out-side, they neglected not to take measures at a distance for what they afterwards put in Execution. And 'tis said, They deliberated first about it at *Blois*, in the very same Chamber where the Duke of *Guise* was killed 16 or 17 years after, and that that Prince presided in that Assembly ; That a year after the Proposition was renewed at *St. Cloud*, in the same Chamber where *Henry III.* was assassinated in the year 1589. and that this Prince, who was then but Duke of *Anjou* presided in this Second Assembly. King *Charles*, who kept the Secret with a profound Dissimulation, during all these long Intrigues, did not forbear to say enough to the *Legate*, who complain'd of the Favours which were heaped upon the *Protestants*, to make him under-

1572.

derstand that the Resolutions were already formed at *the Court*, of those things which afterwards hapned. The only difficulty was to agree about the Pretences and Means to put them in Execution. But at last they concluded upon one of the most detestable, which was executed upon the 24th of *August*. The Queen of Navar was poysoned before, as was supposed by the Queens means, who was very much suspected for the business of Poysoning. The Admiral was wounded by *Maurevel*, who was charged to kill him, and they took this way as most proper to push the Reformed on to Sedition, which would give a specious pretence for their Massacre, or make them fall out with *the Guises*, and so give the King opportunity to ruin either the one or the other of them; But *their patience* was the cause of their being massacred without any pretence, in the most cruel manner in the world. I shall not give a particular account of this Horrible Action, since all honest Historians have declared and detested it. I shall add only, that they are accused for having forced the King to ruin them, to prevent a Conspiracy against his own Person; so that after he had treacherously spilt their blood, he would *blacken their memory*. You must not be astonished, if there be found some to apologize for this cowardly Cruelty, since there was found those who were capable of committing it. Peter Carpentier, a Lawyer, a Protestant Refugee at Geneva, sold his Pen to his Brethren's Murderers, and being made known to *Bellievre*, whom the King had sent into *Switzerland* to justify this Action, he received mony from him, and permission to return into *France*, and promises of great Recompence for declaiming against *the memory of the dead*. This he doth by a bloody Letter, which was printed again not long ago, to justify the Cruelties of the last persecution, as if the shameful perfidiousness of a Rogue of the last Age, would serve for an Apology for the Injustice of this. As for the *Guises*, because they were not willing to bear the Reproach of this base treachery, they constrained the King to take it upon himself, and saved some of the Reformed from the hands of the Massacrers, to keep themselves from the blame of so black an Infidelity.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The Princes change their Religion by force.

The King of Navar, and the Prince of Conde run a great risque of losing their lives. The Prince was more difficult to be wrought on, but in the end, both of them gave way to the violence. They took

took occasion for an honest pretence of *des Rosiers*, who having been found in some Criminal Matters, had redeemed his Life at the expence of his Conscience. The Reasons which had made him change, had the same effect upon the Princes, because they were in the same fear as he. *Monsieur* had drawn him out of trouble by his Credit, and having secured him to his Interest by this benefit, was willing to make use of him to bring back his Daughter, and the Duke of *Bouillon*, his Son in Law, to the *Roman* Religion. He already procur'd a Conference at *Paris* 6 or 7 years before, between the Drs. of both Parties, for the same end, but it had then no effect, for the Princess persevered in her former Opinions. The Duke believ'd the Example and Reasons of *des Rosiers* would have the same force to convert Hereticks at *Sedan*, as they had had at *Paris*. And therefore sent *Maldonat* the *Jesuit* thither, with this revolted Minister, but the *Jesuit* obtain'd nothing, and durst not let *des Rosiers* come to *Sedan*, because he did not believe him as yet to be a firm *Catholick*. The Conference which he had with the Ministers did not shake this Princess in the least, and tho he publish'd a Relation of this Journey, where he speaks very advantageously of himself, and makes the Ministers to argue like Children, yet he brought back from thence no other fruit but the loss of his *des Rosiers*, who having followed him to *Metz*, fled himself 3 weeks after into *Germany*, where he made an acknowledgment of his Faults.

The Inconstancy of *des Rosiers*.

But in *France* it was found more difficult to destroy the reformed party than was imagined; For after so much blood spilt they stood yet upon their feet. In a little time the War was kindled every where. The Duke of *Anjou* lost his Time and Reputation before *Rochel*. *Sancerre* could not be forced to surrender it self by the most cruel Famine that ever was recorded. So that they thought themselves very fortunate in making peace, and to find pretence for it in the Intercession of the *Polanders*, who were come to offer the Crown of *Poland* to the Duke of *Anjou*. The *Edict* granted the Exercise of Religion but to 3 Cities, and revoked almost all the foregoing Concessions.

Siege of *Rochel* and *Sancerre*.

France was then divided into 3 Factions, and in the Duke of *Anjou's* Army alone, there was 4; 1. that of the zealous *Catholicks*, which was the ruling party; 2. that of the New *Catholicks*, discontented and suspicious; 3. that of the *Politicks*, sprung out of the

Factions in *France*.

foregoing War, and without taking part in Religion, formed one in the State, under pretence of opposing either *the Enterprises of the Court*, or *the ambition of strangers*; and 4. that of *the persevering reformed Religion*, which they suffered in the Army, the better to deceive the rest, and to make them believe that they would not exterminate them. They had already publish'd an Edict to *give this assurance* to all that staid *peaceably in their houses*, and to persuade them, that *the suspicious Conduct of the Admiral was the only cause of their misfortune*. But the *Massacres* either done, or commanded on the same day in the most considerable Cities of the Kingdom, made it known to all them that had not *lost their senses*, how false and ridiculous a pretence this was. The Princes and young Lords of those several Parties had like to have raised *New Troubles* during the siege of Rochel. But La Nove, whose wisdom they had a great deference for, hindred the *Effects* of their head-Strong resolutions.

1574.
The Duke of Alençon Protector of the Reformed, and the Politicians.
But a little while after the Duke of Alençon renewed those *Intrigues* to get the same Authority in Affairs which his Brother had before he was King of Poland; and the Reformed and the Politicians acknowledged him for their Protector. But before he could escape from the Court, his Plots were discovered. This cost him his Liberty, as well as the King of Navar, and many others, and the Lives of some. But all this did not hinder the War from breaking out again in many Provinces, and the Protestants lost Montgomery, whose Head the Queen cut off, against the promise which Matignon made him of his life, when he rendred himself his prisoner. The Prince of Conde saved himself in a disguise in Germany, and made a publick acknowledgment at Strasburg, that he had been at Mass. A little after the Death of Charles IX. the King of Poland was called back into France, and in expectation of his return, the Queen made her self be declared Regent, and suspended the War with the Protestants by a Truce of 2 months, by which she gave them leisure to make an Assembly at Millau, where they chose the Prince of Conde for their Chief; but this also served their Enemies to recruit their Army, and make their advantages. The New King Henry III. receiv'd good advice at Vienna, Venice and Turin, where he was exhorted to give peace to his people, but the Queen-Mother, and her Favourites quickly effaced all the impressions of those good Counsels.

The death of the King.
Henry III. at his return continueth the War.

The Council was divided into 2 Factions, one follow'd the Maxims of the Chancellour of the Hospital, and were for peace; the other fol-

follow'd those of *Morvillier Bishop of Orleans*, who was *Keeper of the Seals* some time; and these were for destroying the *Protestants*, at any rate soever. This last party was animated by the particular hatred of the *Queen-Mother* against the reformed, by the ambition of the *Guises*, and by the *Intrigues of Spain*, who had a great influence in the *Council*. *Morvillier* added the Charm of some *Bigottry* which he had in his Head, and which was enough to dazle the ignorant people. The *Protestants* provoked the Cabal yet more by a Memorial which they presented, in which they demanded satisfaction in 92 Articles, which touched the disorders of the Court too much to the quick to be heard favourably there; and they principally insisted on the calling the *General Estates* to remedy the miseries of the Kingdom. 1575.

In the mean time the *Princes* were set at liberty by the *King*, when the *Queen-Mother* presented them to him at his arrival in *France*, tho there wanted not some to watch them so narrowly, that they were little better than Prisoners. But at last the *Duke of Alençon* retired from Court, and a little while after the *King of Navar* did the same. It is observed of this latter, that passing by *Alençon*, he there went to the preaching. The Psalm which the Minister sung before the Sermon, was the 21st, which begins with these words, *Seigneur le Roy s'ejouira D'avoir eu delivrancee par ta grande puissance.*&c. The *King* shall joy in thy strength, O Lord! and in thy Salvation how greatly shall he rejoyce, v. 1. He enquir'd if this was sung because of him; and when he understood that it was according to the Order that the Psalms were sung for that day, he took it for a good presage of Success in his Enterprises. Howsoever, it was a good while before he fixed intirely to the reformed Religion. His Lite at that time had more of the Libertine in it than of Devotion; But the year after, his Servants, who saw that this indifference in Religion did not accommodate his Affairs, obliged him publickly at *Roche* to repair the fault which he had been forc'd to at *Paris*, by the terror of death.

These Conjunctions extorted from the Court a Truce of six months, and in the end a Peace which they needed, to break the Union of the Confederates, and to separate the *Duke of Alençon* from their party.

They granted an Edict to the *Protestants*, such an one as they were used to make, when they were not willing to keep it; this is that which introduced the name of the Religion pretendedly Reformed. 1576.

form'd. They gave them 8 places of *Security*, and at the same time concluded upon their ruin with the *Legate*, and with *Don John of Austria*; and in the very same year it was openly talked that the *Edict* should be revoked, and that they had granted it only by force. They put it under Consultation whether *Faith* should be kept with *Hereticks*, and it was publickly *Preached* that according to the *Council of Constance*, they were not obliged to it. After this then the Peace was broken, and the *Estates General*, which the *Protestants* had demanded with so much earnestness concluded to destroy them, and to oblige *Henry III.* to make himself chief of the *League*, because he was afraid that some other should.

Peace as
soon broke
as made.

The League.

This *League* so famous was form'd of the *Union* of many particular *Leagues*, all which had Religion for their pretence, but the principal end of this general *League* was to set the Duke of *Guise* upon the *Throne*, and that the King could not doubt of. There was a Writing which a certain Advocate of *Paris* brought from *Rome*, which contain'd the Reasons and Methods for *Deposing* the Descendents of *Hugh Capet*, and restoring the Crown to the Posterity of *Charlemagne*, which fell into the hands of the *Protestants*, who Published it. *Vivonne* Ambassadour in *Spain*, sent another Copy of the same Writing, and reveal'd the whole *Mystery* of the *League*. The King, being of a timorous and unsettled temper, followed the advice of *Morvillier*, who was as timorous as himself, and believed he should more easily destroy this Cabal, by making himself the Head of it, than by Methods more firm and agreeable to his Dignity. He pass'd further, and declared, *That as he had promised by Oath at his Coronation upon the most holy Sacrament of the Altar, to suffer no Religion in his Estates but the Catholick, he warned his Subjects not to believe any thing he should either say or do to the contrary, and that if he was reduced to make peace, he would not keep it, but till such time as he could get an occasion to break it.* But all these Protestations hindred not, but in a little time after, he made a Peace with the King of *Navar*. *Mompensier* who went to see that Prince to sound his intentions, advising him thereto at his return, and the third Estate likewise helped the King out of his perplexity, declaring that they were of advice to bring back the stray'd sheep to the *Roman Church* by all convenient methods, but that they had not counselled the War. The Honourable manner with which the

The King's
Oath.

Without-
standing
ing makes
peace.

the King of Navar received the *Deputies* and the *Letters* of the *Estates*, facilitated the Treaty. He answered in Writing, *That he was ready to quit his Religion, if by any better instructions they could shew that his own was not good.* This clause was taken as an ill augury by the *Ministers* of his Court, who therefore razed it out, but he interlined it again with his own hand. The *Prince of Condé* shew'd a greater Spirit, for he would neither acknowledg the *Estates*, nor receive their *Letters*, nor give them an Answer.

Thus Peace was made and confirmed by an *Edict* given at Po. *Edict of*
itiers, which they themselves, who excus'd it with the Pope, ac- *1577.*
 knowledged to be less favourable than any that had been granted
 to them before. But the *Bigots* were angry at it nevertheless, because
 of the *Article* which declares the *protestants* capable of *Offices* and
Honours. In short, it struck at the *Designs* of the *Guises*, and it was easy
 to extend it to the *Princes*, *That their Religion ought not to render*
them incapable of the Crown, since it did not render other Protestants
incapable of Employs suitable to their Birth. This Calm gave oppor-
 tunity to Hold some *Synods*. That of *St. Foy*, held a little after the
Edict of Poitiers, was remarkable, for a Cause that was judg'd be-
 tween the *Prince of Conde*, and the *Consistory* of *Roche*, which had su-
 spended him from the holy Supper, because he had not well received the
Remonstrances of the *Company*, upon the Subject of a Prize taken
 at Sea, during the 40 days prescribed by the *Edict*, for the laying
 down of Arms. It was found, that the *Judgment* of the *Consistory*
 was too rash, and that the *Prince*, on the other side, had too little
 Respect for the *Authority* of the *Consistory*, and *Deputies* were named
 to reconcile them. This Peace, as to other things, did not cease all
Jealousies. And therefore to take away all pretences for them, there
 was a *Conference* held at *Nerac*, where the *Protestants* had some new *1579.*
 favours granted them, and some new places of security. The *King* *Conference of*
 of *Navar* was then permitted to raise a certain Sum upon the *Nerac and*
reformed Protestants; and all *Churches*, which the *Edict* of 1577. had *Fleix,*
 either maintained or re-established, were rated to it, and accord-
 ingly every one paid his part, and took an Acquittance. And this
 was pretended some few years ago to prove, *that the Churches which*
could produce them had their Right established from the year 1577. But
 neither the *Intendants*, nor the *Council* would regard any *Titles*
 of this nature.

The

The young Gent. of the K. of Navar's Court began a 6th War, which was called *the War of the Amorous*, because it was undertaken only to please *the Ladies*. The greatest part of the *Protestants* did not enter into it. So that *this fire* was not very hard to be extinguished. Its course was stopp'd by *the Conference of Fleix*; after this 5 years passed in peace, such as it was; *the Edicts* were observed in some places, in others not regarded. The King was he that kept them least of all; for he gave no Offices to *the Protestants* of his own accord. And when any of them asked any from him, he had always some *pretence ready to refuse them*; nay, he took them from *those that possess them already*, and stirred them up Troubles and Law-suits, and always caused them to come by the worst, to oblige them to lay them down, reserving expressly to himself *the cognizance of these sorts of processes*, to be assured of *the condemnation of the pretended Hereticks*. He would not receive into his Hou hold any Gentlemen of *the Reformed Religion*, and *his Courtiers* knowing his mind, took care to tell them that complained of those Refusals, *that their Religion was the cause*. In one word, the King kept his promise to *the Estates*, and he did more mischief to the Protestants by those Arts in 5 years, causing more Revolts among them, than have been seen to happen in 30 years *War and Massacres*. Nay, you might have seen some others who being ashamed *themselves* to quit a Religion which they had embrac'd with great affection, yet had the weakness to bring up *their Children in the Catholick Communion*, because they would not bring them up in a Doctrine which the King would not suffer; and some again that used a quite contrary Policy in turning *Catholicks* for fear of losing *their Offices*: but for *the discharge of their Consciences*, brought up their Children in the *Reform'd Religion*, because they believ'd it to be *the safer way to salvation*.

During *this false peace*, all Europe was engag'd in great conspiracies against *them* whom they believ'd to be *the Chiefs or Favorites of the Protestants*. The Duke of Alençon, who had took *the Name of the Duke of Anjou*, and *the Prince of Orange*, fell in them. They had a way in France to penetrate into the secret of those dark Actions, but they were not willing to sound them to *the bottom*. In the mean time, *the security* into which the King fell, made *the Leaguers take Courage*, Their Preachers expos'd him in their Sermons, They entertained *the Catholicks* with nothing but *the mischief*

1580.

The King evades the Peace, and yet makes a shew of keeping it.

Courages were given to the King by the Leaguers.

chiefs which would happen, if a Reformed King should *mount the Throne*, and they frighted the *Bigots* with *horrid Histories* and *Pictures* of the pretended Cruelties which *Queen Elizabeth* exercised in *England*. At last, the *Guises* began openly to persecute this unhappy Prince, and drove him to incredible Extremities. He was forc'd to undergo the *Violences of the Duke*, who had begun the War against him, under pretence to secure the *Crown for a Catholick Prince*. He durst not murmur, tho they disputed the right of *Succession* during his *Life*, nor at the assembling of the *States* to debate that question; nor at their debauching his Officers and Servants from him. *Villeroi*, who was one of his *Secretaries of State*, was supposed to be Pensioner to the *Duke of Guise*, and the King not being otherwise able to guard himself from him, oblig'd him to a distance from the *Court*, and shew'd him always after that great marks of his displeasure. From whence it came to pass that his Father and himself threw themselves into the *League* after the Death of the *Guises*.

The War against the *Protestants* was then renewed against the K's mind, who had made peace with the *Leaguers* upon that condition: Great Sums were exacted upon the *Clergy*, under this pretence; which they paid but grudgingly, as may be seen by the Remonstrances of their Deputies. They protested they had never counselled the War, tho it was notoriously known they had endeavour'd with all their power the Revocation of the *Edicts*. The K of Navar made His Majesty great Reproaches upon that Subject, by his Letters he sent him during the *Sessions of the Estates*, and there renews the Offer of standing to the Decisions of a *Free Council*; He wrote to others of the *Nobles*, and the 3^d *Estate*, where he makes great complaints, That they forced the King to make War against him: But the Courage and good Fortune which he had to affix at Rome an Appeal against the Bull of *Sixtus Quintus*, by which he declared both him and the Prince to be *Hereticks*, relapsed, Favourers of *Hereticks*, excommunicated, deprived of all their Lordships, and incapable to succeed to any *Principality*, and particularly to the *Crown of France*, did him greater Honour than all the rest of his Actions, and procured him Esteem even with the Pope himself. He appealed by his Remonstrance, to the *Peers of France* in Temporals, and in Spirituals to the next *Council*, to which he cited the Pope, declaring him *Antichrist*, if he refus'd to appear.

La Trimouille becomes reformed.

In the Height of the War, *Claudius Trimouille* the Son of a most zealous Leaguer, embrac'd the Interests and Religion of the P. of Conde, and took his Sister *Charlotte Katharine* in Marriage. This Alliance extreamly fortify'd the Reformed Party in *Poitou*, because that House is there very powerful. The Conference of *St. Bris* between the *Queen-Mother* and the P. of Conde, towards the end of the year, allayed not their Spirits, and the next year France saw her self overrun with Strangers, which both Parties had called in

1587. for Succours. The K. of Navar gain'd the Battel of *Contras* against the King's Army, which the Duke of *Joyeuse* commanded. But on the other side, the Duke of *Guise* defeated the *Reiters* at *Auneau*, insomuch that the Protestants had little fruit of their Victory, and

1588. little service from their Allies. The P. of Conde dy'd some months after at *St John de Argeli*, being poysoned by some of his own Family; and his own Wife being accused for the fact, The Judges of the place condemn'd her. But the birth of a Son that she brought forth in *September* following, the great Revolutions which hapned a little after, and the Authority of some great Persons to whom this Princess was nearly related, stopt their proceedings.

During these sad Times many Edicts were set out against the Protestants, but the most bloody was that which was called the *Edict of Union*. The King put out this last for fear the Leaguers should procure the King of Spain's Fleet, which was Equipp'd against *England*, to descend upon the Coasts of France; yet after this, they ceased not to do him a thousand indignities. So that at

last he was constrained to leave *Paris*, to give place to the D. of *Guise*, and to ridicule him, they follow'd him to *Chartres*, whither he was retired, by a comical Procession of Penitents, which went to demand pardon for the *Parisians*, who had the impudence to advance their *Barricadoes* as far as the very Gates of the *Louvre*. He was forc'd, in some sense, to receive Law from the Duke as the stron-

ger, to assemble the Estates, subscribe the Edict of Union, and take an Oath not to lay down his Arms till he had destroy'd the *Hereticks*. However, he had resolution enough not to sign the Act by which they would have declared the K. of Navar unworthy of the Crown. He then saw clearly into the pretences of the D. of *Guise*, who did not intend, it seems, to wait for the King's Death to possess the Throne; for his Party spoke of nothing less than putting him

Edict of Union.

The boldness of the Leaguers.

The Estates at Blois.

him into a *Cloyster*, and adding a *Monk's Crown* to that of *France* Death of the D. of Guise, and the Cardinal, his brother. and *Poland*, which he had already worn. He could find no better way therefore to parry off this blow, than by *the death of the D. of Guise, and the Cardinal*, his brother. It is observable, that they were brought into the snare, in the same manner the Admiral was, under the Name of *the publick Faith*, under the appearance of *Reconciliation*, and by a general Compliance with all their demands.

But the King could not rid himself of the Duke of *Mayenne*, The Duke of Mayenne being escaped, relieves the Leaguers party. who was then about *Lions*, and who quickly form'd a great Body, with which he thought to overwhelm him. In the mean time, to make it known, that it was not in favour of the Protestants, that he had kill'd their Enemies, he swore a-new to *the Edict of Union*, and without doubt did it with a true Hatred to them, because, tho he afterwards was forced by despair to throw himself into their arms, he defer'd for 15 days the publication of a Truce he had made with 'em; being ready to break it, and make War upon 'em without mercy, could he have succeeded in an accommodation with which he was flatter'd, between him and the Duke of *Mayenne*. But the Duke had clear other thoughts, being in a condition to revenge with a *high hand the death of his brethren*. The King saw himself forsaken of *his best Cities*, and was reduc'd to that point, that he knew not which of 'em would open their gate to him. He prefer'd *Tours* before all the rest, not because he was more assur'd of the Inhabitants, but because his Presence was there necessary to prevent a *Commotion* just ready to break forth to his prejudice. The Pope excommunicated the K. for *the murder of the Cardinal*; they refus'd to pray for him in all *the Cities of the League*; at *Tholouse* they committed terrible insolencies, even so far as to hang up his Image upon a Gallows, and to massacre those that durst take *his part*. *Paris* offer'd to make the *D. of Mayenne* King. The *Sorbon* declar'd the *French* were discharg'd from *their Oath of Fidelity*; and almost *all the Clergy* took part with the *Leaguers*, whether it were in conformity to the Example of the Pope, or because they were otherwise dissatisfied with the Government, the King drawing great Sums of money from them, which *the Ecclesiasticks* never paid with a good will; besides, he had sharply taxed the Vices of that powerful body, in an Answer to a *harangue of their Deputies*, which *the Clergy* could not suffer neither, without great impatience. Nor were the *Nobles*

1589.

Extremity of the King's affairs.

more affectionate to him; the D. of *Guise* had gain'd one part by his Merit and Liberality; the other were oblig'd to *the League* by Religion, and they that were not leaven'd with *this Lump*, durst not declare for the King, because they believ'd his affairs desperate. He had few Men, and less Mony, and he did not know whether he was sure of those that were about his Person.

The King
makes a
Truce with
the Reform-
ed.
His affairs
grow better.

Well then, when he had no help left, when he had nothing to hope from the Catholics, there remaining so few of them who adher'd to his Interests, the Protestants alone, whom he had hated with so much passion, persecuted by so many Wars, by Massacres, by fraudulent Treaties, and whose ruin he had but lately sworn, were the only people that inclin'd to his Succour. He had made no Peace with them, but only single Truces, for the security of which he had given *Saumur* to the King of Navar, because he had not Credit enough to deliver him *Ponts de Cé*. By this Truce the third part of the Realm, where the Protestants were at least strong enough not to fear the League, return'd to the King's Party. Thus it was the succour of the Protestants that sav'd this Prince at *Tours*, where the D. of *Mayenne* thought to have surpris'd him, and which brought him considerable success at *Senlis*, and elsewhere. But the most important of all was the return of one part of his Nobility, who came over to him so soon as they saw that this Truce did advantageously relieve his affairs. So that in a little time he became formidable to his Enemies, and marched towards *Paris* with an Army of above 38000 men, to chastise the Inhabitants for their madness. That Noble Army was for the most part Protestant. There were the Veterane Victorious Troops of the K. of Navar, 10000 *Suisses*, which *Sancy* had levied in the reformed Cantons. Some thousands of *Reiters*, and a Reinforcement of English, which the King had receiv'd from Queen *Elizabeth*. Without which, the remainder would never have been able to have withstood the Leaguers. But the Chieftains of that unfortunate Party not being able to make Head against the Kings Forces, thought it was high time to make sure of their game, by causing that poor Prince to be assassinated at *St. Clon*, by *James Clement* a Jacobite Monk, who by that execrable blow, deliver'd the Leaguers from that Horrible Tempest which was pouring down upon them.

Is assassin'd
by a Monk.

The History of the Edict of Nants.

The Second Book.

The Summary of the Second Book.

The change of Affairs. What the Protestants had hoped for from the deceas'd King. The trouble of the new King. The Intreagues of the Army and the Court. The Characters and Interests of the Princes of the Blood. Of the Officers of the deceased King, and of both the Catholick and Reformed Nobility, and their suspicions about the King's Religion. The hopes of the Ministers. The King's wavering, and his resolution upon the conditions proposed by the Catholicks. The Reformed flatter themselves about the King's Instruction. Divers affections of the Catholick Lords. The dissipation of the Army. The Fight at Arques. The effects of the King's Promises in divers Provinces. What the Protestants understood by a Protector. The reciprocal Protection between the King of Navar and the Reformed. Jealousies, and the foundations of them. The King is angry at the Proposition of taking another Protector, and the Reformed find it unjust and unseasonable. A Letter from the Kings own hand upon this Subject. The Forces of the King, and of the League. Divisions between the one and the other Party. The Dispositions of the Catholicks and the Reform'd in regard to the Peace of Religion. Writings upon the taking Arms for Religion. The Battle of Yvry. The Siege of Paris. The project of Peace for the Protestants. The equity of their Demands, and the Passion of the Catholicks. The project is approved, and afterwards rejected. Remonstrances upon this Subject, and their effect. The Bull of Gregory XIV. The Edict of Mants. Quarrels about the Verification of it, of which the Reformed complain. The third party and their Designs. The propositions of the Clergy that followed the King. Foreign Army. Viscount Turenne Marrys the Heiress of Sedan, and is made Marshal of France. The Pragmatick eluded by the Clergy. The Arts of the Catholicks to gain the King. Conferences between du Plessis and Villeroy without Fruit. Divers aims in promoting the King's

*King's Instruction. The Protestants continue excluded from Im-
ployments. Rigours about their Burials. The continuation of the
Artifices to work upon the King's Conscience. Politick Interests
which tended to the same end. The mutual Policy of the Catholicks
and Protestants. The King's Dissimulation. Preparatives to his
change. The vain Ceremony of his Instruction. The King's pre-
tended Conversion. A Formulary which the King refuseth. A
Trick to content the Pope.*

*Change of
Affairs.*

THIS unexpected Murder brought a great change upon af-
fairs, and was the beginning of a long Series of
troubles. No body had time since the truce to take mea-
sures either for his security, or advancement: The Protestants
thought they had lost more than others. They did not doubt but
the last service they had done the deceased King, had touch'd
his heart, and that he had laid aside those miserable prejudices,
which caused him to have so great an aversion for 'em. He had
promised to *change the Truce into a sound Peace*, so that they ima-
gin'd they might hope from him the re-establishment of his E-
dict of 1577. and the revocation of all those that had been extort-
ed from him by the *Leaguers*. They had the same reason to believe,
that, that Prince being sensible of the services which he had re-
ceiv'd from the K. of *Navar*, would by little and little plain his
way to the *Crown*. But there must be time for that, and chiefly to
subdue the *Leaguers*, without the destruction of whom, neither Re-
ligion nor the State could be assur'd of any firm repose. But the
Death of *Henry III.* happen'd in a time when there was nothing
ripe; and where the succession is contested, it is impossible but the
State must fall into great confusions.

*The trouble
of the New
King.*

It is true the King when he died gave great marks of ten-
derness for the King of *Navar*, whom he acknowledg'd for
his lawful Heir, and recommended him to the *Lords*, and to the
Officers of his Court and Army. But for all this the new
King met with a world of difficulties as soon as ever his
Predecessour expired. The Interests were so various between the
Heads of the League and the *Lords*, that it seem'd to be impossible
to reconcile 'em. Every one was willing to take the advantage
of this conjuncture, and to raise his own Fortunes by the pub-
lick misery. They put themselves then upon Negotiating, and
upon

upon making Parties and Cabals, without regarding the body of the dead King, and much less to revenge him, which ought not to have been long deferr'd, if their only design had been to find an opportunity. There was scarce one Catholick that declared himself for *Hen. IV.* without making his Market. The *Marshal Biron* The Inter-
gues of the
Army. who had a great deal of credit in the Army, was so vain as to demand the Sovereignty of the *County of Perigord*, and the King who was willing to buy this Lord at any price whatsoever, consented to dismember one of the Provinces of the Realm, notwithstanding the danger of the consequence : but as good luck would have it, because every body could not promise themselves as much, there were men of Honour who lost those ambitious thoughts ; but the Marshal took so great an Authority over the Troops, and in the Council, that in a little time he made himself very uneasy to his Master.

The Princes of the blood gave more trouble than help to the K. And of the
Court. The old Cardinal of *Bourbon* was his Rival, and the Leaguers acknowledged him for K. under the name of *Charles X.* This old man who had neither force of Mind, nor vigour of Body sufficient to bear the weight of a Crown, took pleasure in the name of K and might have made some bustle perhaps, had he not been in a place where he was not much to be fear'd. The Cardinal of *Vendome*, who took upon him the name of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* after the Death of this old man, was unquiet and Ambitious, and became the Idol of a *third party*, which he formed in a little time after. The Count of *Soissons* his Brother could not agree with *Henry IV.* and could more easily raise new stirrs than concur to the good of the State. The Prince of *Conti* was deaf and heavy by reason of a natural Indisposition. *Mompensier* was the richest, and fully determined to acknowledge *Henry IV.* but he held off upon his Religion, and was for absolutely having him to be a Catholick. The Officers of the old Court staid with the K. more by The Officers
of the Late
King. reason of their Interest than Inclination. They could hope for no favour from the League, because they had been either Counsellors, Executors, or partakers of those resolutions which carried *Henry III.* against the principal heads of that Faction. And on the other hand were not without great perplexity, when they thought on the ill Offices they had done the new K. while he was but K. of

of *Nicar*. Nor were they less afraid of the Protestants, to whom they had occasioned a great many sufferings in the preceding reign, lest they might now take an occasion to revenge themselves. For these reasons they thought themselves upon the Point of losing both their Offices and their Credit, to which it appeared as if the Protestants would quickly succeed, since by this Change the K. would avenge them of their antient Enemies, whom he could not assure himself of, and recompence his antient Servants, whose fidelity was known. The Catholick Nobles prepossess'd with the zeal of Religion, made it appear clearly enough that they inclined towards the League, and that a Protestant K. would not be agreeable to them. They consulted whether they should acknowledg him for K. or no, and after divers deliberations, they did not resolve upon it, but upon very hard conditions. The D. of *Longueville* was order'd to tell him, *That the quality of Thrice-Christian being Essential to a K. of France, they prayed him to receive the Crown upon that condition, that is to say, upon condition to make himself a Catholick, according to the Opinion of the Romish Church that believes there is no true Christianity out of her Communion.* The Duke at first accepted the charge of making this Declaration to the K. but all of a suddain changed his mind when he was upon the point to execute it. The Marquis *D'O*, who had managed the Finances of the Treasury under the last K. refus'd the Commission of carrying this Message. He was the only Man in the World that knew least of Religion, being drown'd in Luxury and debauchery, a great blasphemer, bold even to Insolence, and an implacable enemy of the Protestants, whom he Persecuted even to Death, *thwarting* upon all occasions the King's designs, when he was willing to do any thing in order to their repose.

The Catho-
lick Nobles.

The Re-
formed.

The K. saw no body but them in all the Army that did not raise him some trouble, and that did not form a Party to draw from him some advantageous Capitulation. But they acknowledged him without any conditions and served him as long as he had need of them. I know that, to lessen the Glory of their Obedience, and the usefulness of their Services, it is objected, that they had no other thoughts but of getting a King of their own Religion, and that it was for this Interest that they hazarded all things. But supposing this to be their Imagination, however this advantage cannot be taken

taken from them, that their interest and the Kings was so mingled, that what they did to establish their Religion, served at the same time to assure the Crown to him: in which they were extremely different from the *Catholicks*, who separated the interest of their Religion from that of the K. and appeared almost all ready to leave him alone to his Affairs, if their Religion did not find an advantage in their Obedience. Time quickly shewed that the K's. change, who forsook the Protestant Religion, did not abate their zeal, *and that they did not fail to serve him when he had bereav'd them of all hopes of seeing a Protestant Prince come to the Crown.* The Catholick Historians themselves confess, *That from the beginning there was great jealousy about his stedfastness.* In short, the Death of *Henry III.* happening too soon, they easily foresaw that the State would fall into great disorders, and that the new K. might easily quit their Religion, when he should need only that step to rid himself of so many Encumbrances. The Offer which he always made, in a manner *Offensive to the Ministers and Zealous persons*, of receiving better instruction when ever he could be convinced *his Religion was not good*, gave reason enough for their Jealousy. Those who had been brought up with him in his youth knew very well that *Patience was none of his Favourite Vertues*, and that he was not of proof against long enterprises, and by consequence would be quickly weary of the difficulties of Conquering so many places as held out for the League, and that if he could shorten them by changing his Religion, that would be no balk in his way. 'Tis true indeed that he had some appearances of Piety, which might give a good opinion of his Constancy; he knew many passages of the *Psalms*, and other Books of Scripture, which he would apply very well, chiefly when he would comfort himself after any cross chance, or recur to God Almighty in the uncertainties of future events; and he behaved himself very well in his ordinary Devotions, in his Prayers before a Fight, or in his Thanksgivings after a Victory. But there is nothing which a Man treats in so contradictory a manner as Religion; for he makes it the greatest of his Interests, and yet sacrifices it to the least Affairs: it is the most invincible of his opinions; and at the same time he playeth with it as the most variable of his Thoughts. No Passion is Mistress of his Heart with greater violence, and yet nevertheless, nothing that he more easily puts in competi-

And their
suspicions a-
bout the
King's Re-
ligion.

tion here ; nothing that he maketh a greater shew of on some occasions, and nothing with which he troubleth himself less on others. There was then a great deal of reason to be jealous of the King's Constancy, when his mind upon this Subject was like another mans, and their Suspicions of him encreased, as soon as they saw him King by the Death of Henry III. and were changed almost into certainty after some steps that he made to gain the confidence of the Catholicks.

The hopes of
the Mini-
sters.

But these Jealousies which were but too well verified by the Consequence of Affairs, did not oblige the Protestants to take Security of him, nor make him buy their services by advantageous conditions. It happened, as it is said, that some Ministers in their Entertainments and Sermons Predicted the ruin of Anti-Christ, in terms a little too harsh, and promised their Party a speedy triumph over the Church ; a hope upon which men often frame very agreeable illusions, because every one makes an Application of the promises upon which he believes them founded, to the age he lives in. Some Historians have alledged these over bold Discourses, for an excuse of the irresolution of the Catholicks. But there was more particular Interest in the matter than true Zeal for the good of Religion, as appears by the Articles which they oblig'd the K. to promise before they would acknowledg him. He deliberated a great while with his antient Friends, to know what to determine ; during which the Catholicks laboured to take their precautions. But after a long wavering the resolution he took was not absolutely to refuse changing his Religion, but only in the present conjuncture. come what would ; that is to say, he would have Religion for an up-stroak and see in the mean time what he could do by his prudence, and by the fidelity of his servants. At last they present Conditions to him, upon which the Catholicks of the Army would acknowledg him. The first, That he should cause himself to be instructed in six Months, as much as to say, according to the stile of the Roman Church, that he should make himself a Catholick in that time. Those are 2 things which they neither distinguish in Speech nor Practice, to be instructed according to them, being to promise to relish their Doctrine, and to engage to make Profession of it. Whereas reason requires that Instruction should be only an Essay, after which one should have entire Liberty, to advance no further towards the Roman Religion, if after such Instruction the Conscience be
not

The uncer-
tainty of the
King.

not fully satisfied. The second condition was, *That the exercise of the Reformed Religion should be suspended during that time.* The third, *That the King should grant no Office to any Protestant for those 6 Months*; this the Catholicks desired, to secure those that were in possession of them, from being turn'd out. The last was, *That they should have permission to send to the Pope, to give him an account of their Reasons for submitting to the Kings obedience.*

Altho it was very hard for the K. to buy a Crown so dear that was legally sold to him, yet he consented to all but the 2d Article. And in effect, besides the shame of depriving himself of the exercise of his Religion, it would have been a piece of injustice, to take away from his Subjects the priviledg they enjoy'd before his coming to the Crown; and 'twas to be fear'd he would find them resolute and strong enough to maintain them, in spite of all Prohibitions. The Catholicks did not take well this denial, but however to induce them to approve it, he promis'd to re-establish the Catholick Religion in those places where the exercise of it was not before free. The Article which concern'd the K's Instruction was not much contested by the Protestants themselves, of whom he took Counsel; and himself assures in a Letter which he wrote upon this Subject, that the principal of those that were his followers did not disapprove his proceedings. The Reason of it was because the Protestants were persuaded, that if they proceeded to this instruction, in a method agreeable to his Dignity, and the importance of the thing, they should rather gain than lose by it. For they thought of nothing for that effect but General or National Councils, or at least eminent Assemblies of the most Ecclesiasticks, Reformati^ons of Abuses, sincere and serious conferences, and they hoped to make the Truth of their Doctrine shine forth there so clearly, that instead of losing the King they should gain many Lords, who hated not their Religion, but only out of ignorance of its Principles. Du Pleſſis Mornay was pre-possess'd with this Hope, as well as others, and it was for this Reason that two years after he agreed so easily with Villeroy upon this Article.

His resolution upon the conditions proposed by the Catholicks.

The Protestants flatter themselves about the King's Instruction.

The Catholicks would have had a Declaration signed by the King for the assurance of the things which he had granted them, and notwithstanding all the Complaisance he had for them, they were not entirely contented. Some signed the Accord with regret.

The various affections of the Catholick Lords.

and others refused to sign it. Vitri carried the matter further, and threw himself into the League. The Duke of Nevers stood in a kind of Neutrality, under pretence, *That his Conscience would not let him joyn himself to the Enemies of the State, such as he esteemed the League, nor serve the King, because he was not a Catholick.* He persisted in those Sentiments a long time, and it was nothing but the King's Victories which determined him to his service. In the Provinces, the Governours of Places who held for the King, did in a manner the same thing. Some were bought, others promising to obey, declared without ceremony, *That they should do it with regret whilst the King continued an Heretick.* But nothing did him so much mischief as the Retreat of the Duke of Espernon, who quitted the Army without discovering what Party he would take, nor the true reason of his Conduct. He would fain have the World believe he did it out of a pure Motive of Zeal for Religion, but 'twas suspected he had other considerations besides, &c. He fear'd perhaps, that he was not in security at the New Court, which did not love him, because he abused the Favour which he had under the late King, or whether he could not resolve to submit to the mean figure in which he must have lived had he staid since there arose already some contests about his Rank : either perhaps he had no inclination for the New King, nor confidence in his Friendship, or whether in retiring to his Government he thought himself strong enough to Canonize that part, and there expect what would befall the Realm; and in case of dismembring it, he would keep what he had. Yet however a little time after his Retreat, he promised the K. to serve him in those Provinces where he governed. But his Example proved of considerable consequence, because the Lords and Captains retired likewise, and the Troops disbanded themselves, and the fine Army which would easily have brought Paris, and the League to reasonable terms, dispersed in a few days. Some even of the Protestant, withdrew themselves, and because their enemies made it a great Crime afterwards, it is necessary to observe, that the Diffipation began first by the Catholicks, and for a few others, quitting it, that Retreat ought not to be imputed to the whole Party. It is certain, that the K's true Servants were as useful to him in the Provinces as in the presence of his person. In effect, there were many Cities which waver'd at the News of Hen. III. his Death; and the

Re,

The dispersion of the Army.

Resolution taken at *Paris* not to receive an Heretick King upon *the Throne* of *St. Lewis*, appear'd so pleasing to *the Catholicks*, that it drew a great number into *the League*, and 'twas thought it would bring over many Cities which held out for *the King*. And therefore *the Protestants* had need of some part of *their Forces* to bridle those that had a mind to stir, and to keep their own places from being surpris'd, in whose preservation the King had as much Interest as *themselves*. So that they were oblig'd to disperse part of *their Troops* into divers places, to keep as much of the Country as they could in obedience. From whence it follows, that if we judge equitably we must not make *the Protestants* guilty of a Crime *where they can excuse themselves*, either by *the Necessity of the Time*, or by *the Example of the Catholick Nobles*, or because, if they did go off from *the King's Army*, it was but to serve *him elsewhere*.

In the meantime *the dissipation of the King's Army* made the League take Courage, and they had fresh Springs for succour; and *the King*, who was in no estate to enterprize any thing, being retired towards *Diepe*, to receive the Forces which he expected from *England*: the D. of *Mayenne* pursued *him*, and reduced *him* to so great an extremity, that he was upon the point of passing *the Sea*, as despairing of *his affairs*. But *the Marechal Biron* hindred him from leaving his Party, and *the success of the Fight at Arques*, joyned to *the arrival of the English*, having made *the Leaguers* retire, the King put *his affairs* into a good posture, and gain'd several advantages. During the time that this passed, *the promise which he had made to the Catholicks of his party*, being sent into *the Provinces*, gave great Alarms to *the Protestants*. These words were read with suspicion, which had slipt into *the Copies*, *The late King. whom God absolve*: and as *they knew* these were taken from *the ordinary Language of the Roman Church*, when it speaks of *dead persons*, they fear'd they were let fall from the K. as an effect of a Resolution already taken to embrace *the Doctrine of that Church*, or at least as a mark of little zeal and affection to *the Protestant Religion*. This was chiefly noised about in the Provinces of *Poitou* and *Saintonge*, where the discontents began soonest. They assembled together in order to a conference at *St. John d'Angeli*, where, under pretence, 'twas uncertain whether *the K.* would persevere in his Religion, they propos'd to chuse a new Protector. It seem'd but a Series of certain Intrigues which

had...

*The fight of
Arques.*

Effects of
the King's
promises in
some Pro-
vinces.

had caus'd the trouble in the last assembly at *Roche*, where some unquiet Spirits complaining of *the Authority* which the K. of *Navar* took in affairs, would have taken away the *power which the Protection gave him*, or limited it by *rigorous conditions*, because they did not intend to *chuse a Master* in taking a *Protector*. For this reason, perhaps, they would have chose rather to give *this Quality* to a man whom *they had a mind to honour*. than to a Prince, who seeing no body but *the King above him*, would think all other *Qualities* inferiour to *his Dignity*. Since the Death of *Henry III.* they had more reason than ever to renew the same Reflections, because the K. of *Navar* having succeeded him, he was thenceforward too great not to adjudge *the Quality of Protector*, as derogating from that of a K. The Reason why they mov'd in that business, at the conference, was, because they talkt of suppressing the *Chambers of Justice*, to please the *Parliaments*; which the K. while he was only K. of *Navar*, had established in divers places, composed of Protestant Officers, before whom the Protestants brought all their Affairs; and that they had settled Royal Judges in divers places, which deprived the Protestant Officers of their ordinary subsistence. That they had restor'd the *Mas* in divers places against the expresse Terms of *the Truce*, under the pretence of executing it, and that *their protector had done nothing for them* since his coming to *the Crown*. That when *the Truce* was now ready to expire, they saw nothing which tended to *the peace which the late King had promised*. They complained also, That *their Ministers, with whose maintenance the King had charged his Finances, were worse paid under the New Reign than they had been under the Old*. *Du Plessis* in Negotiating the *Truce*, made this a Capital Article, and carried it, after some Contradictions. The Order which was observed for the Execution of this Treaty, was, That there were sent to the Secretary of State of each Division, Rolls which certified the Names and Number of their Pastors, which *Du Plessis* was to sign. And upon these Rolls so attested, *Ordonnances* were delivered to *the Exchequer*, out of which it was paid to *the Neighbouring Receivers of the places of their Residence*. *Henry IV.* was willing to have continued this Order for the Provinces where the Protestants were strong, and this lasted till he changed his Religion after which he never settled it, notwithstanding the promise, he

he had made. Moreover during the first troubles of the new Government, this order was ill observ'd insomuch that the persons interessed were not able to support themselves ; and their condition was more uncertain under a King of their own Religion, than they had ever been under any that was their Enemy. This made them fear the event, both for themselves and the common cause, which the King seemed to defend with no great heat, and therefore they thought they must rely upon a Protector, who might apply himself to their Affairs with less indifference.

But before we go any further we must explain what the Protestants meant by a Protector, for fear it should be imagined that it was a Project of Rebellion which was formed by them, under the pretence of this Election. The Protestants then having been constrain'd, after the cruelties and wrongs of more than 30 years, to unite themselves together for their common Defence, they put themselves at first under the protection of the Prince of Conde, who had the same Interest with them, and to whom the Guises owed as little good Will, as to the Protestant Religion. The natural design of this Protection, was to procure security and repose to the people who had embraced the Reformation, to carry to the King the complaints and requests of the persecuted party, by an authorised Intercessor; to repress by the respect of their Protector, the enterprises of the Cabals of Zealots, or the Intrigues which the Ambitious might form for the ruin of the Protestants, to have a Trustee and Guardian of the Faith of Treaties and Edicts, which might be obtained for Liberty of Conscience; so that this Protection gave to the person to whom it was given, nothing but the care of obtaining tolerable conditions for the Protestants, and to procure them to be observ'd when obtain'd by his Solicitations and his Credit; and by consequence, he could never give any jealousy to any Princes but such as had no design to keep their Faith, since to render the Protector of no use, there was no more to do but to permit the People to live quietly in peace of Conscience; the Protection doth then fall of it self when there is no infractions to redress, nor any Injustice to fear: Since all the proceedings of the Protector aimed at nothing else but to obtain and procure from the King a solid Peace and Tranquility unto a considerable part of his Subjects, whom the other Disaffected Party designed to oppress.

The

*What the
Reformed
understood
by Protector.*

The *Royal Authority* was always respected, and indeed under that *Protection*. Since if any thing was restrain'd or limited by this *Protection*, it was not the *Royal Authority* which the *Protestants* desired rather to encrease than diminish: but the *Inhuman Zeal* of the *Catholicks*, which after all the *protestant Blood* they had spilt by infinite number of *Torments*, talk'd of nothing but the utter *destruction* and *extermination* of the rest. And if that *form'd a party* in the Realm, Equity and humanity will blame them less for it, that had but that one way left them to defend themselves, than those that by a *thousand Violences, Wrongs and Frauds*, forc'd them to have recourse to that Remedy. It is true, this *Protection* has sometimes produced *War*, but it was by accident, because the *infidelity of the Court*, the *ambitious cruelty of the Guises*, the *violations of Treatys, and Edicts*, constrain'd the *Protestants*, with whom no measures were observ'd, to defend themselves by *Arms* against such unjust and odious ways of *oppression*.

*Protection
reciprocal
between the
K. of Navar
and the Re-
formed,*

Furthermore the *Protestants* had had no *Protectors*, but what were *Princes of the Blood*; nay, and their *Protectors* have not been always *Protestants* neither, for the *Duke of Alençon*, who had that *Quality*, never renounced the *Roman Religion*. *Henry IV.* while he was yet *King of Navar*, was *Protector* in his turn, and one might well say, that between him and the *Protestants*, the *Protection* was in a sort reciprocal, and if he served them for a good *General*, others also furnisht him with strong Holds, and brave Troops. He then had done them the good Offices of a *Protector* for many years, managed Wars, obtained *Edicts*, and *Treaties*, pursued the reparation of the injustices that were every where done to the *Protestants*; for which Reasons they often used to tell him since his coming to the Crown, that he knew their necessities better than any body, for that he had often presented their Papers, and their Requests, and pursued the reparation of the infractions and Violencies of which they had reason to complain; But when he was mounted on the *Throne*, the complaisances he immediately shew'd for the *Catholicks*, and the little care he seem'd to take for the Security of the *Protestants*, inclin'd some of them to believe that his *Protection* was ended, and that since he could be no longer the *Solicitor* of their Affairs, it was needful to look out another, who might do that office to him on their be-

behalf They began to foresee he would by little and little alienate himself from *their Religion*, and justly fear'd at the same time, that if the *Catholicks* could once influence him to change, they would inspire him with *the spirit of persecution*, which is essential to the *Romish Church*, and prevail with him to strike up a Peace to their cost, with the *Pope* and *the Leaguers*; and that insensibly from a *protecting Prince*, they would make him become *their capital Enemy* and *destroyer*. *The Protestants jealous of their grounds.*

And the *Conduct* of the *Catholick Royalists* still more confirmed those *Jealousies*; For at the very time they were daily receiving signal services from the *Protestants*, and but 6 or 7 months after they had rescued them from the *vengeful power of the Leaguers*; by receiving into their *Arms* the late *Henry III.* and *his Court*, when oppressed by the *Forces of that prevailing party*; The *Catholicks* had the confidence to demand of *Henry IV.* the *Interdiction of the Protestant Religion*, the *exclusion of Protestants* from all *Offices*, and in some sort the *exclusion of the K. himself from the Crown*, unless he embraced the *Romish Religion* within 6 months. Nay, 'twas not without some visible reluctance, they suffer'd the *Protestants* to have access to the *Kings person*, they wrongfully engrossed all business from them into their own hands, so that they could not enjoy their former *freedom and privacy* of converse with him. And in all sorts of *Affairs* whatsoever, there appear'd manifest proofs of the *Catholick's ill will* towards them. For they endeavour'd to ruin the *Garrisons of the Protestant Towns* by cutting short their pay, and putting them to more trouble than 'twas worth to get the rest. They could not endure any business should succeed well that was managed by *Protestants*; and therefore when *Du Plessis* being employed to treat with *Chavigny*, to get out of his hands the *old Cardinal of Bourbon*, whom they had a mind to have under a better guard, had promised him certain sums of money, for which he himself stood security, and had besides made other advances out of his own purse, for the better effecting that important business, they paid him both of them in bad Assignments. This made the *Protestants* think they had reason to fear all things from such people that shew'd so much ingratitude to their deliverers in the midst, as 'twere, of the action itself, and whilst their deliverance was yet fresh. What then might not they do one day, when they should once have made themselves as much Masters of the

the K's Conscience, as they were already of his person? It was impossible but such *considerations* must needs give a *seasonable alarm* to a *distressed people*, that after above 50 years *sufferings under their cruelty and perfidiousness*, could not be ignorant, that the *Roman Church* changes neither her *Humours* nor her *Maxims*; and that by consequence, her *hard-headed Zealots* would always be *prosecuting their ruin* by the same *pious measures*.

The King
offended at
the proposi-
tion of taking
another
Protector.

But on the other side, the K. would not suffer the *Quality of Protector* to be given to another, as not thinking it extinguish'd by his *accession to the Crown*, but rather confounded in him with the *quality of K.* who ought to be the *natural Protector of all his Subjects*. For he well foresaw (that once admitted) that if the *Protestants* obtain'd any tolerable *conditions*, it would not be to him they would owe the *obligation*, since they would be granted them by the *credit*, and at the *solicitation* of another. And indeed, 'tis the *nature of men* in the matter of *favours done by a Prince to his Subjects*, to attribute less to the *good-will* of the *Prince that grants them*; than to the *Authority of the Mediator that obtains them*, and to have more respect, as we may say, to the *channels by which they are deriv'd* to them, than to the *Fountain-head from whence they spring*. And therefore the K. was not willing another should together with the *quality of Protector*, rob him of the *Love and Confidence of his Subjects*, or to seem to grant at the *solicitation* of another, what he *knew* to be *justly due to the Protestants*, either by a *natural right*, or as a *recompense for their faithful services*. Nay, and the *wisest heads* among the *Protestants* were likewise of opinion, That *proposition was made* without reason, and at a *very improper time*. Because the choosing of a *Protector*, would necessitate the K. to engage the further in the *interests of the Catholics*, when he should see himself suspected by his *antient servants*, of whom by consequence he would have good reason to be *reciprocally jealous*. Besides, the *injuries* they complain'd of seem'd to them not so great, but that they well deserv'd to be excus'd by the *necessity of the time*, and of which they might not very well hope for a *speedy redress* whenever his *Majesty* pleas'd. It was likewise suspected, that *proposition* was suggested by the *Artifice of the Catholics*, who had represented objects much bigger than the *life*, purposely to create *jealousies* between the K. and the *Protestants*, and to *divide them*, that so they might the more assuredly possess

And the
Wiser Pro-
testants find
it both unjust
and unrea-
sonable.

sefs the K. alone. and without any rivals ; and influence him upon the first fair opportunity, to destroy the Protestants.

That proj. & therefore was backt but by few Persons, and was not very hard to break, especially upon the sight of a Letter written by the K's own hand, to *Du Plessis*, as well to give the more force to the thing it self, as because a Catholick Secretary of State was not so fit to express th K's sense upon that subject, as a Protestant. He there complain'd of the *proposition* made at the Conference, which I have already mention'd, and of the motives upon which it was grounded; and accused some male-contents, whom he would not seem to know, of endeavouring to advance their own private interest under that pretence; he reminded them of some *lie practices at the last Assembly at Rochell*, which had been, as 'twere, the seeds of this new attempt He likewise recited at large, what had past between him and the Officers of the Old Court, in order to remove the scruples of Religion, that hindred them from declaring for his service, in which he protested he had done nothing, of which the principal Protestants that were present, as *Chartillon, la Noue, Beauvais, la Nocle, Guitri, &c.* had not been both *Witnesses and Counsellors*: He assur'd them, that he had with his own hand, blotted out of the Original of the Act, he had sign'd to the Catholicks, the words, *whom God Absolves*, which were inserted again into the Copies, either by the Zeal of the Copiers, or of the Printer. He attributed the complaints of the Protestants to the suggestions of some *Mutineers*, and complained likewise on his side, that they who boasted so much, that had exposed their lives, their labours, and their whole fortunes for him, were now the very men that endeavour'd to divest him of that quality they themselves had confer'd upon him. After which he made great protestations of his constancy in the Reform'd Religion, excusing what he had done, that might give them any suspicion to the contrary, by the Broils that hapn'd upon his accession to the Crown; which he confessed, had oblig'd him to do many things to gain upon the Spirits of the Catholicks, who were jealous of him, as being perswaded he wheedled with them only at present, till being settled in the Throne, he might afterwards at pleasure destroy their Religion He further remarked, that he had the *Swissers* to retain, who had engaged themselves only to the deceased K. that he had the Peoples affections to gain, which had been debauched from their Loyalty by their preachers, and that he was most of all perplex'd to find out expedients to keep the Nobility

A Letter
written by
the King's
own hand,
upon that
Subject.

lity and Gentry from Deserting him who inclin'd to the Leaguers. He likewise modestly complain'd, that he had been deserted by some of the Protestants. He excused all things that gave them any jealousy by the necessity he lay under in that difficult juncture. He gave them an account of his constant attendance on the exercise of his Religion, which he had ordered to be continued in his Army with that diligence, that his Chaplain D'Aours had sometimes preached seventimes a week at Diep. And lastly, He complain'd a little roughly of those who by their unconsiderate Impatience, went about to rob him of his Protestant Subjects, who ought to be his by a double acquisition, whom he tendred with a paternal Love, and whose preservation could not possibly be so dear to any other person as to himself.

That Letter so temper'd with complaints, excuses, protestations, and expressions of a tender affection, much helped the wiser sort to represent the impolicy of the rest; and the Protestants became thereby so case-hardened to endure the tedious delays of the Court, that 7 or 8 long years of excuses and demurs could not afterward tire their patience. The rest of the years past in this perplexity between hopes and fears: But however, before we meddle with the events of another, it will be necessary to represent in a few words, the state of the two parties that thus rent the Kingdom. The Leaguers were extremely strong, as having on their side the greatest Cities, and all the Parliaments, except that of Rennes, which remain'd under the K's obedience, and that of Bourdeaux, which Mabignon made a shift to keep in a kind of Neutrality, the better to preserve there his own Authority, and which he brought not fully over to the service of Henry IV. till a year after, nor then neither, without some cost to the Protestants, by the suppression of the Court of Justice they had within the limits of that Parliaments Jurisdiction, in which it made a great breach. Besides those, the whole Ecclesiastical Order was still of the Leaguers party, which was further supported by the Authority of the Pope, the whole Force of Spain, and of all the Catholick Powers, except that of Venice, which was the first that acknowledged the K's Title; and the great D. of Tuscany, who was so well inclin'd, as to offer him Money upon condition to procure his Niece to be Married to some Prince of the Blood, and effectually obtain'd more than he demanded, since the K. was pleas'd to Marry her himself. The K's party was compos'd of the major part of the Nobility and Gentry, of almost all the Lords of the old Court, and of all the Protestants, who were

*The state of
the Forces
both of the
Leaguers,
and of the
King's party.*

were ready to hazard their All for his service; it was likewise considerably Fortified by the Alliance with England, and other foreign Protestants, which Du Plessis, who studied all means imaginable to fix him fast to the Protestant Religion, had propos'd to him, and prevail'd with him to solicit, in spite of the opposition of the Catholics, who fear'd it might divert him from that Instruction he had promised to receive.

But tho' the League was very powerful in Respect of the parties The division that composed it, yet it was otherwise weakned by the Division that reigned among its Chieftains, who had every one their particular aims and Interests. Neither was the Kings party without the same Defect: For the Catholics and Protestants could not agree, the former not being able to master the prejudicate conceit they had of their own Religion, which cannot brook the toleration of any other. and the latter still Retaining strong Jealousies of the Catholic sincerity, as being by so long and cruel Experiences convinced, they were but too well grounded. The one had for the protestants a hatred which nothing could appease, and the other a patience so much spent, that it was ready each moment to turn into Desperate fury. There were among the Catholic Royalists, very few, or perhaps none at all that were Reasonable enough to suffer the protestants to live in any equality with the others, as Children of the same family, and as having the same Right as others, to the Liberties and priviledges of their common Country; no, They studied nothing else but how to put them by all offices, and posts of publick business, for fear if they were once received into such places their Religion would make such a considerable progress, that the Catholics would by little and little be debarr'd of all employments. The protestants likewise on their side, had the same thoughts, and hoped, that if things were once settled upon an equal foot between the two Religions. in respect of the established priviledges and tranquillity of a Civil life, they should soon see their party strengthened by a numerous accession of Catholics, whose conversion was obstructed only by this consideration, that the condition of the protestants was yet uncertain, and that it would not quit their cost to embrace their Religion.

There were some then among the Catholics, who for all their high pretences to Equity and Moderation, would have thought they had done a wonderful favour to the protestants, in exempting them only from Capital punishment and suffering them to live privately among them The answer out a respect to one of the Catholics Royalists in them

them after their own way, without indulging them any publick exercise of their *Religion*, or admitting them to any share in honourable or gainful offices: Some others again more superstitious, or more hotly prejudiced, would willingly have sacrificed them to the *League*, had there wanted nothing but that advance, to have broken it, and were afraid of nothing more than of Granting them any favour. And *Montholon* himself, who was called the *Aristides* of his time, and to whom *Henry* the 14th had Given the seals, yet was so far from a Reasonable temper in matter of *Religion*, that he fairly return'd them again to the new *King*, for fear he should be obliged to seal any thing under that *Reign*, in favour of the *Protestants*. By which example, we may Judge how strongly besotted those devout men were with their mistaken *Zeal*. But there were another sort, who tho' they harboured no better intentions towards the *Protestants* than the others, yet were willing to comply a little with the exigences of the times, that they might thereby gain advantage to make use of the same artifices that *Henry* the 3d had before practis'd for 5 years together; and with this design, they Readily inclin'd to grant the *Protestants* peace, the better to disarm them, to make them effeminate, and to seduce and divide them, and were against proceeding to the extremity of war, or to any violences, by which the *Romish Religion* was more likely to lose than get; But yet they would have had a peace of so little advantage to the *Protestants*, that there was small appearance they would be contented with such low proffers, or be persuaded to place any security in them. The *Catholicks* of this last party made the gaining of time, and putting off, as long as possible, the peace so much desired by the *Protestants*, to be the main spring and moving principle of their whole design, Because they saw that in the present *Juncture*, it was impossible to grant them any but what must needs be too advantagious to them. And there were three things they desired first to obtain, viz. First, the Reduction of the *King* to the *Romish Religion*, Secondly a peace with the *Leaguers*, and Thirdly a firm Alliance with *Spain*; for then they thought their Credit would be strong enough to oblige the *King* to clole with their advices, and that, all the force of the Kingdom being by that means united, the fear of being totally oppress'd would force the *Protestants* to be content with such an *Edict* as they should please to give them. This party was the strongest in the *Council*, where it began

to insinuate it self, even in the last *Reign*, and all the wearisome delays used to spin out that business for 8 or 9 years together, proceeded from that politick principle. Thence came all those Reasons of *state* with which the *protestants* were amused every time they importun'd the *King* to do any thing for them, viz. The fear of hardning the *Leaguers* in their obstinacy, of offending the *Pope*, and of Scandalizing the *people*, with which specious pretences they likewise amused the *King* himself.

From thence came that *Maxim* which past almost for a *Law* at *Court*, viz. That no *Edict* ought to be Granted in favour of the *Protestants*, till all the *Catholicks* were first Reduced and satisfied by *Treaties*; It being but Reasonable, said they, the *Children* of the *Church* should be fully provided for, before the least favour were done for those which were *Excommunicated*, and declared *Hereticks* by the same *Church*. Lastly from thence proceeded all those Cavils which were started to elude all their demands, and to defraud them of the benefit of those Favourable *Declarations*, which the fear of making them Desperate, obliged the *Court* sometimes to grant them.

From thence also partly proceeded the infidelity of several *Catholick Royalists* that thwarted, as much as they could, the course of his *Majesties* prosperities, and made him lose the fruit of his most advantagious successes; for they were afraid, If the *Leaguers* were once subdued, or a peace made with their chief *Leaders*, before the *King* were turned *Catholick*, there would be no way left after that, to oblige him to change his *Religion*; and therefore they made it their whole business, to drill on the war, till they had brought the *King* to *Mais*. And letters were several times intercepted, especially during the siege of *Roan* and the negotiation of *Duplessis* with *Villeroy*, that unfolded that whole mystery, and sufficiently evidenced, that some of the greatest *Lords* of the *Kings* party, writ to the principal of the *Leaguers* to advise them not to make a peace, for fear they should thereby loose the opportunity of obliging the *King* to Quit the *Reformed Religion*. These artificers were not without some mixture of private Interest. For there were several *Catholicks*, who tho' they warmly prest the *Kings* conversion, yet in their hearts desired it not, because they lookt upon it as a thing that would hasten a peace, after which they should be discarded, as of no further use, and therefore would not have been sorry if the *K.* had made a little more resistance against the importunities

tunities of those that pressed him to change, so that both Religion and the State serv'd those Zealous Catholicks, but as Play-tools to manage the game of their own private fortunes with the better Advantage.

The disposition of the Protestants in regard to this matter

Neither was the Protestants party without its faults: Some of them dissuaded the K. from changing, because they heartily lov'd *their Religion*, and these urged him *with motives of Conscience*, remonstrating to him, how exceedingly he was oblig'd to God's goodness for so many signal favours, and so many glorious *Victories*; And what a fearful vengeance he must expect wou'd attend him, if he should Quit his Service under pretence of facilitating a peace, to which it would be much more honourable for him to force his enemies; And they which acted by this principle, were considerable in number, and as constant to the service of the King, as to the interest of *their Churches*; But they were not the most pleasing *Courtiers* and accordingly had but small share in the gifts and *Recompenses* of the Court, as appeared sufficiently by the little that was done for *Dupleffis, DeLa Nove*, and some others. *Lef-diguieres* and *Roni* were none of the number of those Zealous opposers, and we shall have occasion else where to speak of the Character of their piety; *Roni* especially, was not at all nice upon the matter of Religion, and tho' he at first started some difficulties against the Kings change, yet he afterwards shewed more compliance with it than any man. For He thought, whilst the war continued, his fortune would be Retarded, and that he should have more to do after the peace, at what price soever the King obtain'd it. There were some others again, that Doubted not that the Kings change of Religion, would make them be lookt upon afterwards as the heads of *their party*, and that by consequence, they should meet with more Honour from the Protestants, and more Respect at Court than before. But however all of them agreed at least in this one thing In that they did no violence as did the Catholicks to their Princes inclinations, nor imposed any laws or conditions upon him, to put any force upon his thoughts. So that even after his Change, the most Zealous among them, never passed the bounds of a whispering murmur, and upbraided him with nothing so much, as that in an action of such mighty Importance, he had not observed the measures becoming his Dignity. They forbore not after that, to serve and follow him without any condition, and the most part of them at their own expences, without any supply or Recompence from

om him. Upon due consideration of which, he confesses himself by publick Acts, and the Catholick Historians publish from his words, That the Protestants had done him *most signal services*. And 'tis probable they would have yet made greater efforts for him, could he have forbore giving them just grounds of Jealousy. But at least they were so moderate as to make no separate Parties, nor to thwart his Prosperities by any under-hand practices with his Enemies, nor to offer to obstruct the conclusion of a Peace, for fear their Religion should be oppressed by it. That is in general, as much as is necessary to be known of the disposition which both the Spirits of Affairs of those times were in for the better understanding of the causes of the following events.

About the beginning of this Reign, several writings appear'd upon the Subject of the times. But the most remarkable were those that maintain'd *the Arms of the Leaguers* to be lawful, because taken up against a Prince, who making profession of a different persuasion, could not be acknowledged without indangering the Catholick Religion. So that according to them, Religion was a sufficient cause to *authorise subjects to take up arms* against their Sovereigns. Whereas the *Low-Country Writers* maintain'd the down right contrary, against those Provinces that had withdrawn themselves from the obedience of the K. of Spain; nay, and in France it self when the Protestants finding themselves driven to the utmost limits of Passive Obedience, by the cruel and perfidious treatment of the Catholicks, took up Arms to defend themselves: the same Adversaries publisht other writings that moved upon quite contrary Principles, and proved that even Religion it self could not authorise *subjects to take up arms* against their Prince; but that they were always indispensably bound to obey him, tho he were a *Heretick*. Thus the *Roman Church* makes Laws for others, and exceptions only for her self; and her Divinity and her Faith change according to her necessities, and the alteration of her Interests alters likewise to her advantage the rules even of Conscience it self.

In the mean while the *Sorbon* let fly against the K. and condemn'd as *Heretical*, all propositions that could be made in his favour; nay, and so far did their zeal out-shoot it self, that they decided, he ought not to be obeyed, no, not tho he should come to obtain *absolution from his Heresy*, which prov'd a blow of mischievous consequence, because of the great reputation of that renowned *Faculty*, and made the K. afraid of giving any pretence to the *Catholicks of his*

The Battel
of Yvri.

Party, and that were not over strongly devoted to his service, to do worse. About that time he won the famous Battel of *Yvry*, against the *D. of Mayenne*, upon which occasion it may be Remarkt as a thing that shews the state of the *Protestants* at that time in the Kingdom, that *Du Plessis* marching with all diligence to joyn the Army, to which he arriv'd but just the evening before the Battel, pass'd through *Chataundun*, where he ordered a *Protestant* Sermon to be preacht. At which liberty of his, the *Magistrate* being offended, *Du Plessis* was fain to appease him with a kind of excuse, and to pretend, that it being one of the conditions of the *Truce*, that the *Reformed Religion* might be freely exercis'd in the *K's* Army, he had a right to exert that priviledg, as commanding a part of it, and being upon his March to joyn its main Body; and besides, that the Army of a *K. of France* was always construed to extend 30 Leagues round his Camp. And yet the *K.* himself had not so perfect a liberty in his own Army, but that he was sometimes under a constraint in the exercise of his Religion, for fear of offending the *Catholicks*. For tho he had made *D'Amours* his *Protestant Chaplain*, to Pray after the *Protestant* way, at the head of his Squadron, before he gave Battel; yet after the Victory, he durst not give publick thanks for it in the field of Battel, as he had done at *Courtras*, but was fain to defer it till he came to *Rouzi*, where he lay the night after the Fight, and then it was done only in his Privy Chamber. and in the presence but of a few People.

1590.

It was thought that Victory must needs have been a fatal blow to the *Leaguers*; but the *Marshal of Biron*, and the *Marquess of O.* who had those Aims, which I have Remark'd, made the *K.* lose the fruit of it, by hindring him from following the advice of *De la Nove*, who advis'd him to march directly to *Paris*, of which it was very probable he would make himself master, if he would immediately March, and present himself at their Gates before the *Leaguers* were recover'd out of their present amazement. Afterwards, they would fain have Prosecuted that Advice, and vain endeavours were used to get possession of that Town, when 'twas too late, and the Citizens had taken new courage, so that a resolution was taken to reduce it by a Siege. But before that undertaking, the *Protestants* labour'd hard with the *K.* to obtain some favour of him, for their better security; but the *Catholicks* still diverted him from it, by their ordinary objections drawn from the consideration of the present State of Affairs, and of the *Leaguers*, and advised

The Siege of
Paris.

advised him to put off *that Debate till Paris* were reduc'd, because by the taking of that, the whole force of the League would in all likelihood be crusht. And accordingly the K. made use of that pretence to put off a Negotiation of that ticklish nature, which he found so full of thorns and perplexing difficulties. Upon which occasion, 'tis said, that *Du Plessis*, who could see no solidity in the Reasons alledged for that delay, answer'd the K. who would needs maintain them to be good, that since his Majesty was pleased to Postpone God after *Paris*, he was afraid God would not give him *Paris* at all. And indeed, after he had lost a great deal of time before that great City, and slipt many occasions of gaining it, he was forced to raise the Siege, and give ground a little before the *Leaguers*, whose throats till then he had in a manner under his foot.

After *Paris* was reliev'd, and the D. of *Parma* retired, the proposal for satisfying the *Protestants*, was again taken into Deliberation; and the K. moving towards *Normandie*, ordered a project of a Declaration to be drawn up for the procuring of Peace among his *Subjects*, notwithstanding the difference of Religion. In which, *Du Plessis* who fram'd it, laid open at large the K's Intentions in order to the reuniting of all his *subjects* into one fold, if 'twere possible, by the means of a General, or at least a *National Council*, or if neither of them could be had, of a considerable *Assembly* of Select *Church men*, such as should be judged the fittest to conduct to a happy issue, so holy an enterprise; and in the mean time while such a reunion should be endeavouring, the *Catholick Religion* was every where restor'd, with an entire liberty to use the *publick service* practis'd by that *Church*, whereas nothing at all was done for the *Protestants* but what was before granted them by the Truce, except only that all those *Edicts* were recall'd, which had been extorted to their prejudice, by the *Leaguers*. And that one would think was very little for those people who were of the K's Religion, and who had so usefully and faithfully serv'd him from his Infancy. And indeed, after so long patience, and after they had run through many dangers, and toilsome labours, to obtain nothing else of a K. that had been a long time their Protector, but what they had already obtain'd from another that had been a great while their Persecutor, was e'en to get just nothing at all. But the *Catholicks* took the alarm as soon as ever any proposal was offered, to grant any new favour to the *Protestants*, and were much more disposed to make retrenchments

A new project of peace for the Protestants.

from, than additions to the *Edicts* of *Toleration*, and all they could hope to obtain from the equity of the most moderate of them was that the Terms of the precedent *Edicts*, should be strictly observed, without extending or diminishing any of their Concessions. So that the Protestants were fain to be content with what they could obtain, and all the pretences they could make to any new favours in recompence for their long services, were sacrificed to the K's Interests who could not do any thing for them without imbroiling himself with the *Catholicks*; and therefore they reduced all their demands to these three heads, viz. *A security for their lives and consciences.* 2. *A liberty for the publick exercise of their Religion.* And 3. *An equal share in the Distribution of places and employments.* By the consideration of which, it's easy to judge, which were the most equitable, the *Catholicks*, or the *Protestants*. The *Catholicks* would have both the K. and the Protestants at their Discretion, and thought these latter obliged to serve him without any recompence, nay, and without any security too; but yet had the face to demand a recompence for themselves, before any service done, and would be assured of the K's Conscience, before they would give him any assurance of their Allegiance. Whereas the Protestants on the contrary, demanded only such tolerable conditions as were fit to be granted to honest men, and good French men; and to be treated like other Members of the State, of which they were a considerable part.

It was then enough to satisfy them, to restore them the *Edict* of *Toleration* granted in 1577, with the Explications of it contain'd in the Treaties of *Nerac* and *Fleix*; and to revoke the *Edicts* put out against them only in compliance with the furious humours of the *Leaguers*: So that the *Edict* that *Du Plessis* had drawn up, would certainly have contented them, tho no other security were given them for the performance of it, but the K's protection, who was himself their security. But whilst those matters were in debate, This new suit of theirs was traversed by those whose old custom it was to thwart the good Dispositions of those that were inclined to let the *Protestants* live in quiet. *Biron* was one of those, and one of the most fiery of them too: He would needs have but one Religion suffer'd in the Kingdom, and yet what is most remarkably extravagant in one of that hot headed temper, is, that he himself lived peaceably with his Lady, who was a *Protestant*, and had permitted her for some time to bring up his Son in her Religion; which made *Du Plessis* take occasion one day to tell him, he wondred why he could

not

The reason-
ableness of
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And the
passion of the
Catholicks

not as well find means to make two *Religions* agree together in one *Kingdom*, as he had found the secret to make them agree together in one *Bed*. This Remark is proof enough, that passion and prejudice had a much greater share in the opposition made against the *Protestants*, than either good Reason, or true Zeal.

However, the project of the *Declaration* after it had been examined at *Pont St. Pierre*, in full Council, was found so reasonable, that it was resolv'd it should be publisht; and the K. ordered the *Chancellour* and *Du Plessis* whom he had made *Councillour of State* since the Battel of *Juri*, to go to *Tours*, to get it approv'd by the *Parliament* and part of the *Council* that resided there, of which the *Cardinal of Vendome* was *President*; but the *Catholicks* baffled that attempt too, as soon as the two *Commissioners* were gone, and procur'd the *Chancellour* to be recall'd. Their true reason was because they concluded, that if the *Protestants* were once confirmed by an *Edict*, and cured of all the jealousies they had of the *King*, it would be a great obstacle to that *Prince's* return to the *Roman Church*, because then they would stickle the more vigorously to keep him in theirs, and besides, would thereby get such footing in all posts of business, under the favour of a K. of their own *Religion*, that they would soon overtop the *Catholicks* in power; but however their pretence was as it used to be, viz. For fear of alienating the Affections of the People, and authorising the Jealousies of the Leaguers. *Du Plessis* made vigorous Remonstrances to the K. concerning the Equity of that *Declaration*; telling him freely in writing, that 'twas a shame for him to let the *Edicts* of the *Leaguers* remain so long in force, those *Edicts* that had been extorted by unjust Violences, that had thrown the State into confusion, and caus'd the Death of *Henry III.* which had declar'd *Henry IV.* incapable of the *Crown*, because of his *Religion* and in some sort degraded the *Princes of the Blood*; that the reinforcement of the *Edict of Toleration*, granted in 1577 was in full sense of *Law*, included in the *Revocation* of those others; that it was solemnly granted with the consent of the *Princes of the Blood*, and of the most zealous *Catholicks*; that it had brought *Peace* to *France*, and contented the *King's Subjects*; that it had maintain'd the *Catholic Religion* in its honour and dignity, and yet at the same time provided for the necessities of the other; that in a word, it had past as a thing finally determin'd, and which was no more to be debated; that by the re-establishment of the *Roman Religion* in the places where it was not at the time of the *Truce*, its publick exercise was restored in more than 50 Towns where it was not before, so that the *Catholicks* reap more present benefit from that *Edict* than the *Protestants*; he further press'd the K. to stand to it by a motive of gratitude for the many mercies he had receiv'd of God; and to remove the difficulties the *Adversaries* made him afraid he should meet with in the execution of such an *Edict*, he represented to him; that he had already surmounted greater than those, to ascend the *Throne*; and that it was a much greater leap from the fundamental *Law* of the *Kingdom* to the *Throne*, than

The project is at to be approved.

And afterward rejected.

Remonstrances about it.

1590.

from

from the *Truce* to the *Edict* of 1577. And because the *Protestants* were told in answer to their Complaints, That they must have patience, and that they should be treated with at the same time when the *Leaguers* were; he remonstrated by way of reply, That the *Protestants* had already exercised that patience above 50 long years; that it was not at all for the K's service, to let them suffer any longer in things of that nature; and that tho they were willing to suffer, it was not his duty to let them, because *Religion* is like a fire that goes out, if it be not nourish'd and fomented; that it was the K's part rather to rekindle and stir up in his Subjects that warmth of Affection they were obliged to have for *Religion*, than to suffer them to fall into any coldness or indifference in matters of Piety; that it was not just to treat the *Protestants* as the *Leaguers*, since their Causes were very unequal, the *Leaguers* having always made War against the K. and the *Protestants* always for him; That to deliver them from the oppression of Conscience they labour'd under, they wanted nothing but a due regulation between them and the *Catholicks*, without being put off to expect the issue of a tedious Negotiation of uncertain Peace; that there were some things that would admit no delay. such as are the *Baptising of Children*, *Marriage* and *Burials* which occasion'd every day new *Scandals*, *Law suits*, and *Inhumanities* for want of a regulated *Liberty* to celebrate them; that *Warrants* were daily given out, to take up such as were found together, praying to God for the prosperity of the K. or singing a *Psalm* in their shops, or selling a *Bible* or *New Testament* in *French*, which proceedings were grounded upon the last *Edicts*; that they who pray'd for the K. modestly in their Chambers, and they which preach'd seditiously against his person and his actions in their *Pulpits*, were treated both alike; that such *Grievances* as those required speedy *Remedies*; that it was a point of prudence, to prevent the demands of a *People* pressed with necessity, because it was not good to give them occasion to learn how to complain, and yet less policy to reduce them to seek a remedy, because in seeking one, tho from the K. himself, there was danger that in the *Assemblies* held for drawing up their *Remonstrances*, there might arise *Cabals*, and that several other changes of ill consequence might daily happen; That a *Foreign Protestant Army* being expected in *France*, there were several inconveniencies to be fear'd, if they should come before the *Protestants* were satisfied, because 'twas not to be doubted, but their chief *Commanders* would importune the K. to do something for them, which would be secretly to upbraid him, as a *Prince* that needed to be solicited in behalf of his own *Subjects*, which would be but little for his honour, and would make him loose all the credit and thanks of his Favour; and that the *Catholicks* would not fail to take occasion from thence, to pretend those favours were extorted by a *Foreign Force*, and upon that ground to demand one day their *Revocation*.

1581. These vigorous and pertinent *Remonstrances*, were not altogether unserviceable, because *Gregory XIV.* who held at that time the See of *Rome*; and abetted with all his Power the *Spanish Faction*, unseasonably

ably let fly a *Bull* of *Excommunication* against the *K.* and all his *Adherents*, and sent it into *France* by his *Nuntio Landriano*; which so extraordinarily nettled the *K's* party that was mostly composed of *French* that had never fail'd to oppose the Insolent attempts of the *Court of Rome*, that the *Parliament*, part of which resided at *Tours*, and the other at *Chalons*, answer'd it with most terrible *Decrees*, and gave out an *Order* to seize the *Nuntio's* Person, and to have the *Bull* burnt by the common *Hangman*, and prohibited all *Correspondence* with *Rome*. But the small Party of the *Romish* Clergy that follow'd the *K.* were not so fierce, and when the *K.* assembled them at *Mantes*, and afterwards transfer'd them to *Chartres*, they observ'd more measures with the *Pope*, than the *Parliament* had done. 'Tis true, they declared the *Bull* abusive, because the Clergy of the *K's* Party was therein *Excommunicated* as well as the rest of his *Adherents*, but yet were so far from consenting to have no more *Correspondence* with *Rome*; that this despicable little Body resolv'd to send *Deputies* to the *Pope*, and askt the *Kings* leave so to do: And yet the whole Clergy that followed the *K's* Party were able to furnish to this Assembly, but 2 *Cardinals*, 7 *Archbishops* and *Bishops*, and a very inconsiderable number of *Church* men of the second Order. It may be judg'd by that, of how little strength so small a number could be, in comparison of the rest of the Clergy, which was able to furnish at that time 120 *Prelats* of the first rank. And yet alas, this feeble Assembly would needs espouse a separate Opinion, and thwart by that singularly the Intentions of the *Parliament* that vigorously maintain'd the Interests of the *Crown*. The *Protestants* were likewise alarmed at this *Bull*, and sided with the *Parliament*, whose vigour was always pleasing to them, when they employed their Authority to assert the Honour and Prerogatives of their *K.* And accordingly they took this occasion to labour for their own safety, and to press the *K.* to secure them in the quiet enjoyment of their Lives and Consciences. Neither did the *K.* on his part forget himself in this encounter; for he called an Assembly at *Mantes* of all the *Lords* of his *Privy Council*, and of his whole party; and in order to give satisfaction at the same time to all the *World*, he put out there two *Declarations*; the one renewed that publisht about two years before, wherein he protested, he desired nothing more than to be better instructed, and was ready to submit to the *Decisions* of a *General Council*, or at least, of such an Assembly of *Church* men as might be able to terminate the depending *Controversies*; and in the mean while promised to alter nothing in the *State* of the *Catholick Religion*; and he gave them soon after very convincing proofs of the sincerity of his Intentions in that matter, by granting the *Town* of *Chartres* upon its surrender to him after a long *Siege*, the power to suppress the exercise of the *Reformed Religion* both in that *City*, and within the whole extent of its *Jurisdiction*. In which he stretcht his complaisance for the *Catholicks* to as high a pitch as it would bear; since to pleasure them, he was content to exclude the exercise of his own *Religion*, out of the precincts of a conquer'd place.

1591.

The

The Edit of
Mantes.

The other Declaration was in favour of the Protestants, to whom it granted the Revocation of the *Edicts* that were contrary to that of 1577, which was thereby restored to its full force and vigour, by way of *Provision*, till the Differences in Religion should be agreed by the consent of all the *Orders* of the Kingdom, when they should be reduced to the Kings obedience.

1591.

It was thought an *Edict* so very reasonable as that could not but pass without contradiction, since it made no new concessions to the Protestants, restor'd to the Catholics the exercise of their Religion in a good number of places, out of which it had been banisht during the last War; that it was in effect, nothing but an *Interim*, or *Temporary Provision*, in expectation of a *Definitive Peace*; and since, lastly, it reserved to the *Leaguers*, a power to make new demands in behalf of their Religion, the whole matter not being to be concluded without their consent when they should be reduced. Yet the Cardinal of Vendome, who had taken the name of the Cardinal of Bourbon, could not forbear making some feeble opposition against it in full Council. But after he had shewn his malicious intentions, to that degree, as to make an offer to go out of the Council, rather than consent to an *Edict* of that Nature, he was glad for all his huffing, to sit down again tamely at a small disdainful nod the K. made to him. But the *Parliaments* were more furly and difficult to be won; for those of Reunes and Bourdeaux absolutely rejected the *Edict*, and tho that of Tours accepted it, yet it was with a *Modification* by which Protestants were excluded from all publick Offices and Employments, and out of all *Assemblies of States* in most part of the Kingdom. The pretence abused by some to that purpose, was taken from a Clause in the *Edict* of Mantes, which ordered That the last *Edicts* of Pacification should be restor'd and observ'd as they were in the life time of the late K. now they knew well enough, that Hen. III. never gave any places to Protestants, and that he found out tricks to exclude them in spite of the Article in his *Edict* that declared them capable to hold them; and therefore by virtue of those words, which were either unwarily used, or foisted, by the Artifice of the Catholics, into the *Edict* of Mantes, they would still have them remain Excluded from all Employments, because they had been so treated by the deceased K. and they thought it favour enough to let them enjoy Offices in Rochelle, and some other places where the artifices of Hen. III. could never prevail to exclude them. And the Cardinal of Bourbon maintain'd that Banter, and openly declared, that the Protestants did but deceive themselves in pretending to be admitted to Offices: and they were fain to spend many years in patience, and continual sollicitations, before they could surmount that obstacle, tho there was nothing more unjust than that pretence. For Hen. III. had violated his own Law, in excluding them by diverse Tricks from thoir Employments to which they were rightfully admittable according to the expre's terms of his own *Edict* so that they could not take any advantage against them, from the deceitful conduct of that P. without wranglings

and rais'd
ed about its
Verification.

wranglings not very suitable to Royal Majesty, to the prejudice of the Publick Faith.

The Reformed made no great complaints of the Edict, tho' the provisional Clause, which differed the Decision of their Affairs till after the Reduction of those of the League, ought to have seemed intollerable unto them, because it did leave them in an uncertain condition, which could alter as Time and Interests should serve. But they could not endure to be deprived of the Benefit of their Birthrights *, or the Rewards of their desert, upon the sole consideration of their Religion: whether because this Injustice bespattered their Religion and their Persons, or because it did treat them as the Canon Law orders Heretics to be, who are by this Law excluded from Dignities and Charges: whence it followed very evidently, that they were put into the number of such as the same Canons give over to the secular Judge, and whom the Catholick Kings oblige themselves to destroy by their Coronation-Oath. They further considered as a particular reason of maintaining themselves in the right of partaking publick Employments; that the King had suppressed the Courts of *St. John d'Angeli*, of *Bergerac*, and of *Montauban*, wherein Justice had been rendered till towards the end of the foregoing Year, by Judges of their own Religion; for which they pretended that the King ought to give them some Recompence; and for which they only desired to be admitted to the same Employments; that they being of the Companies of Judicature, might have some of their own Religion to take care to see Justice done to their Brethren. Therefore they made heavy complaints of the wrangling that I have just now specified, and omitted not to set forth, that the Injustice done them reflected on the King himself; since those could not be deprived of Employments for the sake of Religion that followed the same Doctrine with him, without silently declaring him incapable of the Crown. But they did not require the King to give an express Declaration for the solving of this Equivocation, for fear the scrupulous Catholicks should look upon it as a new Grace, and should take occasion to grumble at it. They only insisted that the King should verbally express his Intentions to the heads of the Sovereign Courts, but so as to cause them to be executed. The King to satisfy them, sent Commissioners for

* *Witness of the Reformation.*

1591. the executing of his Edict, in the Parliaments that acknowledged his Authority: but this remedy was not sufficient to hinder new occasions of Complaints to be given every-where.

Meanwhile the Clergy being assembled at *Chartres*, to the small number that I have mentioned, were drawing up Articles which lay open their unfaithful and ambitious Mind. As the Ecclesiasticks have always been for making the Preservation and Safety of the Kings to depend on themselves, this small Assembly undertook to take from the Parliaments, the right of watching over it: and in this design required that they should be prohibited taking any Cognizance of what should pass betwixt the King and the Pope. They presented to the King some other Articles, upon all which *Du Plessis* sent a vigorous Memoir to the Parliament of *Tours*, which that Senate approved; and it was upon these grounds, that he advised the King by delays to frustrate the Pretensions of the Clergy. Besides the honour of the Parliament that was concerned to maintain its Possession, to preserve the Authority and Dignity of the Kings against the Bulls of *Rome*; there was moreover a reason of Interest that obliged it to withstand the demands of the Bishops. There had been since the death of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, seen to grow a new Cabal amongst the Royal Catholicks, which was termed *the Third Party*. The pretence of those that formed it was to put the Catholick Religion in safety, whose ruine they thought could not be hindered, if *Henry IV.* came to reign peaceably without changing his Religion. This Prince was growing suspected to them, because he seemed to them too long to put off the Instruction that he had promised them; and that they feared, by reason of the Prosperity of his Affairs, that he would soon be in a condition to make his own Religion to reign, in spite of the Rebels. The new Cardinal of *Bourbon's* Tutor, and *David du Perron*, who had been of the Reformed Religion, and who was, even as they say, a Ministers Son, were the Authors of this Faction; and they pretended to make it a way to the advancement of their Master, who was the Idol of that Party. They called for a Foundation, that it was necessary to have a King who had always been a Catholick, and that consequently would not be suspected: but that he must be taken out of the Royal Family, that the fundamental Law of the Crown might not be violated:

So

The paper-
y and its
design.

So that they could cast their Eyes on none else but the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. This Party grew easily, because two sorts of Catholics joyned in it; to wit, those that mistrusted *Henry IV.* and who above all things were for the safety of their Religion: and those, who, tho' they would not leave him, yet were willing to make him afraid of losing his Adherents, if he did not speedily embrace the Catholick Religion. *Villeroy* and *Janin*, who gave him both advice and the example of it, tho' they both were deeply for the interests of the League, joyned, or at least made a shew of joyning to this Cabal, to weaken the King by dividing his Party, or for to force him to change his Religion, thro' the fear of seeing himself abandoned, for another. This Faction became so potent, as that mention of it was made to the Pope, they desiring to have his Authority for a Prop: So that the King was wonderfully troubled at it, and held him for a long time in grievous Alarms. Therefore the most passionate Historians, and who seem to have writ for no other end, but for to perswade that the Catholics had reason on their side in every thing, have not dared to justify this Conspiracy; and do confess that the Royal Catholics designed to put the Royalty at a Compromise. *Du Perron*, the most ambitious and unfaithful Man of his time, revealed unto the King the secrecy of that Party, altho' he had been the Promoter of it himself: and 'twas by that means he gained that Prince's Confidence, whose Favour some years after made him a Cardinal.

The Assembly of *Chartres* did favour this Cabal, and it was resolved there to present the King with a Petition in their Names, to exhort him to become a Catholick with all speed, because otherwise several who had been faithful to him as the Lawful Heir, would take other Measures, and should be forced to abandon him. This Petition was Printed at *Angiers* without the Printer's name; but not presented. Notwithstanding the Cardinal of *Bourbon* made, or according to others, caused to be made to the King a Speech in the same sense, and with the same threatnings. It was endeavoured, for the authorizing this Party, to establish under the name of Chamber, a kind of Parliament at *Moulins* or at *Clermont*; and it was so publick, that they sought to compose it of such as were affected to that Cabal, and that it was called publickly the third Parties Chamber. The Parliament sitting at *Tours* was very

1591. much concerned at the erecting this Chamber because it could not be done without dismembering from that Court, the Countries that should be made to hold of this new Jurisdiction. But as it was profitable for the third Party to ruine the Parliament, whose constancy, when the rights of the Crown and Succession were to be treated of, concurred not with these new Pretentions; those that entered into this Faction, and the Clergy as well as the rest, did favour the setting of this Chamber, that they might have at their devotion a Sovereign Court of Justice. Therefore the Parliament and the Reformed, to whom the Creation of this Chamber gave an umbrage for different reasons, mutually opposed the Enterprizes of the Clergy. It was only the business of Employments that the Parliament and the Clergy did agree in. The Clergy complained that there were twenty six *Hereticks* in the Parliament of *Tours*; and the Parliament stuck fast to the excluding the Reformed from lesser Offices. Wherein they all manifested their aversion for Protestants, and the same repugnancy to their being in profitable or honourable Employments. The King being urg'd by the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, on behalf of the Assembly of *Chartres*, to give him an answer to three Articles, followed the advice of his Parliament, and got clear of this Instance by general Answers. The first of these Articles was concerning his coming over to the Romish Church. He defended himself from it by the ordinary Protestation of being ready to receive Instruction, and to procure the end of the differences that divided the Church; adding that he found it less honourable to turn into it alone, than to bring back the rest with him; and excusing himself for not being able to hearken to the Instruction which he had promised, by reason of his Military Distractions, during which the Voice of the Canons of the Church was stifled by the Noise of the Canons of the Arsenal. The second was touching the Peace, which the Clergy desired might be concluded, by his Intermission. Upon which the King was content in general to testifie that he desired a Peace. The third was for obtaining permission to send to the Pope, as the Assembly of *Chartres* had resolved, directly against an Act of Parliament of *Tours*, which prohibited all communication with the Court of *Rome*. The King answered it was a matter of State, complain'd of by the deceased Pope, and the Pope-regent declared,

That

*Propositions
of the Clergy,
that followed the
King.*

That he thought it contrary to his Reputation to court him, 1591. whilst he did what he could against him, excused himself upon the Parliaments being of a contrary Advice, which he had consulted about it, and upon that he desired the Affair should be debated in a full and solemn Company: Mean while he sent the Bishops into their Dioceſſes. The Clergy paſſionately deſired to ſend to *Rome*, to engage the King by that means into a Negotiation with the Pope, the Succeſs of which would oblige him to change his Religion, or elſe would deprive him of the Service of the Catholicks, if he reſuſed to turn. They would alſo have him ſometimes for the ſame reaſon to write himſelf to the Pope, for to tye the Party the more ſtrictly. The Reformed oppoſed both, becauſe they diſpaired of their own Safety, if the King ſhould engage in any Commerce with *Rome*. Their Reaſons for to hinder him were drawn from Conſiderations of State, and from the Kings Reputation, which would be in hazard thereby, what-ever Succeſs it ſhould meet with; becauſe that in that Juncture of Affairs he could make no Offers to the Pope, but what wou'd be a prejudice to his Dignity. So that for that time they had the Advantage over the Paſſion of the Catholicks.

This was the year that the Viſcount of *Turene*, being ſupported by the Recommendations of the Queen of *England*, rais'd for the King a gallant Army with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, with whom, from that time forward his Merit got him ſuch Ties as he kept all his Life-time. This Service, added to ſo many others that he had rendred the King a long time, was the Cauſe that he was pick'd out to be the Man, to eſpouſe the Heireſs of *Sedan*, whom it was of the King's Intereſt to marry to a Man of Truſt, by reaſon of the important Places ſhe held: And it was by this Marriage, that this Principality entred into the Houſe of the *Tower* of *Auvergne*, in as much as the Princeſs, who died without Iſſue a little while after, left it by her laſt Will to her Huſband. The King for to bind more and more to his Service this Lord, made him a Marſhal of *France*, tho' the Catholicks were mad to ſee a Reformed rais'd to ſo high a Dignity. This new Grandeur augmented much the Credit he had already amongſt Proteſtants, and which ſometimes had appeared ſo great, as to give ſome Jealouſie to his Maſter. But this Army ſet the Catholicks very much upon

A Foreign Army.

Viſcount Turene marries the Heireſs of Sedan.

And is made Marſhal of France.

1591. on thinking, they fearing least the King with these new Forces should easily conquer his Enemies, and afterwards forget the Promise of getting himself instructed. They therefore did their utmost to hinder it's entring into *France*, or to disperse it after it should enter there: So as that they us'd all their Endeavours to divert the Fund which was kept for the payment of these Troops. But *du Plessis*, who was the Master of this Fund, because it proceeded from the Alienation of the Dominion of *Navarre*, managed the business so well, that he kept the best part on't, notwithstanding the hard and severe Letters the King sent him upon that Subject. There was that same year a kind of a *Pragmatick* drawn by form of an *Interim*, for the distributing and administering Benefices. The Reformed were satisfied with it, as with a Preparative for a general Reformation: The Parliaments upheld it, as profitable for the good of the State: The Archbishop of *Bourges* did accept it, because he hoped to be made a Patriarch: And if all the Clergy had been ruled by this new Discipline, they had easily induc'd the Pope, who thereby would see that he could be dispens'd with, to make the King the Obedient which they would fain oblige the King to make him. But the Clergy chose rather not to serve the King, than to disoblige the Pope; and never would consent not to depend upon *Rome*.

1592. The following Year pass'd, as the former, in Military Expeditions, and in Negotiations that availed nothing, if we except the Reformed, who always lost somewhat thereby, thro' the Instances of the Catholicks for what they called the King's *Conversion*. For that they spared neither Cabals nor Artifices: They attributed all the ill Successes to his Religion, whereof for the most part they were themselves the Cause, because they were not willing to see things ended, before the King had accomplished the Catholicks Desires. They ever-more represented unto him, that his Religion alone was the Pretence of the League, and the third Party's Obstinacy: Tho' in truth, it had been better for the Ring-leaders of the League to treat with *Henry IV.* a *Hugonot*, than when a Catholick, for to have better Conditions from him. It appear'd even in time that it was not his Religion that held them, seeing after that Pretence was remov'd by his turning, they grew more difficult than ever, and held out the War for Four years longer

The Catholicks Artifices to gain the King.

longer. The Queen of *England* had unthinkingly said, and to some Catholicks too, That the King had not done well to give the Edict of *Nantes* in favour of the Reformed, and that that was out of season. This Princess's Intention was not to blame the King for doing something for those ancient Servants of his ; but because she did not doubt of the King's Constancy in matter of Religion, she thought he could take a more convenient time for to content them, than that wherein his Favours to them were neither sufficient for to reward them, nor pleasing to the Catholicks, who mortally hated them. But the Queens Words were wrested, as if they had intimated that she did not stick at Religion, and that she blamed the King for preferring it to Policy : Whence it was concluded, that tho' the King should change his Religion, he wou'd not be a whit the less in her Favour. This Craft was dangerous, because it took from the King one of his chiefest Reasons to persevere in his Religion, next to those of his Conscience, to wit, the fear of offending Foreign Protestants, whose Succours were so necessary for him. He fear'd likewise the alienating the Hearts of his Reformed Subjects, who with the rest of the same Religion, made at least the two Thirds of his Army. But for to cure him of his Fears, they did represent what the Character of the Reformed was ; Men easily satisfied, provided they had Liberty of Conscience given them ; and such as never had blotted the Names of Kings out of their Prayers, at the very time that they were persecuted by them. D' O. made the best he cou'd of these only Considerations, and made use of them from the very first Speech that he made to the King, after the Death of King *Henry III.*

But that which most annoyed the Reformed, was a joint Discourse between *du Plessis* and *Villeroy*, which indeed ended without concluding any thing, by reason of the Insolent Propositions of the Heads of the League; yet notwithstanding it prepared things for the changing the Kings Religion, which happened the following year. The Heads of the League, whereof *Fanin* was the Interpreter, did not intend, said he, to be treated *after the Huguenot fashion*, nor to accept of an Edict of Abolition and Amnesty, in that all Edicts of that nature do presuppose Crimes ; whereas they intended to presuppose as a Foundation to their Treaties, that their Arms were just.

They

*Fruitless
Conferences
between du
Plessis and
Villeroy.*

1592. They scorned an Edict as from a King to his Subjects, but a Treaty by which they would acknowledge him but upon certain Conditions; they presupposing they had no reason to acknowledge him during the old Cardinal of *Bourbon's* Life, or all the time that he was not a Catholicick. *Du Plessis* was far from hearkning unto any such Conditions, and pretended before all other things, that the King's Authority and Dignity should be acknowledged and presupposed. Therefore the Negotiation could not take effect in his Hands: notwithstanding it went on very far towards the King's Instruction, which the Leaguers resolved to be sure of before mention was made of any thing else. The two Negotiators easily agreed upon a Conference between the Doctors of both Religions, tho' each of them upon this Subject had particular Prospects. Therefore all the difficulty betwixt them consisted in the manner of the thing. *Villeroy* would have the King to be instructed, with a Promise of making himself a Catholicick: For he took the Words, *to get himself instructed*, in the sence that the *Romish* Church has always given them; to wit, for an irrevocable Engagement to enter into their Communion, after a Conference in shew, which in his Language is called *Instruction*. *Du Plessis* on the contrary, would have them to be satisfied, that the King should testifie a desire to embrace the *Romish* Religion, if he could do it without wronging his Conscience. They agreed at last on an expedient, which was, that the King should get himself instructed at a limited time, with a Desire and Intention to be joined to the *Romish* Church, provided a Method for his instructing was found out that should answer his Dignity, and be able to satisfy his Conscience.

Their different prospects upon the King's instruction.

Du Plessis thought that this Instruction might turn to the advantage of the Reformed Religion, in observing two things. The first was to hold a serious Conference, where the controverted points should be thoroughly discussed, and wherein he made no doubt but the Ministers and the Truth would carry a compleat Victory. His design was to assemble the most learned Protestants at *Saumur*, there to study the controverted Matters; and to give to each apart a question to be examined with all possible care, to discover the beginning, the progress, the changes of every particular thing; and with the Historicall understanding of these Matters,

Matters, desired each one to seek such for Arguments in Law, as 1592. were proper for the explanation of the Turth. The King himself seemed to approve of this expedient; and commanded him to prepare that Conference: to which he invited *du Jon*, a famous Divine at *Newstadt*, and afterwards at *Leyden*. But the Catholicks wou'd admit of a Formal Conference only: and by little and little, brought the King over to their Opinion. The second thing that *du Plessis* had an eye upon, was, that before the stated time of the Conference should fall out, the Catholicks shou'd have assurances given them of having nothing innovated in Matters of Religion, there would then be two things to be regulated; the one in supposing the Kings Conversion happened; the other in expecting till it came to pass; and he hoped that on the latter point such advantages should be granted to the Catholick Religion, for its Honour and Safety, that after this the Catholicks would give over the *Conversion* it self: Whence it would follow, that the King being less urged to change his Religion, could continue in the Reformed. In effect he had easily remained in it, if it had not hindred him to reign in Peace: But he loved Rest and Pleasure, from which he met in the War and the confusion of his Affairs with too tedious Interruptions; and the unseasonable seeking whereof made him sometimes lose favourable occasions of carrying great advantages over his Enemy.

The Negotiation therefore went on so fast, that *Villeroy* beginning to abate of the high Pretensions of the League, it seemed that Peace would be concluded: and that the King having heard the Report of *du Plessis*, *Revol* and he were charged to draw up an Edict conformable to the Articles agreed upon in the Conference. But this Secret was smell'd out, it not being known well by whom the matter was revealed; the Reformed imputing it to the subtilty of *Villeroy* and the Leaguers, who had feigned to hearken to the Treaty, but for to draw more Succours and better Conditions from the *Spaniards*; and *Villeroy* on the other hand accusing *du Plessis* of Perfidiousness. The Royal Catholicks took care to encourage the Leaguers to stand more stedfast to the Religion, foreseeing well that it was intended by the Peace to free the King from the necessity of changing, which could never be imposed upon him, but by the Tedioutness of the War, and the

1592. Fears of ill Successes. Moreover they imagin'd they could never have sufficient Securities given them, if they consented that a Reformed King shou'd be establish'd on the Throne; seeing he wou'd leave the Crown to an Heir of the same Religion. Chiefly in the manner that the Succession then stood, they saw nothing that cou'd ease them of their Scruples. The Prince of *Conde*, who was the next Heir to *Henry IV.* was then at *St. John de Angeli*, in the Hands of the Reformed, and under the Tutoring of his Uncle *Trimouille*, a Lord, whose Zeal and Valour caused already Jealousies at Court, and acquired him the Confidence of those of his Religion. There was a likelyhood that this Prince, after such an Education, should tread in the Footsteps of his Father and Grandfather; and that so the Catholick Religion being no more the ruling one, it should fall of it self. Besides the Catholicks finding out, that they themselves did not design to grant any Favours to the Reformed, but because they could do no otherwise under a King that was their Favourer; but that they would cause them, if it were possible, one day to be recall'd, when they should have a King more depending on their Counsels; they feared the same thing should happen, if the King did not change Religion, to the Securities that necessity should give the *Roman* Religion. The Catholicks nevertheless obtained in these Conferences the freeing the King of the fear of offending the Reformed, by taking the Measures for his Instruction; forasmuch as he of all the Reformed, who was the least suspected in matter of Religion, was very willing of this Instruction to make an Article of a Treaty of Peace. The Hope of the approaching Fall of Popery dazled this Sage Politician as well as others; and he did reckon a little too fast, as did most of the Ministers, upon the assured Victories of Truth, so soon as it would be brought to light by serious Disputes.

The Reformed are excluded from the charge.

At the same time the Catholicks shewed their Aversion for the Reformed in what they possibly could. Nothing could overcome the Obstinacy of the Parliaments, always bent to exclude the Reformed from the Charges, how great soever the cause was to fear, that the Indignity of that Denial, after so many Services, should bring them to a Resentment thereof. The Leagued Catholicks were more tractable in that than those that followed the King,

King. They consented that the Reformed should continue as the Edict of 1577. and the Conferences of *Nerac* and of *Fleix* had prescribed them; and to take away all Disputes with them concerning the number of Places that they could fill up, they were ready to grant, that the quarter part should be held by them. *Du Plessis* was even in hopes to make them agree to a third part. He chose rather to regulate the number of Places, than to leave it indifferent and arbitrary, fearing lest the King, who had an extraordinary Complacency for Catholics, being oblig'd to nothing, should do nothing for the Reformed; whereas the number of Places that should be given them being fix'd upon, he would in some wise be necessitated to put into places as many as were contain'd in that number. He saw that else they should have but a little share in them; that all the Governments were given unto Catholics, to the prejudice of the Reformed that deserved them: That *Ronî* himself, a Favourite of the Kings, found always his Pretensions cross'd, when he asked for any thing. It was therefore necessary that a Regulation should be made, which by necessity should give Employments to the Reformed, seeing Catholics could not suffer that they should obtain them by their Deserts. It is true, that the Court of Aids made an Act, by which the Reformed were admitted to the Offices of their Jurisdiction; but neither the Parliament nor the Chamber of Accounts could be wrought upon to do the like.

1592.

The Patience of the Reformed was try'd in other things, and particularly a thousand Indignities were offer'd upon the occasion of their Sepulture. The Inhumanity of Catholics on this Subject, during the Siege of *Roan*, surpasses almost all Belief. There were Persons of Note amongst the Reformed that dy'd in that Siege. *Piles* amongst others, one of the valiantest of the Army was slain there; but it could not be obtain'd of the Catholics, that his Body should be buried in any place of their Church-yards. It happened besides that many Reformed having been slain in the great Sally that the Marquess of *Villars* made on the 25th of *February*, whilst the King was observing the Duke of *Parma*, they were buried pell-mell with the Catholics that perish'd on the same occasion; but the Catholics finding it out, were so cruel as to dig them out of their Graves, and to leave

*Rigors on
their Bury-
ings.*

their Bodies to the mercy of Wolves and Ravens that commonly follow Armies.

1593. On the other hand, the King was eagerly sued to hearken to his Instruction; and no Artifice was omitted which Converters make use of on such occasions. At one time the Abuses of the *Romish* Church were extenuated, which they represented to be too slight for to be the cause of a lawful Scruple. At another time they granted him that they ought to be corrected; and he was made to hope that they should be look'd to, when he became a Catholick. He was sometimes desired only as a shadow of a *Conversion* towards the satisfying the People, and was permitted the Liberty of his Opinions on divers things, provided the People could see him at Mass. It was offer'd him, that a Vail should be drawn betwixt him and the Ceremonies, that he might be the less scrupulous to be present at it. The Commodity that his Change would give him of humbling the Pope was magnify'd, and of lessening his Authority, by putting an end to the Schism by a National Synod, when the whole Clergy would be brought under Obedience. Mention was made of a Patriarch that should be established, for to render the Churches of *France* Independent on that of *Rome*: An Allusion which at all times has dazzled the Protestants, the simplest of which think, that for to make Truth triumph, there only needs a Rupture with the *Roman* See. But nothing made a more dangerous Impression on his Mind, than the Artifice that was us'd, for to perswade him, that the Controversies which make the difference of both Religions were of small consequence. *Roni* was one of those that inclin'd him most to this indifferency, and would even tell him now and then, that a *Catholicity* would be to his Advantage; and that it would be the most efficacious means to quell all Conspiracies. He would reduce the whole Religion for him to the Symbol of the Apostles, to the Ten Commandments, to the Love of God and our Neighbour, to the Confidence in the Merit of Jesus Christ; and that being supposed, all the differences of Religion seemed to him of small consequence. In a word, he so dispos'd his mind, as that the *Romish* Religion appeared to him as useful for Salvation as the Reformed, by not being possess'd with the Abuses which corrupt the Worship and Maxims thereof. Moreover they omitted not to

gain

Continuation of the argument to show the King's Conversion.

Political Interest clearly pointed to the same end.

gain some Ministers, whose Ambition or Interest rendred them tractable. Sometimes they were made to confess in the King's Presence, that one could be sav'd in the *Roman* Communion. Sometimes they were made to dispute, as by Rencounter with *du Perron*, to whom they would yield ill-disputed Victories. And that what they should say might appear the less interested, or of greater weight, they were not obliged to change their Religion; their Prevarication being esteem'd more beneficial than a publick Profession of the *Roman* Doctrine. By these Artifices it was that the King was supplied with the Argument, whereof Converters have since made great use; That the Reformed granted that one may be saved in the Catholick Religion; and the Catholicks on the contrary maintaining, That there is no Salvation in the Reformed Religion, Prudence would have us stick to the surest, and to take to that Communion wherein the two contesting Parties grant Salvation to be possible. These Ministers had been prepared of a long time, whereof *Morlas*, *Rotan*, *de Serres*, *de Vaux*, were the most noted; and the latter of whom being troubled at his own Remorses, revealed, they say, the whole Mystery. *Cayer* was also of those that were to act this Comedy; but some Books not very modest that he wrote, and amongst others, a Treatise for the reconciling of Religions, having rendred him suspected, he was deposed in a Synod; and for a Revenge he turned Catholick. *Roni* for to make his Opinions take, said, he had for Authors *de la Roche*, *Chandieu*, *d'Esperien*, *de Vaux*, *de Gardeſi*, and *de Nord*, very famous Ministers, yet whereof the greatest part had quite different Thoughts.

Du Perron, whom *Roni* had got to be named Bishop of *Evreux*, and whose Eloquence in Conversation dragged along the minds, dazled the King by the vehemency and rapidity of his discourse: but his reasons of Divinity did not perswade him so much, as the motives taken from Time and Political Prudence. These reasons had a great empire over the mind of a Prince, that was weary of the toilsome trade he had followed near twenty years, and who saw that his labours were not as yet like to come to an end. The Misery of the People that could hold out no longer, was represented in order to move his Compassion. By setting forth the heads of the Protestants as restless and ambitious, and he was
made

1593. made to fear them. He had cause to complain of several Catholicks, that treated him after an insolent manner, of whom he desired to be in a condition of making fair riddance. Conspiracies were carried on against his Person, that caused him to fear; nay he complain'd to *du Plessis*, that the Catholicks of his Party had plotted with the Duke of *Mayenne* to seze on him at *Mantes*. He was under apprehensions, lest the States of the League then assembled at *Paris*, should chuse the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and that the *Spaniards* should uphold him. Most of the Courtiers were weary of this laborious Life, where there was nothing but pains to be taken, and as little to be gained. The fair *Gabrielle d'Estree*, the Kings Mistress, shared in these Intreagues. She hated not the Reformed, whom she judg'd to be faithful and honest Men; and even had many of them in her Service. But the Protestant Lords had no great compliance for her; and they never wou'd have favour'd her ambitious Designs. On the contrary, she was put in hopes that if the King changed Religion, she shou'd have more reason to pretend to Marry him, because he could get the Pope to make void his Marriage with *Margaret of Valois*, and be at liberty to contract another; whereas the Reformed Religion debarr'd him from such easie means of making that rupture: And to assure the Crown to the Children that should come of this new Marriage, she therefore added her reasons to those of the rest, and the King who appeared more than half resolv'd upon this unworthy Marriage, suffered himself thus to be overcome, partly by the Prevarications of his Confidents and Ministers, partly by the advices of Policy, and partly by the Illusions of Love.

Nevertheless, he dared not as yet to declare his Intention, whether he was asham'd of this timorous Conduct, or that he feared that the Reformed, whereof some spoke of cantoning themselves, and of abandoning the King if the King forsook them, shou'd strike some desperate Blow. This was not the language of all those that professed the Reformed Religion, the greatest part of whom, and even some of the most authorized, preach'd Patience and Loyalty to the rest. It appear'd in process of time, that those who were of this Sentiment were the strongest, seeing that after the Kings turning, there was none that formed a Party
against

against him; and that all of them remained four years more not only in Obedience, but in his Service; there were therefore but a few men that used these Menaces. They did not do it so much through a formal Inclination of cantoning themselves, but thro' a knack of Policy, for to oppose a kind of a Counterpoise to the threatnings of the Catholicks, and thus to put in some measure the Kings Mind in an equal Ballance. The Catholicks often renewed to the King their Threats of quitting him for another, if he did not change his Religion. It was therefore requisite that the Reformed should do the like, fearing least that the King having nothing to fear but on one side, and finding on the other compliance and gentleness, should with more ease suffer himself to be conquered by the threatening Party. The Mind is govern'd as the Body, and when either the one or the other sinks under an effort that makes it lean on one side, there must strength be put on the other for to raise it up, and to restore it to its natural Scituation. So that for to put a stop to the King, who was dragged on the Catholicks side, thro' the fear of being abandoned by them, it was necessary to oppose him with the like fear from the Reformed, if he quitted their Religion; but there was a vast difference betwixt the conduct of the one and the other. The Catholicks Threatnings were followed with sad Effects; Intelligences with the Leaguers, Cabals amongst themselves, and voluntary Obstacles to the Kings Prosperity. There was also the third Party, whose Head was known, and whom most of the Catholicks threatned to acknowledge for their Sovereign. But the Threats of the Reformed consisted only in bare words, dictated rather by Prudence, than thro' an Intention of doing ill, and which hindered them not from remaining Loyal.

Mutual Policy of the Catholicks and the Reformed.

The King's dissimulation.

Yet the King concealed his Thoughts from them upon that matter with a deep dissimulation, tho' his designs was so well known to the Catholicks, that the very *Spaniards* mistrusted it; therefore they insinuated to him, that they would treat with him without touching his Religion: This they did for to benefit themselves with the Leaguers by the Kings steadfastness, if he suffered himself to be dazzled with this deceiving Proposition. But in order to dissipate the Suspicions of the Reformed, the King already resolved to quit their Religion, testified that he was desirous to provide

for

1593. for their Safety. Therefore he came to *Tours* as they desired him, for to cause the Restrictions to be taken off, wherewith the Edict of *Nantes* had been Registered: He went thro' *Saumur* in his way thither, and the Ministers having the honour to salute him, upon his departure he assured them, that he would dye in the Reformed Religion; and declar'd unto them, that if they heard that he was fallen into some Debauch, they might believe it, because he had many such like Frailties: but that if the noise should spread that he was to forsake his Religion, they should give no credit thereunto. But when he arrived at *Tours*, there tell out things that made it visible he had other Intentions. He dared not to keep his Bed of Justice, as 'twas thought he would, because the procuring an advantage to the Reformed being in agitation, he might have given cause to the Catholicks to murmur, for as much as at his first sitting in the Parliament, he should have constrained that Senate to receive into the Charges those that were called *Hereticks*. He for that reason Assembled only the Heads, to whom he declared his will, and ordered them to consult thereupon: But this weak means advanced not Affairs; and the result of this debate made it evident, that the King had promised to turn Catholic. He made a shew of being irritated at the Parliaments resistance, and spoke very angry terms to the Attorney General: But it was all the satisfaction the Reformed had. The Restrictions remained as they were; and it appeared that the King had ingaged to do nothing for them, before he had embraced the Roman Religion.

It seemed, that if the Catholicks had consented to what the King demanded, they would have drawn him out of a great perplexity; and would have put him in a way of quitting the Reformed Religion with more decency, because he should have prevented their Complaints, by making their condition sure. But the Catholicks passion was so great, that they did consider nothing; and that they would have perhaps desired no better, than to drive the Reformed to some Mutiny, for to agree with the League at their cost, and upon condition of turning against them their united Forces. But the Reformed lost not patience for all these Injustices. The King was forced to take other measures for to induce them to see his change by fair means, and without making

making a stir. In order whereunto they made use of the Pre-^{1593.} presence of Conferences. Ten or twelve Conferences had been already held with the Leaguers, without doing any good: a new one was renewed amongst the Royal Catholicks and them; and that they might not be thwarted by *du Pleffis*, they agreed for a Preliminary, that no *Heritick* should be admitted thereto. The pretence of it was to concur with the States of *Paris* to put a Catholick King on the Throne; and to reunite the Suffrages in the Person of *Henry IV.* in case of his *Conversion*. Therefore from the very opening of the Conference he published a Declaration, that he had prepared, for to assure the Catholicks of his desire to receive Instruction. At the same time the Reformed of the Court were solicited not to hinder the Kings *Conversion*: and the Duke of *Boüillon* was chiefly intreated, because his opposition would give the greatest difficulty: *De Thou* wrote to him upon this Subject, to perswade him that it would be advantagious for the Reformed to have a Catholick King, of whose good Intentions they might have full assurances. The Duke was deeply obliged to the King, and his Mouth was stopt with such a heap of Promises, that it would have been very difficult for him not to have been overcome: The King himself promised by a Writing that was signed by the Princes, and the chief Lords of the Council, that the profession which he was about to make of the Romish Religion, would cause no change in the Edicts which the Reformed had obtained, and that no resolution would be taken in the Conference to their Prejudice.

In the mean time, for to baffle the Reformed of the Provinces, another sort of Conference was proposed, under pretence of instructing the King: but as his change was resolved upon, that serious and grave Conference so much spoken of was no more to be expected: It was only a Conference in shew; to which the King invited those that he pleased by express Letters, assigning their Convention at *Mantes*, on the 20th, of *July*. 'Tis true, *du Pleffis* altered the Supercription of the Letters; and that instead of sending them to some private Persons as the King had ordered; he obtained of him that they should be sent to the Churches, that they might appoint fit persons for that matter. No outward Action of the King could as yet discover his design of changing:

1593. and he continued in his Court the Exercises of the Reformed Religion as he had accustomed: Nay he desired that all the Reformed throughout the Kingdom should betake themselves to Fasting and Praying, for to implore of God a happy Issue of this pretended Conference, as if he had been still dubious which Party to cleave to. But at last the Masque was taken off, and it was evident that the whole Instruction would be reduced to the hearing of the Bishops, without admitting any Ministers in order to answer them. The Clergy had desired that the business might thus go on, because they never set Victory at a compromise; and that they were not so sure of the King's *Conversion*, as that an orderly Dispute, where these Pastors should be admitted, might not make him have quite contrary Thoughts. Notwithstanding the King thought to make use of his Compliance to the Clergy, for to perswade the Reformed that he yielded but to Necessity; that he abjured his Religion but in Words; that he would hear but Catholics, because that he being forc'd to turn, it was more to the advantage of the Reformed that he should do it without hearing them, than otherwise; that they might have it to say, they were not vanquished; whereas if the King should turn after a Dispute of both Parties, this Change of his had been a real Triumph for the Catholics. But the Mystery was revealed by a Letter from the Chancellor to the Bishop of *Chartres*, which was seen by the Reformed, wherein he advertis'd that Prelat, *That he might come with a full assurance, without troubling himself with Divinity.* Hereby it was seen, that a set Conference was not agreeing to the Bishops Palat, and they chose rather to overcome without fighting.

But tho' this kind of Instruction seem'd very strange to the Reformed, and that they judg'd it a very singular thing, that the King should be as 'twere the Judge of so great a Cause, after having only heard one of the Parties: They notwithstanding thought they should not omit to send their Deputies to *Mantes*, either to obtain by their Presence something in favour of their Religion, or to take from the Bishops the Pretence of Boasting, that the Ministers had shunn'd the Conference. Time has declar'd how necessary this Precaution was, seeing that not only in our days, but almost at that same time, and in the Presence of those

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those who knew how things had been carried on, they published that the Ministers had fled before them, and had not the Courage to come to the Dispute. It is true, that the Ministers of the Court entred not into Conference: But that we may not repeat over, that the King's Instruction was agreed upon to be without them, I shall at least say, that none should admire, That either those who were gained to favour the King's Design had feigned to give way, or that the rest seeing the Snares that were laid for them, and knowing the King's secret Intentions, had requir'd that all the Deputies of the Churches might be expected, before the broaching of a business of so great consequence. However they took another Precaution more formal against the vain Reproach of the Prelats; and they engaged by a Publick and Authentick Writing, to maintain in the Presence of what Persons soever in a set Conference, the Doctrine that the King had learned in the Reformed Religion. It was *du Plessis's* desire, that the Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes, and some learned Ministers should be at *Mantes*, that the Presence of these Ministers might delay, if it were possible, the King's Change; or at least, that it might more forcibly oblige him to give the Reformed tolerable Conditions. But the precipitation of the Clergy gave not time for all these Measures. They waited neither the coming of the Deputies of the Churches, nor of the Strangers: And after an Instruction of half a day, where only such were present as were not willing to hinder it, the King appeared to be satisfied with the *Roman* Doctrine, and the very next day abjured at *St. Denis* the Reformed Religion. It's true, he never would promise to ruine the *Hereticks* of his Kingdom, which the Clergy would have him Swear to. Whether he acted thus only through a sincere Affection for the Peace of his Subjects, or that it was a premeditated Denial, to take away the Fears his Change might give the Reformed. Neither would he by any means sign a Formular, which had been prepared for him; by which he was to Swear, one after another, to all the Articles of the *Romish* Faith; and in like manner to abjure all the pretended *Heresies* of the Reformed. They were forc'd to draw up one on purpose, where *Roni* interven'd, and where without an express Profession or Abjuration of any Article, he in sum submitted

*The King's
Conversion.*

*A Formular
that the
King refus-
es.*

1593. himself to the whole Doctrine of the Catholicks. But as there was a necessity of satisfying the Pope, the first Formular was sent him in the King's Name, which was counterfeited by *Lomenie* Secretary of State, who had us'd to Sign for him, and who imitated his Writing pretty well. The King agreed to this Writing, which could neither set his Conscience at rest, nor please the Court of *Rome*, where the Craft could not be long kept hidden, nor make the Reformed believe that he kept their Religion in his Heart, tho' he had these different Prospects in this Artifice.

The End of the Second Book.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Edict of Nantes,

BOOK III.

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Mistrusts
proceeded
from this
change.

THIS Conduct of the King changed once more the Countenance of Affairs. The Reformed Religion, which the Death of Henry III. had put upon the Throne, was on a sudden removed far from it; and the Heads of that Party began

gan to fear, That seeing it had been possible to make the King 1593.
 by so many Artifices quit his Religion, he should by little and
 little be dispos'd to destroy them. Which was so much the more
 probable, that it being impossible for the King to be ignorant of
 the mortal Grief they had for his Change, he was likewise to
 consider them as Men, who perhaps for the future would consult
 only Despair, and who at least would live with him in continual
 Diffidence. Thence he on the other hand must take occasions
 of Suspicions and Jealousies; and perhaps according to the natu-
 ral Inclination of Man, who never fails to hate those of whom
 he no more deserves to be belov'd, to pass from the fear of their
 Resentments to the resolution of ruining them. Men look upon
 the Presence of those that have rendred them too good Services,
 and whom they for a Recompense have manifestly injur'd, as a
 perpetual upbraiding, of whom they think to rid themselves by
 destroying these troublesom Accusers: And the Reformed seemed
 to be in a case of excepting no other Usage, seeing the sight of
 them could not but trouble the King's Conscience, by continually
 upbraiding him with their Services, their Misery and his Change.
 They saw moreover, that a Negotiation with *Spain* was on foot,
 which ought to make them fear that the Alliance should be made,
 but at their Cost. *La Varenne*, a Man of Fortune, who notwith-
 standing had a share in the King's Confidence, because he was one
 of the Ministers of his Love-tricks, took a Journey into *Spain*,
 under certain Pretences, but in effect to propose a Peace, and the
 Marriage of *Henry IV.* with the *Infanta*; for to see that Prin-
 cess in the King's Name; for to bring him her Picture, and to
 promise to send a Lord of Note, if the King of *Spain* would
 hearken to it. It is not known whether the King's Intention
 was really so, or if he endeavour'd by the Overture of that Pro-
 position to make *Spain* abandon the Interests of the League. But
 this Voyage alarm'd the Protestants both at home and abroad;
 tho' *England* and the *United Provinces* had been included in the
 Project of this Peace, because they feared lest at one time or ano-
 ther their Ruine to be the fruit of that Alliance. But in *France*
 the Reformed changed not their Conduct: They were content to
 shrug their Shoulders through Astonishment, to exhale their Grief
 in bitter Complaints, and to expect the Issue of their Deputation,
 whose

1593. whose Members were on their way to wait on the King, who had given them fine Promises for their Comfort.

As to the Catholicks, those that follow'd the King's Party lost the Pretence of their Broils, when they could no more reproach him with his Religion. But his Affairs with the Leaguers fared in nothing the better for it. From the very beginning of the Conference that was again taken up with them; they pretended to treat not as Subjects, but as Equals; and even as Superiours, that gave Laws unto the rest. They would not treat with the King, but with the Catholicks that were of his side: They disputed with them whatever can be disputed amongst those that are equal; Precedency, the Wind, the Fire, and the Right Hand; and would have the Houses to be drawn by Lot; and after all, they made still such Demands, as were impossible to be granted. Amongst other Propositions, they made that of granting to the Reformed an Edict of Toleration for a time. Thus they were forced to part, without coming to any Conclusion; the King refusing to consent to such hard Conditions, and not very suitable to the Condition of his Affairs; and the Catholicks themselves that were of his Party being atham'd to desire it of him. Some days after the King's Abjuration, the League renewed the Union-Oath, to rouse the Spirits of those that this Action had shaken. A Copy of this new Oath, which the Cardinal of *Plaisance* had Signed, and which he was sending to *Rome*, fell into the King's Hands, who clearly saw that his Change had not freed him of his Troubles. Even *Villeroy* and *Janin*, who had most assured him that his Religion alone kept these Catholicks from rendring him Obedience, temporized as well as the rest. The reason of this was, that every one was resolv'd to sell his Reduction; and that private Interest was more valued than that of Religion, which they had given out to be their sole one. There were but very few Examples of an uninterested yielding; few Towns or Governors surrendred without bargaining; all the rest got themselves to be bought at the dearest rate they could. Therefore whilst the Reformed bewailed the change of their King, and groaned under the Oppression of their Enemies, the Catholicks sold him his own Goods, and obtained from him great Sums or great Places, as a Price at which they set their Obedience: And whilst

Boldness of
the Leaguers.

A renewing
of the Oath
of Union.

whilst his ancient and most faithful Servants enjoy'd neither their Consciences nor their Lives in Safety, the Rebels, who had so often conspir'd against his Service, receiv'd all the Favours and Rewards. Notwithstanding all this, about a Month after he had embrac'd the *Romish* Religion, a Plot against his Life was discover'd. *Peter Barriere*, a Disciple to the Jesuits, had undertaken to kill him. He was apprehended and punish'd as his Crime deserv'd. The Pretence of these new Difficulties was, that his *Conversion* was not sincere, and that before he could be acknowledg'd a true Catholick, he must be reconcil'd to the Pope, and receive his Benediction.

*Barriere's
Conspiracy.*

*The Rebels
Pretence.*

Mean while the Deputies from the Churches were on their way to *Mantes*. The King was not willing to see them, because he expected nothing but Reproaches from them. And *Q. Elizabeth* upbraided him more bitterly then he expected. They of *Geneva* wrote to him after the same manner; and he question'd not but his own Subjects would talk to him in the same Language. Therefore he took all Precautions possible to secure himself against the free and bold Discourses that he expected from them. Whereupon he commanded *du Plessis* to let him know what the Reformed did say of his Change, as if he had a mind to accustom himself to such Remonstrances. This *du Plessis* did in a pretty long Letter; but yet more sharp and smart, wherein he plainly set forth their Thoughts upon all the Circumstances of this Affair. He told the King, that the Reformed had hopes that he would have taken care for them, without putting them to Trouble about it; but that instead of giving them an assured Settlement, he had not as much as *taken the Rope from their Necks*, seeing the Edicts of the League were still in force in several Parliaments: That notwithstanding the Reformed did not desire, as the League, that the Law of the Realm should be alter'd for their Profit, or that of a Foreign Prince; nor as the Royal Catholicks, that the King according to their Pleasure should change his Religion; and much less, that the Kingdom should be torn into pieces, to satisfy a small number of Men: That they desir'd Peace only for their Consciences, and the Security of their Lives, every one according to his Quality and Birth; which is a common Right, and not a private Priviledge, they being resolv'd to obey their Prince with-

*The Deputies of the
Reformed
on their
march.*

*The King's
Precautions
against
their re-
proaches.*

1593. out excepting against his Religion; That they complain'd that their Petitions, granted by so many Edicts of his Predecessors, and maintain'd by himself, could not be hearkned to under his Reign; which had they not expected, and had it not been for the Affection they bare him, they might justly and profitably have used the Methods they had been forc'd to make use of under the former Reigns: That after a long Patience, they saw him quit his Religion, without providing for them in any manner whatever: That the Vulgar thence concluded, that whether he had turn'd of his own free accord, or thro' necessity, there was no good to be expected from him any more: That the wiser sort were in hopes he would never have forgot the Favours God had shew'd down upon him, nor the Services of the Reformed; but that they feared at the same time, that he having forgot them in the midst of his Prosperities, and not having set them at liberty, when so many Victories gave him Authority to do it, would for the future want resolution to do them good; and that those who had been able to shake his Conscience, would likewise force him to make an ill use of his Power. To which they added the Examples of the past, and the present Discourses of several Catholicks: That they doubted of his Constancy of protecting them, having seen what he had done; more especially finding that there was a greater distance betwixt pure Religion and Idolatry, then betwixt Idolatry and Persecution; because a Man must meet with Difficulty to pass from Good to Evil, but to grow worse and worse is so easie, that it is scarce perceptible. *Du Pleffis* moreover observ'd, that the King had been impos'd upon their Insinuations to bring him to Mass; which having fully discover'd, he told him, that it was evident the Catholicks intended to carry him on further; that he would be oblig'd to send to *Rome*, where no Absolution would be obtain'd without Penance; that Popes had sometimes enjoin'd that of making War against the Infidels; that after the same manner the Consecrated Sword would soon be sent him, to fight against the Hereticks, meaning the Reformed, the Loyalest of his *French-men* and the sincerest Subjects; and that he should be brought thereto by little and little under divers Pretences, to overcome his good Disposition. Then he shew'd the King the Progress of the Conference begun with the League, the Delays of those that had made him change, the Inconveniencies

conveniencies of the Truce; the cause of fearing, that as he was thereby treated as Head of a Party, he might be oblig'd by the Peace to become the Captain General against the *Hu- guenots*; that the Peace without them could not be manag'd without Injustice, nor without giving them lawful Suspensions: Whereupon he represented what Extremities the Catholicks were delivered from under *Henry III.* by the Reformed; and how the latter had reason to suspect, that if a Peace was concluded without them, all the Difficulties of it should be removed to make them smart; that the convoking the Deputies of the Churches was a Cheat, seeing that without waiting their coming they debated on their Condition, and that of their Posterity; and that they made the King give such Promises, as one day would be us'd to make void all that he should grant them; that there were effects that corroborated these Suspensions; that Protestant Sermons were already banish'd the Court and Armies; and consequently the Reformed; seeing it was impossible for them to live at Court without serving God, or to expose themselves in the Army without any hope of Comfort, and without assurance of Christian Burial; that they were contriving to debar them from all places in the Exchequer, Courts of Justice, and City Magistracy, for which they had never yet been importunate with him; that it was not just they should injure their Posterity to that degree, as to leave them in the Kingdom to be rank'd among *Jews* and *Leapers*, instead of what was owing to their Services; that they could better endure to live under the late King's Truce, that granted 'em the Exercise of their Religion at Court and in the Army, the Salary of their Ministers out of the Exchequer, Places of Safety in every Bailiwick or Seneschalship; and that besides had promised them a Restitution of the Edicts before the year was ended. Finally he added by way of Advice, That these Considerations had wearied the Patience of the King's Servants, who knew not what Answer to make; that now there was no time for Delays; that their minds were tyr'd, yet heaving and tossing, and upon seeking a Remedy from Despair; that to take off their desire for a Protector, it was requisite the King should free them from that necessity, by being himself the Person, by preventing 'em, and taking 'em into his Care; that he knew what would benefit or annoy 'em; that he needed no more then only call to mind the Petitions

1593. that he had presented for them to his Predecessors ; that they had lost nothing of their Justice ; and that they ought to have gained somewhat by the Increase of his Authority, seeing it was in his power if he pleas'd, to be the Judge and Advocate, the Obtainer and Donor all at once.

*Insults of
the Catholics.*

The Catholics seem'd to fear, lest these different Motions should not make an Impression deep enough on their Minds ; therefore they exasperated them by insulting Language. Some of them call'd the Reformed Sots and Blockheads, that knew not how to take hold of the occasion, and had suffer'd the time to slip that was fit for their purpose. This sort of Drollery was so much the more nipping, because that when they press'd the King to think on them, it was cast in their Teeth, that they had mistaken the time ; and were threatned, that one day they might very well lose what they should obtain this way. And they have ever since been thus dealt with. All the Methods they have taken or propos'd for their Safety have been accounted punishable Rebellions ; as also whatever they have done to keep their Enemies from destroying them : And when they suffered without muttering one Word, all the ways that have been undertaken to oppress them, they were styl'd Stupids and Rusticks, that knew not how to defend themselves.

Du Plessis's Letter having prepar'd the King for such Discourses as the Deputies were like to assail him with, He desir'd again to see him at *Chartres*, to accustom himself to the Presence of the Reformed, as well as to their Remonstrances ; perswading himself, that if what he should say made any Impression on his Mind, it would suffice to perswade the rest, who put an extraordinary Confidence in that Gentleman. He saw him therefore, and excus'd himself the best he could, striving to make him believe, that his Change was altogether feign'd and forc'd, so far as to detest those that had done the like in imitation of him ; and protesting that he had Sacrificed himself for his People, and chiefly to procure with more ease the Peace of the Churches, which he then call'd, as he did a long time after, *our Churches*, as if he had still held some Communion with them. These Reasons were the Satisfaction that he gave the Reformed of his Court, to whom his Change seem'd inexcusable ; and would tell them, even before he

he had put it in execution, that he made himself an Anathema for his Brethren, whose rest he well saw could not otherwise be procur'd. *Du Plessis* seem'd not to be satisfied with these Excuses, nor to build upon the hopes the King gave him of reforming Religion: but the assurance which he gave him that his affection for the Reformed was not alter'd, might be a greater satisfaction to him.

In the mean time the Royal Catholicks having made themselves Masters of the King by his change, were nothing the juster towards the Reformed; they omitted no occasion of rendering them suspected or odious, in which they spar'd not Calumny itself. It was for that purpose that a Rumour was spread amongst the People, that *du Plessis* had intended to murder all the Catholicks of *Saumur* on the Eve of St. *Bartholomew*, to revenge the Reformed that had been serv'd so twenty years before at *Paris*. He understood very well the malignity of this Artifice, which tended to render all the Reformed suspected of a like design, in all the places where they were the strongest: because it was more than probable, that a Lord of that Wisdom and Authority would not alone undertake the project of this Vengeance, which would be too small for to extend only on the Catholicks of *Saumur*: Therefore he was willing to refute that Calumny in due Form. He complain'd to the Parliament of it; information was made against the Authors of this Report, which was easily evinc'd to be false: but the party impeach'd was not punish'd as *du Plessis*'s expected. On the other hand, the Catholicks strove with great vigour, to keep the Deputies of the Churches from coming into the King's Presence: whether they fear'd that their sight might shake him, he being as yet not well grounded; or that they strove to hinder the Favours he was prepar'd to grant them, to make them forget his change. But the King being very loath to send back the Reformed Deputies without hearing them, the Catholicks endeavour'd to keep him at least from seeing them all, and would fain have admitted no more then six into his Presence: But *Du Plessis* got the King to resolve the contrary. However the Catholicks without losing courage, endeavour'd to weary the Deputies at *Mantes*, amusing the King near *Pecamp*, and other places of *Normandy*, to give them occasion to Believe that the King shund 'em, and was

Artifices to
hinder the
Deputies
from seeing
him.

not

1593. not willing to come to the speech of 'em : and moreover they put him in some fear of the Pope, who would be offended if he gave so soon, and so publickly, any token of affection to the Reformed. But *du Plessis* still got the better of these Artifices; the King went to *Mantes*, saw all the Deputies, heard their Complaints and Reproaches, they wanting neither Strength nor Courage, made them fair Promises, heard President *Feydeau* that spoke for them, received the Memorial of their Demands, charged the Chancellor to examine it, and made them hope he would give them satisfaction.

*Project of
an Edit.*

The Catholicks not being able to hinder him from seeing them, endeavour'd at least to hinder his satisfying them; and advised him to send them home with a promise to answer their Memorial in three Months. But the Marshal *de Bouillon* and *du Plessis* shewed so many inconveniencies in that advice, the suspicions so lawful, that the Deputy's return would give the Churches, without carrying back any thing but words; so many sad Consequences of despair that such a conduct would cast the Reformed into, that the King took a contrary advice. And because they always alledg'd the Pope, who had not as yet approv'd the King's absolution, and how the Edict that would be given the Reformed would hinder his approving it; they reply'd, that there was no heed to be given to the Pope, when their affairs were in agitation, because they knew but too well that he would never be pleased that any thing should be done in their favour. But to testify that the King's Service was as dear to them before as after his change, and that they were not willing their Precipitation should bring him any prejudice, they did agree that the publishing of the Edict which would be granted them might be deferr'd, provided the Memorial was presently examined, and the Edict drawn up in order to its Publication at a less ticklish Juncture. They therefore obtained that seven Catholick Commissaries should be named, that what they should conclude might be the more authorized: and in this very number were some of the most rigid, to take away all causes of murmuring if the business should be carried on without them. But these Commissaries knew not where to begin; whether their design was to frustrate the pursuits of the Reformed, and to put them off to a time that the King's Con-
version

version should not be a new thing; or that out of their zeal for Religion they were not willing to grant any thing to those that they held for *Hereticks*. So that after several Conferences, wherein time was spent, the Marshal Duke *de Bouillon*, and *du Plessis*, were added to the Catholicks, who soon agreed with them upon several Articles.

The chief of them were, that the Edict of 1577 should be revived with the Interpretations given it in the Conference of *Ne-rac* and *Fleix*; that the Edicts extorted by the League to the prejudice of the former should be repealed: That by reason of the changes caused by the disturbances of the League, and the damages that the Reformed had suffered thereby, a new Regulation should be made by way of amends for their Losses, conformably to which the Chancellor and Secretaries of State should govern themselves upon occasions, and give the necessary advices to the Parliaments, in the Affairs that should be Transacted by them; That the Catholick Religion should be re-establish'd in all places that the War had banished its Exercise from, which should be performed without Fraud, and without Prejudice to the Reformed: That the Reformed should exercise theirs in the Cities under the King's Obedience, Because the War hindered them from assembling with safety in the Country; which however the King should order according to the places: That when the King's Sister was at Court, the exercise of the Reformed Religion should be in her House; and in her absence, only in the Families of Lords, amongst whom were reckoned, namely, the Duke *de Bouillon*, *La Trimouille*, *Roban*, *du Plessis*, yet with that reservation, that no Psalms should be sung there: That it should also be in the Army, whether the King was present or absent, in the Quarters of the Captains of the Gendarms, and Camp-masters: That no Oath made, or to be made, should be a prejudice to the Article agreed to: That a Fund should be appointed for the Salary of their Pastors, according to the Rolls certified by the Provinces, and that it should be charged upon the Provinces under the name of Madame: That the Legacies and Gifts that might be bequeath'd to the Churches and Poor should be valid, and that the Reformed should be admitted to sue for the Payment thereof after the ordinary ways: That the Children of the Reformed

And to hinder him from satisfying them.

1593. formed should be brought up in the Religion of their Parents, tho' the Fathers and Mothers of them should not order the same in their last Will. They added verbally to all these Articles that were written down, that the Reformed might build and rent Colleges for the instructing their Youth.

Precautions
against the
Oaths of the
Order of
the H. Ghost,
and the Co-
vocation.

The Reformed Commissaries got an Article to be inserted against the Oaths, under pretence of which all the Promises that should be made might be evaded; because they knew very well that the King was to take the Oath of the Order of the Holy Ghost, and that at his Consecration he would be made to take another, whereby he should be obliged to extirpate the *Hereticks*. In like manner they obtain'd, that the Fund appointed for the maintaining their Pastors should be charg'd upon the State, under the name of Madame, by reason the Catholicks look'd on it as a very grievous thing, that the States of a most Christian King should be charged with the Maintenance of Heretical Ministers. But when these Articles were communicated to the Deputies of the Churches, they were not satisfied with them for two principal Reasons. The first was, That there was no care taken, that Justice should be administer'd to them as well as to Catholicks; whereas the Parliaments and other Judges did them great Injustices in Civil Matters, and great Cruelties in Criminal ones, as if the Protection of Laws and Common Right had not belong'd to them. Add to this, That the reviving the Edict of 1577. which seem'd to provide for that, did not free them from their fear of being deprived of its effect, by the same Frauds of which they had a Tryal under the Reign of *Henry III.* The second was, that the Securities given them did not seem sufficient against the Animosities of the Catholicks; of which they had a fresh example by the peevishness of the Commissaries that had treated with the Marshal *de Bouillon* and *du Pleffis*. It had appeared by all their former Behaviour, but still more by their sharp and unjust Contestations which they had upon each Article of the Memorial. So that the remembrance of past Cruelties and Treacheries, suffered not the Reformed to rely on the goodness of Enemies, whose hatred nothing could assuage. Theretore they represented to the King the insufficiency of the Articles, granted them: but
all

all was in vain. The Council permitted not that any addition should be made to the things agreed on, and the King who had reason to manage the Catholicks more then ever, durst not incense 'em by giving the Reformed too much Satisfaction. The Deputies of the Churches were therefore forc'd to retire, as if it were to give those that sent 'em an account of their Negotiation: and they carri'd into their Provinces the Articles granted, without either accepting or refusing 'em, as if they were to consider 'em more at large with their Brethren.

The Reformed assisted of the Project, neither accept nor refuse them.

'Tis true, the King gave them leave to call a Provincial Assemblies, there to make a Report of their Deputation; and to prepare them for a general Assembly, which they held at St. Foy the ensuing year. They also obtained leave to call a National Synod to regulate their Ecclesiastick affairs, which were in some confusion. But that which most favoured them was, that even before the King's face and with his Approbation, they renew'd at *Mantes* the Union of the Churches, to live and to dye in the maintainance and defence of their Confession of Faith, as they had already sworn at the Assemblies of *Nimes*, *Millaud*, *Montauban*, and *Rochelle*. But these former Oaths had been made under the authority of a Protector of their own Religion: That of *Mantes* was the first they made with the consent of a King that had embrac'd a contrary Communion. *Du Plessis* put this Notion in their heads, and advis'd them to let the King know it. They did so, and the King, whether in that he follow'd his own Inclinations, which favour'd 'em in the main, or that he judg'd it was not a time to disapprove it, not only permitted them to renew their Union, but exhorted 'em to it, as a thing necessary for their Preservation; and said nothing to them that might make 'em think he believ'd their Oath was prejudicial to his Service. For this clause was always inserted in the Acts of the Union, that it was made *under the Kings Obedience*, and without quitting the fidelity that was due to him. It would have been difficult, I grant, but on t'other hand, it would not have been just to oppose such an Union, seeing that in effect to hinder people from uniting themselves for their own safety, when they have formidable Enemies to deal with, would be a direct Declaration that they were resolv'd to destroy 'em; therefore this Union of the Churches which has made so great a noise,

Assemblies permitted, Union renew'd with the King's approbation

1593. and which has serv'd *Lewis XIII.* for a pretence to ruine the Reformed, was in its beginning equally innocent and necessary: Since natural right of self-preservation grounded the necessity of it, and for that the Approdation and Exhortation of the King who authoriz'd 'em, was lawful and no way to be blam'd.

Artifices to corrupt the Ministers. This hinder'd not, but that whilst the Deputies of the Reformation stay'd at *Mantes*, great endeavours were us'd by the force of Intrigues to corrupt some of 'em, either to sow division amongst 'em, or to colour the King's Change by some new Prevarication of the Ministers. Matters had been prepar'd for it, by procuring the Deputation of some Provinces for such Persons as were judg'd most pliable to the Promises of the Court. *Rotan* a famous Minister was suspected to help on these Artifices, whether he was really charmed by the expectance of some Favours, or that he feign'd as if he hearken'd to 'em that so he might be made a Deputy; because that Commission then was of no small consequence to honour those it was given to. A Conference was therefore begun, to which *du Perron* was admitted, as assur'd of Victory, by the Collusion of his Adversary. The dispute ran upon the sufficiency of Scripture, and upon the Interpretation of the 16 verse of the 3 Chapter of the 11 Epistle of *Paul* to *Timothy*. But *Rotan* not daring, either in Honour or Conscience, to be so base as he was reported to have promis'd, feign'd himself sick, which freed him from that trouble. *Beraud* a Minister of *Montauban* took his place, but the Conference was soon at an end, when they saw that there was nothing to be expected from the fraud agreed upon with *Rotan*. The Clergy found out the means to break it, without seeming to shun it; and the Ministers on their part offer'd to take it up when ever occasion should offer: But by reason these offers hinder'd not the Clergy to boast that they had made the Ministers give ground, *Beraud* and *Rotan* got the National Synod held at *Montauban* the following year, to approve what they had done at the Conference. *Beraud* perswaded *Rotan* to lay all upon himself; and this approbation stifled mens suspicion, that the latter held any fraudulent Correspondence with the Adversaries: and to shew that they did not stand in fear of the Bishops, the Synod nam'd one and Twenty Persons of their Body, to whom they gave authority of chu-
sing

sing Twelve of their own number to continue the Conference, 1593. whenever the Catholicks would re-assume it. Amongst these Electors were three Foreign Ministers; one from *Geneva*, one from *England*, and one from *Holland*.

The departure of the Deputies put an end to these dangerous Intreigues; but the Reformed soon after were set upon by new Artifices: And secret Orders were sent into the Provinces, to hinder their Ministers from using in their Sermons too hard Expressions against the King's Change, and they were forbid to call it a *Revolt*. Thus whilst on the one hand the Suffrages of some Preachers of the League were bought off with ready Money, to engage 'em to speak advantagiously of the King's *Conversion* in their Pulpits, the same means was mostly us'd to stop the Ministers Mouths, and to make 'em speak modestly concerning the same thing. Hereby it was expected that the Reformed People coming to hear this Action of their Prince spoken of with so much Moderation, might be the more easily inclin'd to imitate Him. Moreover there arose a World of Reconcilers of Religion, who looking upon the Accomodations as very proper to flatter the King's Conscience, by these unworthy means aspir'd to Rewards and Salaries. These Reconciliations wrought upon some Ministers; but that which was most surprizing, was, that a whole Province was taken with these illusory Projects, and had the Boldness to charge their Deputies to carry a Proposal of the same to the Synod of *Montauban*. These Artifices corrupted many People, and occasion'd much trouble to several wise and honest Men, that were for preserving the advantages of Religion and the Rights of Conscience, without disturbing the Peace of the Churches.

*A design of
re-uniting.*

On the other hand, the King's Negotiations with the Pope gave new Alarms to the Reformed, who fear'd lest they should pay the Expences of the Reconciliation betwixt these two Potentates. The Duke of *Nevers* being sent to *Rome*, seem'd fit for the speedy concluding of this business, because that as a zealous Catholick, and originally an *Italian*, he would be acceptable to the Pope; and as affectionate to the King, he would mind his Interest. In effect he was very intent upon the matter, and ply'd the Pope in a most submissive and earnest manner: But he got nothing by his

1593. Importunity. The Pope believ'd the League to be still strong enough to hold out a long time against the King's Power; and according to the Maxims of *Rome*, he continu'd inflexible, as long as he thought things could not be done without him. The Duke of *Nevers* has thought fit in his Memoirs to make a particular Observation of the little knowledge that Court has of the Gospel; where nevertheless, the Name of Religion serves for a Cloak for all things. He relates, that as he was one day remonstrating to the Cardinal of *Toledo*, how just it was that the Pope should kindly accept the Offers of the King that courted him, seeing his Duty oblig'd him, like the good Shepherd that seeks for the stray'd Sheep, to have courted himself that Prince, were he still stray'd from his Flock; This Cardinal, one of the most learned and famous of the College, answer'd him, *That it did not stand with the Dignity of Jesus Christ to run after the stray'd.* And continuing the same Discourse, he nam'd the Apostle *St. Andrew* in a thing that the Evangelist *St. John* attributes to *St. Philip*; wherein the Duke, who knew more then he, made no Scruple to shew him his Error.

The Duke of Nevers obtains nothing at Rome.

These Rigours of the Pope, and the bad Success of the Embassie of the Duke of *Nevers*, who was not a little griev'd to see that they did but laugh at the Miseries of *France* in *Rome*, and in whose Presence this same Cardinal had presum'd to say, smiling at the Description he made of 'em, *That he did not know how to help 'em*; All this, I say, made some of the Reformed take heart, in hopes to see a Schism that might happen to their Advantage. But those who understood better the *Roman* Policy judg'd otherwise, and believ'd, that all these Scruples were rais'd only for to enhance the price of the King's Reconciliation, and to draw more advantageous Conditions from him; amongst which they highly fear'd, least destroying the Hereticks, as one of the chiefest, should be inserted. It is true, the King had charg'd the Duke of *Nevers* to let the Pope know, if he were capable of hearkning to Reason, that considering the present posture of Affairs, he ought not be oblig'd either to destroy the Reformed, nor to promise the compassing of it one day, because they were strong enough to stand in their own Defence, and had well fortify'd Holds to retire to. In consideration of which he besought the Pope not to take it ill,

ill, that some other more moderate Course might be taken for the good of the Catholick Religion, without mentioning the Destruction of the Reformed. *Pisani*, who had made a Voyage to *Italy* before the Duke, had also been charg'd with the like Instructions. But the Reformed were not ignorant of the Artifices of the Court of *Rome*, that takes her Measures afar off to bring about her Designs, whereof she never loses sight. The Pope also explain'd himself clearly enough upon this Subject; and tho' he had resolv'd to give no positive Answer to the Duke of *Nevers*, when he ask'd him, what he would have the King do in order to obtain his Absolution; yet told him, to be rid of his Importunities, that the King should do the contrary of all that he had done till that time. The Reformed understood well the meaning of those Words. They were not obscure to those that knew with what earnestness the Court of *Rome* had, and still did endeavour throughout all *Europe*, to destroy the Protestants: They saw well, that the Popes meaning was, that the King who to that time had been the Protector of the Reformed, must for the future persecute and destroy 'em. They were moreover well informed, that divers Advices were given the King to divert him from favouring them; and that it was ever-more represented to him, that that was the only means to bring back all the Catholicks into his Service, and bind the Pope to his Interests.

The fears that the King and Popes reconciliation gave the Reformed.

Mean while the Truce which the King had made with the Heads of the League immediately after his *Conversion*, under pretence of re-uniting their Minds, and to wean them from the War, ended with the Year. It was at first made for Three Months, and then was continued. The Reformed of the Council oppos'd it with all their might, and endeavour'd to make the King sensible, that this Truce would prove the Ruine of his Affairs; because it would delay the good Intentions of those that were inclinable to return to their Obedience, and give the Heads of the League time to re-encourage their Party that began to shake, and an Opportunity of treating more advantagiously with the *Spaniards*. But this Advice was rejected by them who foresaw that the design of a Peace would throw the Reformed into despair, who found more safety for themselves in the Continuation of the War. Yet time convinc'd the World that their Counsel was both wholsom and

Truce to the King's prejudice.

1593. unbyass'd. The particular Heads of the League stuck close one to another whilst the Truce lasted, hoping that All together should obtain better Conditions then separate and divided; and the Heads made a bad use of it to draw more Succours from the *Spaniards*, who were desirous to continue the Troubles in the Kingdom. The King therefore publish'd a Declaration, setting forth his Reasons for discontinuing a Truce so hurtful to his Interests. But the face of things chang'd as soon as ever the Truce was expir'd, and most of the Cities treated. *Meaux* was the first that submitted, following the Example of *Vitri* the Governor. She drew great advantages from her submitting, and the Edict that was given her serv'd for a Model to the rest under the same Circumstances.

Reduction
of Meaux
and other
Towns.

Clauses in
the Treaties
that pre-
judice the Re-
formed.

All these Surrendrings gave new Jealousies to the Reformed, against whose Liberties there were always some Clauses inserted in the Treaties of the Governors and Cities. The very Articles that were agreed upon at *Mantes* were almost all violated by these new Edicts; and the Reformed after all these Infringements, found themselves in as bad a posture as at the beginning. All the Towns did not shew an equal Aversion for them; but they all agreed, that no other Religion then the Catholick should be exercis'd within their Walls. *Meaux* was content to exclude out of her Cities and Suburbs the Exercise of the Reformed Religion. Others banish'd it their **Banlieve*. Several reduc'd it to the Limits of the Edict of 1577. fearing least the Services of the Reformed should get 'em a more extended Liberty. Several desir'd that the Exercise of the Reformed might be remov'd from the Jurisdiction of their Bailiwick. Some added pain of Death to those that should break the Conditions. *Paris* remov'd the Liberty desir'd by the Reformed Ten Leagues round. *Villars* banish'd it *Roan*, and all the Towns and Places that he caus'd to submit to the King's Obedience; and added, That there should be neither Judge nor Officer that was not a Catholick employ'd therein, and did not live according to the Constitutions of the *Romish* Church. But to temperate this rigorous Clause, it was subjoin'd, that this should only last till the King had otherwise order'd it. *Poitieres*, besides the removal of the Exercise of the Reformed from the Town and Suburbs, and from all the places that the Edict of 1577. did not permit, demanded that the Catholick Religion

* The Cir-
cuit of a
League
from any
Town, being
within the
Precinct, or
Jurisdiction
of it.

Religion might be restor'd in divers places of *Poitou*. *Agen* limited her Bonlieve to half a league round, where the Reformed Religion should not be exercis'd. *Amiens* prohibited it in the City and whole Bailiwick, without having respect to the Edict of 1577. *Beauvois* obtain'd that it should be no nearer then three Leagues about, nor in any places of the Bailiwick, but where it had been in the late King's time. *S. Malo* treated after the same manner. The Towns and Lords that return'd latest to their duty, follow'd the example of the rest, and got what they cou'd from the King against the Reformed Religion.

Some of the Edicts were publish'd before the Reformed had formed the Assembly they were permitted to hold at *St. Foy*; so that they had time to see what they were to expect from the Reconciliation of their old Enemies with the King, and to be confirm'd in their fears of seeing the Kingdom pacifi'd at their cost. They saw even some of those Cities, which having held for the King, revive their zeal after the example of the Towns of the League; and pretended that their fidelity shou'd not deprive 'em of the Advantages granted to Rebels; whence they drew this consequence, that they ought not to be forc'd to suffer the exercise of the Reformed Religion, seeing such were free'd from it as had for a long time stood out against the King. But their allarmes still encreas'd by the Ceremony of the King's Coronation, which was celebrated at *Chartres*, because *Rheims* was as yet in the hands of the League. The Clergy that never forgot their interest in Ceremonies of this kind, which they have introduc'd rather thro' Ambition then Necessity, inserted a Clause in the Oath that was then taken by the King, whereby he was bound in expresse words, to root out Heresie. He is made to swear, after some other things that concern Justice and publick Tranquility, *I shall to the utmost of my power sincerely endeavour to drive from my Jurisdiction and Lands of my Subjection all Hereticks declar'd by the Church.* The Reformed knew well what share they had in this Article of the Oath, they to whom what Catholics call the Church, had so often declar'd their meaning; they against whom the Popes had rais'd such cruel Persecutions; and they to whom the French, and even those of the King's Party gave every day the odious name of *Hereticks*. But part of the Suspicion which this Clause

Oath of the
Consecrati-
on.

1593. Clause might give, was remov'd by granting the Reformed a Brief, wherein the King assur'd 'em that he did not mean Them in that Oath : And they had in some measure provided a Remedy against this fear, by one of the Articles that were agreed on at *Mantes*.

*The Jesuits
answer.*

Another cause of jealousy was the Favour into which the Jesuits had crept a little after the King had chang'd his Religion, and chiefly after the Reduction of *Paris*. The Cardinal *de Bourbon* had undertaken to establish 'em, in spite of the oppositions of the University. The Duke of *Nevers* upheld 'em with his whole Credit; and many Lords openly protected them. Part of the Parliament was for 'em; the King himself, who was brought to any thing in hopes to soften the Pope, favour'd 'em. Their cause was pleaded *pro* and *con*; the Rights of the University were maintain'd with utmost vehemency. *Arnauld* their Advocate, enlarg'd much upon the Inclination, altogether *Spanish*, of that Society, whose Founder had made a vow of mortal hatred against *France*; and shew'd how formidable their power was. They had encreas'd in fifty years to the number of ten Thousand men; they had already two Hunder'd twenty eight Houses; two Millions of Gold Revenue; great Lordships; Cardinals in their order: all which clearly shew'd that they ow'd this propagation to their unquiet, covetous, and ambitious Disposition. But it appear'd at that very time that they had a great credit in *France*, seeing their Cause was pleaded privately to avoid Seandal. That is to say, these Refin'd Politicians by means of their Friends, prevented their being told their own in a publick Audience: Whence the wise might perceive, that it was not safe to offend 'em. The Reformed beheld the Settlement of the Jesuits as an ill omen for them, because they were their sworn Enemies; born on purpose to oppose the Reformation; and the ordinary Instruments of all their Persecutions. Moreover the Society was altogether *Spanishly* affected; and consequently engag'd to persecute the Reformed, whose ruine *Spain* sought with all the strength of her Policy. But this terror did not go far; the matter was not decided; and e're the year was ended, there fell out things that found the Jesuits other Intrigues to disintangle.

*Injustices
done to the
Reformed.*

The Reformed were still deny'd any places of trust ; and there were Catholicks so unjust upon that matter, that they chose rather to see the King lose a place, then to suffer a Reformed to have the Government of it. D' O. publicly said, that it were better *Catelet*, a Frontire place of *Picardy*, shou'd be taken by the *Spaniards*, then that a Protestant should have the keeping of it, because it wou'd be easier to retake it from the King of *Spain*, then to drive a Reformed Captain out of it ; But what made the Reformed more sensible of the injury of this denial was, that whilst they were depriv'd of lesser Offices, the chiefest places of the State were given to the Leaguers, that demanded them for returning to their Obedience : As if Rebellion had given more right to the highest Dignities, then long Service, and tryed Loyalty to the lesser ones. Nay at *Tours* itself wou'd they make Recorders and Notaries take an Oath, of living and dying in the Catholick Religion ; which if it were not done, the place was declar'd vacant and free for the purchase of another. This so unequal a distribution of Recompenses mortally offended the Protestants, who not without a just Resentment, found that the Parliament made no Scruple to Register the Patents for Admiral or Marshal of *France*, granted to the Heads of the Rebels ; yet would not admit an Usher or a Procter of the Reformed Religion, without obliging him to swear that he wou'd live a good Catholick. Nor was this all ; the Governments and Places were taken from the Reformed, and at the same time bestowed upon their Enemies. Divers pretences were contriv'd, either to hinder them from fortifying the places they held, or to perswade them that the keeping 'em was not worth while. *Valognes* in *Normandy* was taken from 'em, under a pretence that it signifi'd nothing to keep it, because two or three useles Forts about it were ras'd. Mention was made of demolishing all the places that kept *Poitiers* block'd up, as soon as that great Town wou'd be reduc'd. The Baron of *Courtomer* also was depriv'd of the Government of *Argentan*. to put *Medavi* in his place : and elsewhere many the like Subjects of Complaint were given. The King to appease the Murmurings that were occasion'd by such Acts of Injustice, pay'd the Reformed with the Parable of the Young Man, at whose return, after a shameful wasting of his Wealth,

1593. his Father kill'd the fatted Calf, for Joy of his Repentance. But they answer'd, that they ought at least to be treated as the Son that had always been faithful, and to whom his Father said, *Son, all that I have is thine*. That if they were resolv'd to spend the revenue of the Family, in favour of a Prodigal to reclaim him, it was but just at least to make him a sharer, to whom it was said, *Son, thou hast always been with me*: That certainly the obedient Son was not to be Sacrific'd for the return of the other; nor to be despoil'd of his Rights to confer 'em on him that tramp'd under Foot the Authority of his Father.

Besides these general affairs, there happen'd others particular in many places, which were enough to weary the Patience of the most prudent and moderate. The Lieutenant *Civil* of *Paris* put out an Order, commanding the Reformed to bow to Crosses, Images, Banners, and Shrines, when they shou'd meet 'em in the streets. This seem'd to be of consequence, because it was done as 'twere in the very Presence of the King, who seem'd to Authorize, seeing he did not hinder it. An order of the Judges of *Lyons* drove from the City and its Jurisdiction, upon pain of Death, all those that shou'd not profess the Catholick Religion. The Parliament of *Rheims* prohibited on pain of corporal Punishment, the selling, reading, or keeping Books for the use of the Reformed Religion. That of *Bordeaux* had made an Act, that authoriz'd the digging up of the Bodies of the Reformed, which in the space of fifteen years had been buried in the Churches or Church-yards of the Catholicks. The orders taken with those that had the management of the King's Exchequer for the payment of Ministers, were of no effect. The Courts that were promis'd for the Administration of Justice in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*, were not set up, though the Passion of the Parliaments of *Bordeaux* and *Thoulouse*, against the Reformed wanted but little of Fury. At *Orleance* the Officers already receiv'd were deposed. The Parliament of *Roan* caus'd the Proctors and Advocates to make a publick Abjuration, before they were permitted to plead or argue at the Bar: And even at *Tours*, the Parliament before it's return to *Paris*, had caus'd a Judge Assistant of *Saumur* to make his Abjuration

jurament, afore his Pattents could be register'd ; which appear'd so much the more strange, that *Saumur* was a Town of Safety. 1594.

Among the Reformed Lords, there were some that took no great Care of the Affairs of their Party. *Lefdiguieres* minded no body but himself in *Dauphine*, where he was very powerful. His manners were irregular, and his Life not very edifying. He was covetous, ambitious and debauch'd ; and he had join'd himself to the Reformed in his outward Profession, rather because their Religion had been the raising of his Fortune, then out of any real Piety. There was a Proposal also of marrying his only Daughter with *la Trimouille*, or the Marshal *de Bouillon*, which would have very much advanc'd the Affairs of the Reformed. But the Court prevented those Alliances ; and a little after that, *Lefdiguieres* marry'd her to *Crequi*, a zealous Catholick. Neither was *Roni* less cold in the matter of Religion. He was one of those wary Blades that will be always serving God on the winning side ; so that his Religion consisted only in Appearances, and those but very superficial too. There were also Governours both of the Provinces, and of strong Towns, whose Character was much the same ; who though in the main they were perswaded that their Religion was right, nevertheless were so strongly engag'd with the Court, that 'twas not very probable they would break with Her to serve their Brethren. But there were several others who laid things more to heart, and who us'd all their Endeavours to prevent the Reformed from falling into any Snare upon the account of fair Promises, and would not permit 'em to lose the Opportunity of securing their Persons, and the Exercise of their Religion. The Marechal *de Bouillon* was one of these, and in greatest Authority : A Person of great Merit and great Ambition. He had the Reputation of a good Head-piece in the Council, and of a great Captain in the Field, in Credit with Foreign Princes, and capable to be the Head of a Party. His Estate was considerable, and he had Places of Strength in his Hands. More especially *Sedan*, which, as he said, belong'd to him by the last Will and Testament of his Wife, who dy'd but a little before without Children, and was a Place of great Consequence, as being an Inlet for Foreign Armies into the Kingdom. *La Trimouille* was next to him : Neither had Competitorship made 'em so jealous of each

1594. other, but that they aim'd both at the same Mark. Besides they were united afterwards by a more strict Alliance, in regard they married two Sisters of Prince *Maurice*, to whom the *United Provinces* had granted part of that Power, which *William* his Father had exercis'd until his Death. *La Trimouille* was Young, Brave, Resolute, Daring, Courteous, Generous, Powerful in *Poitou*, and drew a great Train of Nobility after him. The Court accus'd him of being a Lover of Quarrels, and of being Head-strong. But others gave him a better Character; That he was one who would listen to Reason, understood it, and was capable of good Counsel; and look'd upon him as a Person endu'd with great Qualities, happy natural Parts; and one who only wanted a little Age and Experience to ripen him for a perfect Heroe. The Honour he had to see the Prince of *Conde*, his Nephew, Presumptive Heir of the Crown, because the King had no Legitimate Issue, and was by no means to be reconcil'd to Queen *Margaret de Valois* his Wife, somewhat lifted up *Tremouille's* Heart, and made him look'd upon with more Respect by the Reformed, who despair'd not one day to see him their Masters Governour. But on the other side it render'd him suspected and odious to the Court, where his Genius was dreaded. Some Proceedings of his at *St. John d' Angeli*, where the Prince of *Conde* was brought up, were much disgusted; of which I shall tell the reason in another place. And his vivacious and couragious manner of supporting the Hereticks afterwards, render'd him still more suspected. The King hated him, because he thought himself despis'd by him, tho' he had done him great Services: And if he let fall any Word at any time that carried with it the least Aire of a Threat, it was always taken in ill part, because they thought him capable of doing more then threaten.

These two Lords communicated their Mistrusts one to another, and laid before each other the King's Easiness, the Tricks and Artifices of *Rome*, the Hatred of the Reconciled Leaguers, who sufficiently shewed by the Articles of their Treaties, their eager desires to reduce all *France* to one Religion. There were also a great number of Lords, Governours of Places, Captains and Persons in Authority, who lay under the same Terrors; among whom there were some, who having seen the times wherein Massacre
and

and Treachery were so rife, made no question but there was a design to destroy the Reformation, as soon as they could meet with a favourable opportunity. The Catholicks did those who were thus Character'd the Honour to call 'em *Brouillons, Troublesom, Restless Disturbers of the Publick Peace*. As if People, with whom they had so often broke their Words, were to blame in distrusting those whose Violation of Faith they had so often experienc'd, and securing themselves against their wicked Intentions. *Du Plessis*, who made a Conscience of Religion, was one of the most zealous for the Establishment of it; and a great part of the Affairs, that tended that way, were manag'd by his Counsels. But in regard he was a Person of known Probity, the King still put a Confidence in him, and follow'd his Advice in many things, because his Enemies themselves acknowledg'd 'em to be both prudent and sincere, tho' they were often utter'd with great Boldness and Liberty. He it was that reunited those who were like to be divided by their own Jealousies; who appeas'd those who were over-hot and furious; who put a stop to those that ran too fast, and found out all Expedients proper to procure the Good of the Churches, yet never fail'd in his Obedience. There was no body that labour'd so much as he to keep the Reformed within the Bounds of due Patience, during Negotiations for Four years together, at what time their Fidelity was put upon cruel Trials, through the Severity, Delays and Artifices of the Court, before they could obtain but tolerable Conditions.

These various Inclinations appear'd in all the National Assemblies, both Temporal and Ecclesiastical, which were held for naming of Deputies, and to draw up Memoirs that were to be sent to the General Assembly which was to meet at *St. Foy*. There were some of those particular Assemblies, wherein it was debated whether a Protector should be chosen within or without the Kingdom; or whether there should be a Form of Government erected, to stand upon their own Legs without Protection. But the whole was referr'd to the General Assembly to be there consulted. Those Proposals came from the Duke of *Bouillon*, who was for conferring the Title of Protector upon the *Palatine* Elector, or some other Prince of his House, and naming under him Four or Five Lieutenants within the Kingdom, setting aside the Princes
of

1594. of the Blood, whose Interests were such, that the Common Cause would suffer too much prejudice by 'em. He was in hopes by this means, that the Chief Authority would rest in his hands; that others would permit him to exercise it with less Jealousie under a Superiour, then if he enjoy'd it in his own Name. But the Reformed, more especially they who were call'd *Consistorials*, were weary of Personal Protection; and the Authority pretended by Protectors had caus'd 'em to murmur a long time ago against that which they called *Protectoral Tyranny*.

Synod at Montauban.

There could be no National Synods assembl'd since the Year 1583. But that which was held in the Month of *June* at *Montauban*, a City far remote from the Court, and passionately zealous for Religion and the Common Cause, made amends for that long Interval of lost Time, and handl'd Affairs of great Importance. The first of all their Cares was to order Publick Prayers for the King's Prosperity; to the end it might appear, that his changing his Religion had not disingag'd 'em either from obeying or serving him. And this tended yet farther to make the Passion of certain Orders of Monks more evidently strange, who refus'd to pray for the King, tho' he were a Catholick, and Crown'd with the usual Ceremonies. This Diametrical Opposition of Duty in the one, and Contumaciousness in the other, plainly made it apparent, on which side the Law and Spirit of Peace was to be found. And prudent Men might easily know where the good Subjects were, when they heard those, whose Religion the Prince had relinquish'd, pray to God, according to the usual Custom, for the Success of his Arms; while they whose Doctrine he had embrac'd, refus'd to name him in their Supplications to Heaven. But least this Mark of the Synod's Affection to the King's Prosperity should be taken for a tacit Approbation or Dissimulation of the change of his Religion, the same Assembly order'd that Prayers should be said at the same time, that God would vouchsafe to bring him back to the Religion which he had quitted; that the Ministers who were sent to the Court should lay before him his Duty in that Particular to God; and that Letters should be written to those that were usually about his Person, to make him some Remonstrances.

Orders and Prayers for the King's Prosperity.

And to bring him back to the Reformed Religion.

After

After this, the Synod fell for a short time upon Political Affairs, 1594. the occasion being given by the Province of the Island of *France*. Disowns the Province of the Island of France in several particulars The Neighbourhood of the Court had wasted a good part of that Province, and either by kindness or by Favours done 'em, the Reformed in those Quarters had been oblig'd to be content with the Edict of 1577. the Verification of which they afterwards most importunately su'd for. This Proceeding was disown'd by the Synod, as being contrary to the Resolutions taken at *Mantes*, where they had obtain'd a Promise of a new Regulation, which should enlarge that Edict; and the Society gave in charge, that their Complaints should be carry'd to the General Assembly at *St. Foy*, which was conven'd the Month following. The Reasons why they were not contented with that Edict, were, because the Force of it was eluded by so many Frauds, that they could no longer be assur'd of having any Advantage by it; that something was par'd off every day by the Treaties granted to the Cities of the League. That the Reformed, since that time, having perform'd many faithful and important Services, it was but just, that in stead of cutting off any thing from their Priviledges, they should grant 'em new ones in recompence for their loss of Blood, and Hardship undergone. That, in short, that Edict was granted at a time, when they had for their Leader and Chieftane the first Prince of the Blood, who was their Guarantee for the Observation of it: But now that Prince having quitted their Party, the face of Affairs was so chang'd. that they had no Assurance of Security in an Edict, without Warranty; and therefore they wanted another Guarant, or that their Lives and their Consciences might be provided for by some other way more solid.

The same Province had also fallen into another Snare of the Court. They had giv'n 'em a tast of a Project of Accommodation with the Catholicks, under pretence of uniting with 'em in defence of the Liberty of the *Gallican* Church, against the Enterprises of the Popes. These Deputies came to the Synod with Injunctions to make the Proposal; and withal to add another for the naming of competent Judges on both sides, to whom both Parties should refer themselves for the Decision of Controversies. And because the Court was affraid of these frequent Assemblies, they so order'd it, that the same Deputies desir'd that Synods might

1594. might be but rarely held, and only upon important Occasions. The Mischief proceeded from hence, that they who carry'd the sway within that Province, were every day with the Courtiers, who lost no opportunity of laying before 'em the King's Power, who gather'd strength every day more then other; and therefore if they were over nice to day, they might be forc'd to repent to morrow. They gave 'em farther to understand, that when the season ceas'd to favour 'em, it wou'd be in vain for 'em to with back those opportunities of securing themselves which they lost; and that in regard they were not so numerously strong in the Provinces about *Paris*, they would be the first oppress'd, as being the most easily destroy'd. The Promises and Favours, of which the Court were prodigal, to those that turn'd their weak side to the Enemy, afforded also more Strength and Weight to the same Illusions. But the Synod, which sat in a place of security, was not so weak as to relish those Proposals, which were therefore utterly rejected. Nevertheless, this was the Ground and Beginning of a strange variety of Opinions and Prospects, the effects of which have continu'd ever since. The Southern Provinces of the Kingdom, either as being the remotest from the Court, and consequently less dazzl'd with the marks of Grandure; or else as being the strongest both for Number and Quality of the Reformed, or for the Number and Strength of the Places which they possess'd, were generally inclin'd to more vigorous and resolute Opinions; whereas the Provinces adjoyning to *Paris* have follow'd the Example of that Metropolis, whose Counsels have always recommended Submission and Patience. Posterity will judge better then we, whether the aptness of the one to learn were an effect of Prudence or Weakness; or whither the vigour of the other proceeded, as the Persecutors give out, from a Spirit of Rebellion, or a constancy no less laudable then just.

In the mean time the Deputies of the Political Assembly met at *St. Foy*, to the number of thirty: nor had the Reformed taken out Letters of Permission for the forming of that Assembly. But the King who fear'd the Consequence, and was not willing to use 'em to so much liberty, which was prejudicial to his Authority, nor desirous to vex 'em by an unreasonable Severity, sent 'em

a *Brevet* which authoriz'd their meeting. Every one brought the Grievances of his Province, and Memoirs conformable to the Hopes or Fears that prevail'd among 'em. There was one too among the rest, who propos'd the settling a Pension upon one of the Secretaries of State, to make him their Friend at Court: As also to provide another Pension for the King's Mistress, who seem'd to have some kind of Inclination and Kindness for the Reformed. To this he added, that 'twas requisite there shou'd be a certain number of Deputies maintain'd at *Paris*, who might consult with the Ministers of the Place, and the Lords that were then at Court; and some Officers of the King's Household, if any business fell out that requir'd a more then ordinary Consultation. That Expedient no way displeas'd the Catholicks, because it would have broke the Union of the Reformed, and lay'd 'em at the Discretion of their Enemies, who would not have had above three or four Persons to manage, easily frighten'd or as easie to be corrupted by ordinary Artifices. Others brought ample Instructions, to take it into their Consideration, of what importance it was, not to lose the benefit of an Assembly, for which they had so happily obtain'd a full permission from the King. Long Discourses were made about what might create Distrusts for the future: and Opinions were added concerning what was proper to prevent evil Intentions. Upon occasion of which, they were earnestly advis'd to insist upon the security which they were to demand, for the performance of things that might be promis'd 'em.

The Assembly took all these things into consideration, as far as it was thought needful for the disposing of the Minds of Men to take good Resolutions: but the principal Affair was to lay a solid Foundation of Union. 'Twas thought the King could no longer retain the Title of Protector of the Churches, since he had quitted their Religion, and that it was a perfect Contradiction to take upon him the Protection of the Reformed Religion, while he profess'd another, which oblig'd him in reason of Conscience to destroy what he pretended to defend. Neither would the Catholicks endure that the King should think it an Honour to him to wear that Title, and would be scandaliz'd that a Catholick King should take upon him to be the *Protector of Heresie*. It

1594. behov'd 'em therefore to unite under other Auspices : However they did not think it proper to commit themselves again to the Discretion of a new Protector, but rather chose to take such measures, that their Religion might stand supported by its own Weight, and upon its own Leggs. They therefore created a General Council, which was to have all the Authority in the Affairs of Religion, and by their Order all the Provinces were to be govern'd. To this purpose there was a Regulation drawn up, comprehended in Eight and Twenty Articles, which Ordain'd how the Assemblies of this Council should be form'd for the future. And this Platform was observ'd in all the Assemblies afterwards with little or no Alteration, only that the number of Provinces and Deputies was augmented. Under the Direction of this Council General it was, that the Affairs of the Reformed began to re-settle, and that it appear'd to their Enemies, that it would be no easie thing to ruine 'em. Then 'twas that they began to use the Word *We*, whereas while they were under the Government of Protectors, the Common Cause was frequently the Pretence to shadow the Interests of the Head of the Party, whose Name alone, and Authority only appear'd in all Treaties and Edicts. And it was by the Instances and Importunities of this Council that they obtain'd the Edict of *Nantes* : And in regard that after they had set up this new Order among themselves, they were forc'd to make use of all their Dexterity, Vigour and Patience, before they could procure any firm Peace to themselves; it may be rationally conjectur'd that they had never obtain'd it, had they taken any other Course. This Regulation reduc'd the Number of the Provinces to Ten, every one of which was to send a Deputy to the Assembly. It was decreed that there should be a Distinction of *States* among the Deputies, according to the Model of the States General of the Kingdom ; since they were desirous that the Deputies should be chosen, some out of the Body of the Nobility, some out of the Body of the Ministers, and some out of the Third Estate. But the Ministers were not allow'd the same number as the other two Estates ; whether it were for fear, that if they had as equal a Voice as the other two, they would get all the Power into their own Hands ; or whether it were, that they thought that the Deputies from the Nobility,

*Proposals
and Regu-
lations for
the General
Council.*

or

or from the Third Estate, being in a Capacity to be also Elders of some Church, tho' they were not Deputies under that Title, the Consistorials would be always strong enough in the Assemblies. So that in the number of chosen Deputies, there were to be Four Gentlemen, Four of the Third Estate, and but only Two Ministers. The Provinces were to send Persons of these distinct Qualities, every one according as they were in degree; and for the better regulating of what Estate the Deputy of every Province should be for the first Assembly that should be held, they had recourse to Lots. 'Twas also agreed that the Deputies should be chang'd every Year: So that every Six Months the Five Seniors quitted the Service, and gave way to Five others. It was likewise agreed, that Dukes, Lieutenant Generals, or other qualify'd Persons, should have Voices in the Assemblies, tho' they were no Deputies, provided they were such as might be confided in.

By the same Regulation Provincial Councils were erected, composed of Five or Seven Persons of the Three Estates, and of which one Minister at least was to be a Member, and one Governour of a Town in a Province. These Councils were to answer the General Assembly, and to have the same Authority in their several Jurisdictions, as the Council General had over the whole Kingdom; and particularly to collect, digest, communicate Opinions and Memoirs; maintain Concord among the Grand ones, and appease their Quarrels; make the Distributions of Money that was to be rais'd for the Common Cause; to have a watchful Eye upon the Garrisons, and to take care of the Fortifications and Stores of the Strong Towns: And there was also a Regulation of the Time that every Deputy was to continue in Service; of the manner of electing Presidents and Secretaries in all Assemblies General and Particular; and of the Signing of Acts and Dispatches. All the Deputies were oblig'd to take an Oath, and all the Reformed to have a venerable Respect for the Persons thus employ'd; and they resolv'd before the end of *September*, that there should be a Council of this Nature set up in every Province. Measures were also taken there for preserving the Places of Strength, whether the Court went about to take 'em away from the Reformed Governours, or whether the Governours happen'd to die when the Lord Lieutenant chanc'd to be a Catholick. It was order'd, that none

*Provincial
Councils.*

1594. should be receiv'd into those Towns but Soldiers, whose Religion was attested by sufficient Testimonies; and to provide for their Maintenance according to the Model of the last Settlement, in case that any thing were retrench'd from the Strength of the Garrisons. Others advis'd the stopping of the Money call'd the *Deniers du Tablier*, and the Money arising from the Impositions and Tax for the *Gensdarmes*, to the value of the Sum sufficient for the payment of the Garrisons, if they could not be paid otherwise; and if there happen'd any Prosecutions upon these Proceedings, the Churches were to join together to save harmless those that should be put to Trouble upon that account. They likewise settl'd a Fund of Five and Forty Thousand Crowns for General Affairs, of which every Province to the South of the *Loire* was to pay Five Thousand, and the rest Two Thousand Five Hundred. This Sum was to be rais'd partly upon the Garrisons, detaining one of Fifteen Pay's; partly upon the Benefices possess'd by the Nobility, of the Revenues of which they were to take the Sixth or Seventh Penny; partly by voluntary Contributions, to which the Ministers were to exhort the richer sort. This Sum was different from those that were set aside for the payment of the Deputies that were to attend the Councils; and the way to raise those Sums was left to the particular Provinces. Some Regulations were made as to those that were willing to advance any Money, or to bestow any thing of Free Gift. The particular Councils were permitted to look after the laying out of that same Sum of Five and Forty Thousand Crowns, reserving to the Assembly General to take Cognizance of the Expence, and to dispose of the Interest as they should see most beneficial for the good of the Churches. There was also Order taken about the manner of communicating Intelligence, which was to be imparted to every particular Flock: Particular Councils were oblig'd to be assisting to each other for their mutual Defence; and they referr'd back to the first Assembly, which was order'd to sit at *Saumur*, certain Affairs which that at *St. Foy* had not determin'd; particularly concerning the Maintenance of Pastors, Scholars and Colledges.

To these were added eight other Private Articles, the first of which imported the Administration of Justice; in order to which, they demanded Chambers half one, half t' other, Catholicks and Reformed in all the Parliaments but that of *Grenoble*, where the Reformed, who did what they pleas'd under *Les Dignieres*, were well enough contented with their Condition. And if they could not obtain those Chambers, they took a Resolution to appeal from all Parliaments, Presidial Courts, and all other Royal Judges, in Affairs of which they have the Power to determine without Appeal. And that they would set forth the Causes of Appeal from all those Courts. The Second was, That they would apply themselves to the Mediation of the Queen of *England* and the States of the *United Provinces*, because they found the Affairs of the Churches in a deplorable Condition. The Third, That the Grandees should be written to, and exhorted to Piety and Union. The Fourth gave Liberty for that one time, to double the number of Deputies that every Province was to send to the next Assembly, by reason of the Importance of the Affairs which were there to be handl'd. The fifth order'd, That the Exercise of the Reformed Religion should be forborn in such places where it had been introduced by Surprize, provided it might be done without Tumult or Sedition, and that Mass should be re-establish'd in such places where it had been us'd before the War: Which was done to bereave the Catholicks of that Pretence which they took for not observing the Edicts, because the Reformed broke'em themselves, in not permitting the Mass to be said in certain places of which they had made themselves the Masters. The sixth put off, till the return of the Deputies that were to be sent to Court, the positive Determination, whether they would admit the Catholicks to Offices and Employments in the Cities kept by the Reformed. That is to say, they were willing that the Catholicks should understand, that they should have the same as they brought, and that if they would not share Employments with the Reformed, they would exclude the Catholicks in those places where they were superiour in Strength. The Seventh disown'd all that one Province might have done to the Prejudice, and without consulting the rest; which was done to prevent Proceedings like those in the Island of *France*, of which we have already spoken. The Eighth

1594. Eighth approv'd the Union of several Contiguous Provinces in one Provincial Council.

*Sedition of
the Croakers.*

While this Assembly was sitting, *Perigord* and some of the Neighbouring Provinces were over-run with certain Troops of those Seditious People, commonly called *Croakers*. Their pretence was to deliver the Country from the Exactions and Violence of the Court; tho' themselves committed the greatest Havock and Spoil, and did the Peasants the most mischief. These Mutineers were above Forty Thousand Men in Arms, of which above a Third part were of the Reformed Religion. One of the Artifices therefore which they made use of to disperse this Multitude, was to infuse it into the Catholicks, that they were not to join themselves with *Hereticks*; more especially not to share with them the Honour of labouring the Reformation of the Kingdom. Which was the reason that the Catholicks, upon a Signal given, withdrew, and retir'd apart by themselves; so that the Reformed found themselves of a suddain ready to be assail'd by them that had been their Comrades but a little before. But in regard they were better Arm'd, and better Soldiers then the Catholicks, it only put 'em into a little Fear. Now during the greatest Heat of these Commotions, the Reformed, who had a share in the Sedition, sent certain Deputies to *St. Foy*, to know whether they could be any ways serviceable to 'em at that same juncture of time. But the Assembly would not so much as listen to 'em; only they advis'd 'em under-hand to make their Peace, and to get good Assurances from the Court never to be prosecuted for their Sedition.

Deputies amus'd at Court.

This Assembly having order'd that the next should be at *Sau-mur*, where the Deputies were to meet the First of *December*, sent their Deputies to the Court, which was then at *St. Germans*, where they were amus'd by many Delays before any real Satisfaction was given 'em. The main thing which they insisted upon, was, the Verification of the Edict, as had been agreed upon at *Mantes*, and the new Regulation which had been promis'd 'em, to render their Condition a little better then it had been, under the Benefit of the Edicts. The King shews a great desire to content 'em, and every day renew'd to 'em the Promise which he had made. Nevertheless nothing went forward; however to pay

pay the Reformed with some Reason for the Delays which had almost quite tir'd 'em out of their Patience, the Obstructions of the Verification were all thrown upon the Tricks and Contrivances of the Factious. But notwithstanding this Excuse, the Reformed were exasperated, and were apt to believe that the principal occasion of the Delay proceeded from the Court. And this Suspicion was confirm'd by the Offers that were made to the Duke of *Mercoeur* on the King's behalf, to treat with him in favour of the Catholick Religion for the Towns he held in *Britaigne*, and other places; all which tended to exclude, for the King's sake, the Exercise of the Reformed Religion out of a great part of *Britaigne*, and several places in the neighbouring Provinces. But the Duke, who thought himself strong enough to preserve *Britaigne*, insisted upon higher Demands; and he pretended that the Exercise of the Reformed Religion was forbid in *Normandy*, in *Maine*, in *Anjou*, *Touraine* and *Poitou*, because there were some Castles in those Provinces that held out for him; but which in the main were rather Nests of Robbers then real Fortresses of War. The Reformed were therefore afraid, that whatever he demanded would be granted him; because they had seen by preceding Treaties that nothing was refus'd the Heads of the League, to the end they might reclaim 'em to Obedience.

*Pretensions
of the D. of
Mercoeur.*

On the other side, the Decay of the League began to be perceiv'd at *Rome*; and in regard the rigorous Demeanour of the Pope had somewhat shogg'd the King, and the Catholicks of his Party, who had *French* Hearts; they began likewise in *France* to neglect the Affairs of *Rome*. They discour'd afresh in *France* of drawing up a Pragmatick for the conferring of Benefices, and of creating a Patriarch, to preside over all the Clergy. These Discourses caus'd great Disturbances at *Rome*, and the King's Prosperity made the Pope believe, that that great Prince might one day make a shift without him. This was the reason that he began in his turn, to make the first forward steps himself, and that he gave ground by degrees in the business of the Absolution. But he forbore not at first to make such strange Proposals, that meer Disdain refus'd to hearken to 'em. Those the *Spaniards* had suggested to him, to prevent his Reconciliation with the King; And the Pope, who was a great Politician, tho' he well knew they were such as

*Overtures
of Reconcili-
ation with
the Pope.*

would

1594. would never be granted him, was nevertheless resolv'd to make 'em, that they might not presume to propose him Offers too far distant from his great Pretensions. But this very hotly alarm'd the Reformed, who were afraid that these high Demands had no other then this only aim to obtain their Destruction of the King, and that all of a suddain the Pope would condescend to all the rest, provided they would but content him in that particular Point. For this reason they took all the Delays of the Parliaments for the Presages of their Ruine; because the Edicts not having the force of a Law in the Kingdom, till they are enregister'd and qualify'd to the liking of the Sovereign Courts, all those that had been hitherto granted had prov'd useless for their Security; since the Parliaments had either absolutely rejected 'em, or verifi'd 'em with odious Limitations. For which reason they look'd upon themselves as living still under the benefit only of a simple Truce, liable to broken every day, whenever the King should have a desire to gratifie the Court of *Rome*. The very Word *Truce* made 'em tremble; because Truces were never made between Fellow-Citizens and Friends, but between People that live in declar'd Hostility, of which a Truce does but suspend the Effects; whence it follow'd, that the Reformed were still look'd upon as Enemies by the Catholicks; far from being treated as Members of one and the same Kingdom, and Legitimate Children of the same Family.

1595. In this Conjunction of Affairs the King was wounded in the Mouth by *John Chastel*, a Disciple of the Jesuits; and the Reformed had that slight Contolation in the midst of their Afflictions and Fears, to see that Society condemn'd to Banishment by the most August Senate of *France*. A Pyramid was also order'd to be set up in that part of the House where the Parricide was hatch'd; upon one of the Faces of which was engrav'd the Decree that banish'd the Jesuits out of the Kingdom, and contain'd the Reasons for inflicting that Punishment upon 'em. But the Parliaments of *Tholouse* and *Bordeaux* would not follow the Example of that of *Paris*; so that the Society kept their footing, till they were again restor'd, in the Provinces under their Jurisdiction. In the mean while this audacious Attempt made a great Noise at *Rome*, where *d' Ossat* highly aggravated the consequence of such

an Enterprize, at a time when they were treating so seriously about a Reconciliation between the Pope and the King. But that which this Accident produc'd of most remarkable, was this, That it drew from the Lips of that Agent for *France*, altho' a zealous Catholick, and bred up in the Maxims of the Court of *Rome*, an Authentick Testimony, how highly the Reformed abominate all Crimes of this nature, and of the profound Respect which they bear to the Persons of their Sovereigns. This Prelat giving an account of the Fact to the Pope's Cardinal Nephew, and aggravating the Horror of it, contriv'd and encourag'd by them that call'd themselves the Support of the Catholick Religion, told him in exprefs Terms, *That if ever any body had a seeming just occasion to make use of such Assassins, the Hereticks had most cause to purchase 'em, and set 'em at work against the King, who has quitted and abandon'd 'em, and of whom they had reason to be afraid; nevertheless they never attempted any such thing, either against Him, nor any of the five Kings his Predecessors, whatever Slaughters and Massacres their Majesties had made of the Huguenots.*

*The flimery which'd Of-
far gave the
Reformed.*

This Misfortune did the Reformed no unkindness; for it put the King in remembrance that he had never ran the like *Risco* while he was in their Hands. Whence it came to pass, that he sometimes declar'd to his Confidants, that as to what concern'd the Safety of his Person, he had a far greater Assurance in them, then in the Catholicks. On the other side, the Result of the Consultations of the Assembly at *St. Foy*, gave the Council no small occasion to make particular Reflections; who beheld with Astonishment that numerous Body, without a Chieftain, to reunite the various Members of it; to close and confederate together in their own Defence, and take such proper courses to become formidable to their Enemies. Therefore they would have had it look'd upon as a form'd Rebellion, and an insolent sort of proceeding, what was done by the Reformed at that time in order to their Preservation. They call'd the Union a Design to set up a State with separate Interests, and a distinct Government: And because this was spread abroad at that time by passionate and violent Persons, all the Historians that have since put Pen to Paper have not fail'd to exclaim against that way of proceeding, and to

*Sentiments
of the Court
touching
the Union of
the Reformed.*

1595. black'n it with furious Declamations ; as if it were a Crime to be careful of Self-preservation, when People have Enemies to deal with void of Equity, Faith, Humanity, such as the Catholicks had more then once appear'd in reference to the Reformed. The King had no reason to be offended at these Precautions, since they were made use of neither against his Person, nor against his Authority ; but against a sort of Zealots, who might abuse his Power to oppress the most faithful part of his Subjects ; and against the Court of *Rome*, with whose cruel Intentions and bloody Maxims all *Europe* was too well acquainted.

*Statements
of the King
upon this
occasion.*

Nevertheless the King forbore not to disturb these Assemblies, and to look upon 'em at least as *du Plessis* had sometimes represented 'em ; that is to say, such as might degenerate, and give occasion to Factious Spirits to raise Commotions and Tumults not easily to be appeas'd. Which was the reason that sometimes he complain'd of their being conven'd, and sometimes he gave express Orders for their Dissolution. But then the King follow'd rather what his Councils peal'd in his Ears, then his own Inclinations ; for as soon as others laid before him how dangerous it was to reduce the Reformed to the Provocations of Despair, by depriving 'em the Comfort of those Assemblies, he revok'd his former Orders by others, more expressly forbidding their being dissolv'd. In a word, it was more advantageous for the King to permit that Union of his Subjects, which oblig'd 'em to request his Leave for the time and place of their Assembling, then to reduce 'em to throw themselves under a Foreign Protection, by refusing 'em the means of securing both their Religion and their Lives under the Good Will and Authority of their Lawful Prince. It was also better to see them united among themselves by that form of Correspondency, then under a Protector, whose Courage might be elevated by his Power, by Foreign Adherences and Domestick Discontents, and give him fair Opportunities and Advantages to enlarge his Reputation.

*Could only
have
been
the
Reform
and
the
King's
will.*

But for the present 'twas thought, that the most assured means to disperse those Assemblies, or prevent the Mischief they might do, was to afford the Reformed some occasion of Content, to the end the first Assembly that was call'd together might have no more to do then to accept the King's Concessions, and to return him

him Thanks. For this Reason the Verification of the Edicts 1595. which had been formerly granted, was press'd for at a more then usual Rate, and the Confirmation of 'em by a new Edict, as had been agreed with their Deputies at *Mantes*. The greatest Difficulty consisted in their declaring the Reformed capable of all manner of Employments; and this was that which the zealous Catholics were extreemly unwilling to do, who could not by any means brook the Violation of their Canons, by which the *Heretics* are excluded from all sorts of Offices and Preferments. This Difficulty could not be remov'd by Four Years Sollicitations, nor by the expresse Orders of the King; nor by a new Declaration given at *St. Germans* in *November* of the year preceding. The Council consented to it, as also to several other Provisional Regulations, because they were then bethinking themselves of getting the Prince of *Conde* out of the Hands of the Reformed, either because the King was desirous to have him bred up in the Catholick Religion, to prevent the Pretences of a Civil War, which might be taken one day from his being Educated in the Reformed; or because the Count of *Soissons*, a turbulent ambitious Prince, and who look'd upon himself as Presumptive Heir to the Crown, by reason of his Nephews Religion, and for other Reasons, was very uneasie to him; or else because he had a mind to lessen his Pretensions to the Crown, by opposing against him a Prince much nearer to the Crown then himself: Or lastly, Because he would deprive the Reformed of a Chieftain, who might one day head 'em, and demand new Favours in their behalf.

The Prince of Conde taken out of their hands.

The King told the Reformed, on purpose to make 'em willing to surrender the Prince up into his Hands, that his frequent Infirmities caus'd him to bethink himself of Death, and oblig'd him at the same time to desire that he might have his Heir always by him, to secure him the Succession, and put him in a condition to preserve themselves by ways more gentle then a War. But this Hook would not take with the Reformed, who thought it much more conducing to the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom, that the King should dissolve his Marriage with *Margaret de Valois*, and bethink himself of another Wife, then to have a Prince near his Person, whose nearest Relations thought they had Reason sufficient to dispute with him their Right to the Crown. The King thus repuls'd on

Ways to bring it to pass.

1595. this side, resolves to assail 'em on the other, and seeks to engage 'em to put the Prince into his Hands, by granting 'em Admission into Offices of Trust; an Honour which indeed would have been dear enough sold to 'em, since it must cost 'em a Prince who might be one day the Restorer and Pillar of their Hopes. And this Consideration was made use of to perswade the Parliament to the Verification of that Article; but this Reason presently wrought another Effect then was expected: For there were some zealous Catholicks who found it so weighty, that they would have made it one of the Conditions of the Verification of the Edict, to the end the Reformed might not refuse to surrender the Prince, without the Forfeiture of all the Favours that had been granted 'em. And this seem'd so much the more reasonable, because it was thought impossible that ever the Reformed would let go such a Pledge out of their Hands: And there were many Catholicks that wish'd they would have obstinately refus'd it, that they might have had a specious Pretence to declare War against 'em. But the King had other Thoughts. He was not willing to destroy the Reformed, of whom he stood so much the more in need, that he might not be altogether at the mercy of the Catholicks, who treated him a little too imperiously. Therefore he strove to get the Prince out of their Hands by gentle means, rather then by force of Arms, or by the Authority of a Publick Law; knowing well, that they would have taken that Law for an Affront, because it would have made 'em look'd upon as Persons suspected, such as were to be compell'd to their Obedience.

*The Article
about Offi-
ces passes
with some
trouble.*

'Twas therefore put to the Question in Parliament, whether the Edict should be verity'd purely and simply, or no; and the thing was debated with great Heat; more particularly the 19th Article of the Edict of 1577. which declar'd the Reformed capable of Offices and Dignities, was the Subject of the Contest; nor did it pass without a vast deal of Trouble. Nevertheless there were several who argu'd for the Verification of this Article as the rest, without Restriction or Qualification. And they insisted very fervently upon the Services which the Reformed had done the King and the Realm; and they exclaim'd against their Refusal to treat 'em according to their Merit as a high piece of Injustice and

Ingra-

Ingratitude. They likewise maintain'd, That since they were equal to the Catholicks in Affection and Fidelity, they should be dealt with alike in the distribution of Honours and Rewards. 1595.

Others to these Reasons oppos'd the fear of injuring the King, being a new *Convert*, and still at variance with the Pope; and of hardning the rest of the League in their Rebellion, if such an important Favour were granted to the Reformed against the Provisions of the Canon-Law; and that so suddainly too, after the Return of the King to the Catholick Religion. But those oppositions signify'd little, in regard the pure and simple Verification was carry'd by the Plurality of Voices. *Servin*, one of the Advocates General, strongly upheld this Opinion; and in regard he was an Enemy of the Jesuits, he was just enough to the Reformed. *Seignier*, his Associate, was of a quite contrary Judgment; but *Guele* the Proctor General bethought himself of a Cavil, which had like to have engag'd all the Kingdom in new Combustions; for he put the Reformed in mind, that new Traps were laying to ensnare

The Proctor-General's Cavil ill taken.

their Sincerity, under Pretence of unheard-of Affectation. He would not suffer the accusom'd Terms to be inserted in the Decree of Enrolment; *Heard*, and *this the Proctor-General requiring*; tho' his Father, who had serv'd in the Place before him, when the Edict of 1577. was enroll'd under *Henry III.* never made any such Scruple. Neither would he have had the Words put in, *Consenting to this*, as upon other occasions where the King's Council will not move; but only, *Heard the Proctor-General.*

'Twas a very fair Scape, that such an Innovation, put in practice at a time when the King was full of Jealousies and Suspensions, had not produc'd pernicious Effects, and call'd to memory the unfortunate Cruelties and Treacheries of the past Reigns. Chiefly, when they reflected upon the manner of proceeding in the Verification of the Edicts that were granted the Leaguers, which was done without Prolongations or Delays, and the Edicts unanimously pass'd, and sent to be enroll'd pure and without any Alterations, 'twas impossible but that they must look upon as strange and uncouth, so much spinning out of time, so many Oppositions, so many Artifices which were made use of to elude the Edicts that were granted to the Reformed.

Cause of new Distrusts.

1595. The more moderate Catholicks themselves blam'd this unreasonable Severity: Whether it were, that the Example of the Parliament of *Paris* render'd all the other Parliaments difficult; some refusing to verifie the Ediſt at all, others not without ſeveral vexatious Limitations; or whether it were, becauſe the Reformed were juſt ready to hold an Aſſembly at *Saumur*, where it was to meet according to the Decree of that of *St. Foy*. No body queſtion'd but that the Proſtor-General's Behaviour would furniſh that Aſſembly with occaſion of loud Complaints; and perhaps put 'em upon taking ſuch Courſes, as would be a great Obſtruction to Peace, ſo neceſſary for the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom. This Aſſembly at *Saumur* had put the King to a great deal of Trouble, from the very moment he heard it firſt diſcourſ'd of. And the only reaſon why the Verification of the Ediſt was ſo earneſtly preſſ'd for, was either to anticipate it, or that they might have a fair Pretence to hinder the ſitting of it, or to diſſolve it. It was to have met upon the firſt of *December* of the preceding year, but there was not a full appearance till about three Months after. There were ſome Provinces, the Deputies of which were ſtay'd for a long time, either becauſe they expected the effect of the King's Promiſes for the enrolment of the Ediſts; or elſe, becauſe the Intreagues of the Court had ſtopt 'em, either out of Fear, or delay'd with Hopes. But at length they met at *Saumur*, where they ſtay'd a long time without doing any thing, in regard the King refus'd to authorize their meeting. He alſo at the ſame time complain'd of it to *du Pleſſis*, as of an Enterprize that wounded his Authority, and ſhew'd that the Reformed were jealous of him. But *du Pleſſis* return'd him ſuch good Reaſons, that he was ſatisfy'd, and gave leave to the Aſſembly by his Letters Patents to ſit.

He at laſt
permits it.

Reaſons for
his ſo doing

Theſe Reaſons amounted chiefly to no more then two. The firſt was, That in the miſt of ſo many occaſions of Fear and Diſtruſt that were juſtly given the Reformed, the reſuſing 'em leave to be careful of their Security would reduce 'em to Deſpair; and that in ſuch a poſture of Diſcompoſure, at what time the wiſeſt Men never liſten to Reaſon nor Duty, they might look out for Remedies more vexatious then that of Aſſemblies: For that the remembrance of what was paſt would not ſuffer 'em to be ſatisfy'd with

with the present, and loudly alarm'd 'em with Fears of the future. 1595. The other concern'd the Interest of the King himself, to whom *Du Plessis* declar'd, That in regard he was upon a Reconciliation with the Pope, it became him to wish for Sollicitations on the behalf of the Reformed, to the end he might have wherewithal to reply to the Pope, should he complain that too much was granted to those that were held for *Hereticks*. The King's Answer would then be always ready, That he was in a manner forc'd by the Importunity of their Assemblies, and to prevent a greater Mischief. Whereas if he did any thing in their Favour, without being urg'd to it, he would have nothing to say should the Pope be offended. *Du Plessis* also made use of the same Reason to support the Reformed, who were either much dishearten'd, or quite weary'd out of their Patience. He told 'em that the King, who in effect renew'd his Promises every day, was very affectionately inclin'd towards 'em, but that his present Condition would not permit him to do 'em any kindness but what he was forc'd to, either in respect to the Pope, with whom he was about to be reconcil'd; or to the Remainders of the League, whom he was very unwilling to supply with new Pretences to murmur; or to the Catholicks of his Party, for whom he could not choose but have a great Complacency: And thus he should have wherewithal to satisfy all Parties, if the Reformed by their repeated Importunities did but impose upon him a kind of Necessity to grant Them something too. These Reasons seem'd to restore a calmer Temper to those whose Patience the Delays and unjust Proceedings of the Parliament had almost quite worn out; and to take in good part the insipid and cold Answers which many times the King gave their Deputies. They also reviv'd the Courage of those that were dejected by tedious and troublesome Protractions and puttings off from time to time, believing they should obtain their Desires at length by Perseverance and Importunity.

Now in regard these Reasons mollify'd the King, from whom the Catholics more then once enforc'd the Revocation of Orders which he had giv'n against those Assemblies, 'tis easie to judge, that in a Word, he took delight to be importun'd; and that he look'd upon it as a useful expedient to procure him the Liberty to put his good

1595. good Intentions in execution. In short, he always gave the Reformed good Words; and when their Deputies were with him in private, he gave 'em better: And there would have been no reason to complain of his Promises, had it not been that after he had so often repeated the same things, there was no Fruit of 'em afterward to be seen.

The Assembly of *Saumur* then, began the 24th of *February*, and the Report made by the Deputies of *St. Foy* having given 'em an account of the ill Intentions of the principal Heads of the Council and Parliament, Resolutions were taken more solid and vigorous then could have been expected from People that seem'd to be depriv'd of all Relief and Succour. They made new Proposals and new Demands. They would no longer stand to the old Edicts, which had been cancel'd or evaded so many times; and which were publickly derided, by reason of the Cavils of the Proctor-General. They were no longer contented with demanding new Favours, by way of Compensation for the Retrenchments made in the Edict of 1577. to facilitate the reducing the Leaguers to Obedience. They could not brook, that the King should grant such ample Rewards to Rebels on purpose to reduce 'em to their Duty; and that Subjects always faithful, always devoted to his Person and his Fortune, should stand in need of covering with the Name of Compensation, the just Recompences which they might boldly challenge. In a word, they began to alter the strain of their Language, and to desire a new Edict, more to the advantage and security of the Reformed, then the Edicts that were become contemptible by the allow'd Licence to violate 'em. They alledg'd, that the King had promis'd another Edict to the Deputies that were at *Mantes*, and that it was a meer piece of Covin to desire after that, that they should content themselves with the Edict of 1577. which the King had fruitlessly confirm'd by two others. Therefore they demanded another Edict in recompence of so many Services, of so much Patience, and of so much Blood which they had spilt. They debated a long time among themselves what Articles to insist upon for the framing of the new Edict; and at length they agreed upon certain Demands, which may be reduc'd to Six or Seven Heads. 1. That a New Edict should be granted 'em without

The Assembly demands a new Edict and Securities.

out amusing 'em with Promises to restore another, which no way satisfy'd 'em. 2. That they should be allow'd an entire and universal Liberty for the publick Exercise of their Religion over all the Kingdom. 3. That Publick Salaries should be secur'd to the Ministers, either by leaving 'em the Tenths which they refus'd any longer to pay the Ecclesiasticks; or by assigning 'em Funds, that should not be otherwise employ'd; and they demanded the same thing for the Maintenance of Schools and Scholars. 4. That the Reformed should be secur'd the Possession of their Estates, as well those which they already enjoy'd, as those which fell to 'em by Inheritance, Deed of Gift, Last Will and Testament, or by any other Lawful Right. 5. That an equal number of Reformed Judges to that of the Catholicks should be admitted in all Jurisdictions. 5. That they should be admitted indifferently into all manner of Offices and Employments like the Catholicks. 7. That for their Security, the Cities which they had in their Hands should be left in their Possession; and that the Garrisons should be paid out of the King's Money.

While they were preparing their Complaints, and drawing up their Papers to send to the King, the business of his Reconciliation with the Pope was eagerly press'd forward by the Court of *Rome*; and the Pontiff grew impatient of the Delays which retarded the sending a Commissioner to treat with him about it. However, in truth, as yet, the Pope did not seem to recede in the least from his first Pretensions; but it was easily perceiv'd that he would make an Abatement in proper time, because he had vouchsaf'd in roving and general Terms, to promise whatever lay in his power, provided it were not contrary to the Interest and Honour of the Holy See. The King on the other side kept himself to the same General Expressions, and would consent to nothing that misbecame himself, or the Dignity of the Crown. There were two sorts of People in the Council, whose Opinion it was, That the Pope should be left alone to make the first steps himself; as being perswaded, that a little perseverance would reduce him to grant a bare and simple Ratification of the Absolution, as the King receiv'd it at *St. Denis's*. The one were the Reformed, who could not endure that the King's Honour should be prostituted to the Intrigues of the Court of *Rome*. The other, were the Catholicks not bi-

1595. gotted, who lov'd the King and the Kingdom, and who not questioning but the Pope's Aim was to make the King purchase his Favour by some ignominious Condescension, were desirous the King shou'd avoid that Snare, by letting the Pope alone till he fought after him. But the high-flown Catholicks carry'd it, because the King was willing to rid himself of Trouble, and for that he thought his Repose depended upon his Reconciliation with the Pope. He was weary of the toilsom Life wherein he had spent his most youthful Years. He saw that the Succession would be in a very uncertain Condition after his Death: He had a desire to dissolve his Marriage with *Margaret of Valois*, by whom he had no Children; and he thought to marry the Fair *Gabriela d' Estrees*, with whom he was enamour'd even to Enchantment; either of which two things he thought it impossible to bring to pass without the Pope's Assistance: And he knew it to be the last excuse of the obstinate Leaguers, that he was not acknowledg'd by the Pope. The Duke of *Mayenne* had sworn never to pay him Allegiance till he was reconcil'd to his Holiness: He was in hopes that such a Reconciliation would secure his Life, put an end to the frequent Conspiracies against him, under Pretence that the Sincerity of his *Conversion* was dubious; would reduce the Monks to their Duty, several of which refus'd to name him in their Prayers: And lastly, he was desirous to be at leisure to settle the Peace of the Kingdom, in order to the execution of some great Designs which he had projected abroad.

*Absolution
depend'd by
the King.*

*His reasons
for retaining
it.*

But tho' his own Will over-rul'd him not to follow the wholesome Advice of the Reformed, and the more politick sort of Catholicks, yet at first they had the Credit to name one Man of the Council, and another of the Parliament, to be join'd with one Ecclesiastick, to go to *Rome* and negotiate this Affair. This Deputation had been of great Importance for the Service of the King, and the Pope must have been contented with it, had they had Resolution enough in *France* to have stuck to this Advice. Never would any Person of Note, bred up in great Affairs, have consented to any thing beneath the Dignity of a King; and he had been well seconded by a Person chosen out of the Body of a Parliament, whose Maxims are always opposite to those of *Rome*, when the Honour of the Kingdom lies at stake. But the Pope knew

knew well enough how to ward off this Blow ; so that the whole Commission was referr'd to two Ecclesiasticks. By which means the Pope at the bottom was Master of the whole Affair, in regard he was the Sovereign of both Commissioners that were to treat with him. One of the two the most notorious Knave of his time ; and neither of 'em very likely to render themselves worthy of a Cardinal's Cap by an over-zealous Fidelity to their Prince. Nevertheless *D'Offat*, who was the honestest of the two, seem'd to be not a little vex'd, that there was more granted to the Pope than he had advis'd ; but *du Perron* his Associate, had the most Authority. He it was that brought the Instructions from *France* : For as for *D'Offat*, he was only joyn'd with him, as one that better understood the Slights and Politicks of *Rome*, and might be a necessary Guide to the other in a Court to which he was a Stranger altogether. This was the King's Misfortune, that of those two Proctors that were to represent his Person in this Affair, he to whom the Secret was entrusted, and who was chief in Authority, was not the honestest Man. Nevertheless it was not *du Perron* who had all the Thanks and Reward of this Affair. *D'Offat* behav'd himself so prudently, that the Profit redounded to himself, and the Pope bestow'd a Cardinals Hat upon him some years after. 'Tis true, this Dignity seem'd to have been conferr'd upon him upon the King's Recommendation. But the Pope had given the King formerly to understand, that he would bestow it freely and willingly upon *D'Offat*, if it were but requested for him. However, to get what he could from the King, the Pope at first made all the Demands which the *Spaniards* suggested to him ; nevertheless well assur'd, that they would never be allow'd him. In the first place therefore he would have had 'em to promise him, that all the Edicts which had been granted to the Reformed should be revok'd ; That they should be excluded from all Offices and Employments ; That they should be all destroy'd as soon as the Peace was concluded with the Leaguers and *Spain* ; That the Catholicks should not be constrain'd to observe the Edicts ; That the Jesuits should be restor'd ; That all the Estates which *Queen Jane* had taken from the Ecclesiasticks in *Bearn* should be restor'd to 'em again, with several other things, to which the King's Honour and Prudence would not permit him to oblige himself. Chiefly, they

1595.
Commissioners elected
to treat,
D'Offat and
Perron.

High Pretensions of
the Pope.

1595. would have had him declar'd his Crown and Kingdom forfeited if ever He relaps'd into Heresie. But the King made his Proctors Instructions quite contrary to these Demands. He explain'd his meaning with a great deal of Elocution and Clearness, and gave 'em their Lesson very precisely and accurately. There was expressly set down what the King would grant upon the Demands, which it was known the Pope would make; and it was directly enjoyn'd, that they should not consent to any thing that might be injurious to the Royal Majesty, nor pass beyond the Limits which the King had set 'em. But that which was chiefly recommended to 'em, was, not to consent to any Rehabilitation, as if the King stood in need of obtaining the Popes Consent to be a Lawful King, or capable of the Functions of Royalty: And the King prescrib'd 'em most exactly how far he gave 'em leave to exert their Complacency upon so nice and delicate a Subject. 'Twas his pleasure also that they should be very careful of his Honour and his Dignity; and that they should obstinately maintain the Validity of his Absolution which he had receiv'd in *France*. Moreover, there was one express Article in behalf of the Reformed, the Terms of which are so remarkable, that I cannot but insert the chiefest part of it in this place. After they had alledg'd the Reasons for advising the King to revive the Act of 1577. which was the meanest of those which had been granted the Reformed, and laid down the Mischiefs which the Revocation of it obtain'd by the League, had occasion'd in the Kingdom; together with such as might happen, had they secur'd the Reformed from the Edicts of Proscription which the League had publish'd against 'em, the Instruction adds, *That they of the said Religion being very numerous and potent in the Kingdom, as they are, greatly serve and strengthen his said Majesty to defend his Dominions against the Enemies of it, as formerly they have done; so that his said Majesty should be accus'd of Imprudence and Ingratitude, if after so many Services as they have done him, and which he may have need of farther from 'em, he should fall pell mell upon 'em, and constrain 'em to take Arms against his Person, as they have always done against those who have gone about to force their Consciences. But his Majesty hopes to give a better account of 'em by his mildness, and the example of his Life, then by ways of Rigour.*

There.

There is nothing more Authentick, nor more expreſs then this 1595.
 Teſtimony giv'n, upon an occaſion ſo publick and ſo important,
 of the paſt and preſent Services of the Reformed. If there be
 any Equity among Men, there needs no more to demonſtrate, that
 the Liberty of their Conſcience, and the Security of their Per-
 ſons, their Eſtates and their Honour, beſides that they are Depen-
 dencies upon Natural Right, which oblige the Prince to aſſure his
 Subjects thoſe priviledg'd Advantages, were granted 'em as the juſt
 Reward of their long and faithful Services. So that in depriving
 'em in our days, both of the one and the other of theſe Immuni-
 ties, their Enemies have not only violated the moſt lawful Duty of
 Sovereigns, who ought to look upon themſelves as Conſervators of
 the Liberty and Welfare of their Subjects; but they have blacken'd
 the Great *Henry* with the Reproach of Ingratitude, which he adjudg-
 ed unworthy of himſelf; by depriving an Obedient and Peace-
 able Offspring of what had been ſo lawfully, yet dearly purchas'd
 for 'em, under the Reign of this Prince, by the Services of their
 Fathers.

But what-ever Caution was taken to preſerve the King's Ho-
 nour, his Proctors forbore not to comply with whatever the
 Pope demanded; and their Excuse was, that they could not poſſi-
 bly do otherwiſe, and that they were ſain to accept of ſome Con-
 ditions, to avoid others that would be more irkſom. They would
 alſo needs perſwade the King that they had done him great Ser-
 vice in this, that the Article of Rehabilitation had been chopt and
 chang'd with ſo much dexterity, that it might well be maintain'd,
 that there was not a Word ſaid of it in the Bull of Abſolution; ne-
 vertheleſs, if there were any Perſons who thought it neceſſary, it
 might be affirm'd on the other ſide, that there was enough to the
 purpoſe contain'd in it. So that all the Fidelity of theſe Proctors,
 in an Affair of ſo great Conſequence, and where the main Concern
 in Agitation was the eſtabliſhing the Dependance or Independance
 of the Crown, was reduc'd to unfold this weighty Queſtion, by
 equivocal Terms, from whence equal advantage might be drawn,
 as well for the one as for the other. This was by no means well
 reliſh'd by the honeſt *French-men*; but thoſe Slaps with a Wand
 which they receiv'd upon their Shoulders in the King's Name, as
 his Proctors, in the Preſence of the Cardinals, during the Cere-
 mony

*Provocati-
 ons of the
 Proctors in
 the terms
 and matter.*

1595. many of the Absolution, were far less approv'd. The *Spaniards* made it the Subject of their Sport and Merriment; the French Politicians murmur'd at it; the Reformed storm'd at it; and threw it in the Catholicks Dith, as a high Affront put upon Royal Majesty, that the first King in Christendom should be expos'd to be swaddl'd upon the Shoulders of his Proctor. The Court also was asham'd of such a pitiful Condescension; and *du Perron* had much ado to ward off the bloody Reproaches that were cast upon him for this Prevarication, at his Return. But he had such a Wit, that he could do what he pleas'd with it; and he had such a graceful slight of expressing himself, such a knack of making Black White, and White Black, that no body had either the Will or the Confidence to contradict what he said. For which Reason it is reported, that the Pope was heard to say at *Rome*, that he besought of God never to infuse other then vertuous Thoughts into his Mind; for that if corrupt and vicious Meditations got footing there, he had a Wit was able to defend 'em. *D'Ossat* excus'd this Indignity, by saying that the Raps were so slight, *that they would not have hurt a Fly*. As if the Affront had consisted rather in the Violence of the Blow then the Ignominy of the Ceremony. Some Historians have deem'd this Circumstance so very disgraceful, that they durst not recite it faithfully in their History; as if the Affront were the less real, when it is minc'd and neatly daub'd over.

*Articles of
Penance.*

These Proctors had consented to Sixteen Articles, which the Pope impos'd upon the King by way of Penance: And there were some of these, in reference to which the King could have wish'd, they would have let him have done as Time should have given him an opportunity. But the Proctors had been as faithful in this, as in all the rest; for they suffer'd the Pope to impose upon the King a Necessity of Obedience after a very coercive manner. Such were the Third, Fourth, and Sixth Article, whereby he was enjoin'd to re-establish the Mass in *Bearn*, and to restore the Bishops in that Principality to be maintain'd at his own Charges, till they should be settl'd in their Estates; to get the Prince of *Conde* out of the hands of the Reformed within a year, that he might be bred up in the Catholick Religion; and to publish the Council of *Trent*, and cause it to be observ'd in every thing that might not disturb the Publick Repose. The Tenth was couch'd in most Artificial Terms

Terms, and oblig'd the King in all things to give continual Marks of his Respect and Favour to the Catholicks before all the rest of his Subjects, and to testify his eager desires to unite his whole Kingdom in one and the same Religion. 1595.

The Reformed complain'd of these Articles which were granted directly to their Prejudice: But the Proctors endeavour'd to excuse one part, by saying, that certain Expressions were added in favour of the Edicts, and that they were forc'd to be contented, because it would have been impossible for 'em to have obtain'd clearer or more precise Expressions to explain their meaning. So that all the Security of the Protestants, in respect of these Articles, depended upon certain equivocal Words, the Explanation or Interpretation of which was reserv'd to those who had concluded the Treaty. Thus it was, that they gave an Account of that same Clause of the Sixth Article, touching the Publication of the Council, which had been ill receiv'd by the Reformed; because they could not look upon the Publication of a Council call'd on purpose to condemn 'em, otherwise then as a fore-runner of their Ruine. The Proctors upon this alledg'd, that they could not explain that Article more at large: But that the Pope knew and very well understood, that the Clause, not to disturb the publick Repose, was added in favour of the Edict of *Bearn*, and that he neither could nor would explain it better, for fear he should be thought to approve it. In like manner in reference to other Articles, that seem'd to press the King too furiously to certain things more difficult in *France* then *Rome* imagin'd, they affirm'd that the Pope had no design to force the King to Impossibilities, but that he would always be contented with what lay in his Power. Thus they oblig'd the King to whatever the Pope should please, and left it to the Popes good Humour to excuse the King, tho' it were impossible for him to perform the Penances which he had enjoin'd him.

*Complaints
of the Re-
formed, Ex-
cuses of the
Proctors.*

In the mean time we may judge by the Cruelties that were committed at *Rome* upon those that were call'd *Hereticks*, that they were not in the least become more equitable or more moderate toward any other People of the same Character. A *Fleming* was burnt alive in the Field of *Flora*; and an *Englishman*, who had thrown the Host to the Ground, and had us'd the Sacrament:

1595. Sacrament like an Idol, was punish'd at the same rate, after they had cut out his Tongue, and dismember'd him of one of his hands. And for fear his Punishment should be too gentle, they sing'd him continually by the way with burning Torches, from the Prison of the Inquisition to the place of Execution. The Reformed might gather from thence what they were to expect, if the Sincerity of the Edicts that were granted 'em, depended upon the Inspirations that came from *Rome*. But they had other Reasons to be afraid of every thing. For they had Intelligence also from *Rome*, that there were other Secret Conditions upon which the King was absolv'd, which were spread about there; whether it were an Artifice of the *Spaniards* to sow new Seeds of Distrust in the Minds of the Reformed; or whether the Pope had demanded 'em, and that the Proctors had verbally promis'd certain things, which they thought not convenient to put down in Writing. 'Twas reported at least, that the King was ty'd by those Conditions to exclude the Reformed from all Offices and Employments, whatever Promises he had made to admit 'em to Preferment, to marry the Princess his Sister to a Catholick Prince, and to make War upon the *Hereticks* of his Kingdom till they were utterly extirpated. And the Marriage of the Princess with the Duke of *Lorraine*, which happen'd some years after, confirm'd the Suspicions of all the rest; so much the rather, because she would have been courted by Princes of her own Religion, if the King would have listen'd to it. Certain it is, that the Reformed were convinc'd that these Articles were real; and that *du Plessis* also wrote to the King, that his manner of Proceeding was imputed to his Compliance with the Popes Demands; and that it was believ'd, of all that was propos'd against 'em, there was none but the Article that concern'd their Destruction, that he ever refus'd to hearken to.

Secret Articles thought to be promis'd to the Pope.

The End of the Third Book.

THE

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
Edict of Nantes.

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the

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WHILE this Affair was under Negotiation at Rome, the Reformed in France, who perform'd their Exercises at *Chastaigneraye*, were massacred by the Soldiers of the Garrison of *Rochefort*, who boasted that they had the Duke of *Mercoeur's* Warrant for what they did. The Lady of the Place, who had already signaliz'd her self by other Acts of Violence, observing that the Reformed, who assembl'd together from sundry places in the Neighbourhood, carry'd Arms about 'em for their own Defence, because the Garrisons of the League were always scouting abroad, forbid the Meeters, under pretence that she might not forfeit her Garranty, to come arm'd upon her Ground; and seconded this Inhibition with so many Threats, that the poor People obey'd. And in that condition it was that the Garrison of *Rochefort* surpriz'd 'em met together in the House of one *Vaudorè* a Reformed Gentleman. There were about two hundred massacred, without sparing either Sex or Age. An Infant also that was carry'd thither to be Christen'd was kill'd among the rest. Nor could the Innocency of another, who would have given Eight Sols for his Ransom, procure him the least Mercy. And the Reason alledg'd by these Hang-men to excuse their Fury, was, That the Duke of *Mercoeur* had forbid 'em to suffer any of the *Huguenots* to redeem themselves: And moreover they were sure, as they said, that the Duke in making their Peace would procure 'em a full Pardon for that horrid Impiety. The Lady of *Chastaigneraye*, who had contriv'd this bloody Execution with so much Artifice, made it her Pastime, after the Fact was committed, to be inquisitive after the Number and Names of the murder'd People, and to inform her self, whether such or such, against whom she had a more peculiar Antipathy, were comprehended in the Butchery. This piece of Barbarism put the Reformed into a Ferment equal to the Merit of the Fact. They call'd Assemblies to consider of

1595.

*Massacre at
Chastaigneraye.*

1595. it : They arm'd themselves for their Defence against the same Violences in the Neighbouring parts, or to make the like Returns; and some that were more chat'd by their Excess of Cruelty, that talk'd of nothing else but of righting themselves upon the Catholics. They besought the King never to pardon the Authors of such a Massacre, but to bring 'em to Justice as Robbers unworthy to be look'd upon as Soldiers. The King gave out Letters Patents, which declar'd that this same Act of Cruelty should be comprehended in the number of Military Violences, for which Treaties of Peace generally provided an Act of Oblivion: In pursuance of which *La Trimouille* and *du Plessis* caus'd some of these Executioners that fell into their Hands, to be hang'd up. But the Punishment of Five or Six Scoundrels, was not look'd upon as a sufficient Reparation for the Massacre of so many innocent Persons. For which reason it was, that the Reformed complain'd above two years after, that Justice had never been done 'em for this, no more then for several other Outrages which had been every day committed to their vast Prejudice in sundry parts of the Kingdom.

Excepted by
the Patents
out of the
Acts which
should be
comprised
in the Am-
nesties.

Authors to
persuade
the Reform-
ed to de-
liver up the
Prince of
Conde.

Moreover, while the Negotiation went forward at *Rome*, it was, that they set all their Springs and Engins at work to get the Prince of *Conde* out of the hands of the Reformed. The Verification of the Edict was not sufficient to perswade 'em to a surrender of his Person; because it had only serv'd to give 'em new occasions of Complaint: Therefore it behov'd 'em to set new Slights and Stratagems on foot; neither would the King stay to make it his business, till the Pope impos'd a necessity upon him. One of their Artifices to sound their Intentions was, loudly to give out, that they well knew the Reformed would never deliver him up; and to support this study'd Fear of theirs with all the Considerations that could hinder 'em: To which they added Reflections upon the Prejudice which would accrew, by their Refusal, to the King's Affairs: Nor did they forget to slip in dexterously by the way, that they should be forc'd at length to take him out of their hands by force. They gave 'em also clearly enough to understand, that they were not to expect either Peace or Security, while they continu'd obstinate in their Resolutions to be Masters of the Person of the young Prince: That their Refusal to deliver

deliver him up to the King would be taken for an apparent Rebellion; that they would be look'd upon to have forfeited all the Favours that had been granted; and that there would be a fair Pretence found out to unite with those Foreign Powers against 'em, that so passionately thirsted after their Destruction. These Considerations wrought upon three sorts of People: The Timorous, who after Thirty Five Years Wars, which had cost the Reformed so much Hardship, Treasure and Blood, desir'd only to live in Repose, and became faint-hearted upon all appearances of a new War. The Courtiers, who never troubl'd their Heads much about the Time to come, provided they had the Liberty of their Consciences, and that their Religion were no Obstacle to their present Fortunes. And lastly, the Wiser sort, who thought there was a necessity of Peace, to settle and preserve 'em in their Stations; that there could be no end of a new War but with their Ruine; that it would be a Reproach to their Religion to re-kindle a War in the Kingdom, when it was in so fair a way to be extinguish'd; but that on the other side, 'twould be a great Honour to their Doctrine which the Catholicks accus'd of infusing the Spirit of Faction and Disturbance into People, to contradict 'em in an Affair of such important Consequence.

But there were other People to manage besides the Reformed, if they intended to have good Success in their getting the Prince of *Conde* into their Hands. For the Death of the Prince his Father was accompany'd with such Circumstances, which had fill'd the Minds of Credulous People full of Jealousies; and the Prosecution commens'd against his Widow, suspected to have contributed to his Death, had perswaded many People, that she had strange Reasons which spurr'd her on to that Extremity. The Prince of *Conti*, and the Count of *Soissons* were in the number of those that really thought, or would seem to believe, that there was something in the Birth of that young Prince which did not permit that he should remove 'em from the Crown. More especially the Count, of an ambitious and turbulent Spirit, and one that agreed but ill with the King, was most to be fear'd; and they might well think, that he would might and main obstruct what ever should be done to lift the Prince of *Conde* to the Throne in prejudice of his Claim. There was also another Reason

*Interests of
the Prince of
Conti and
Count of
Soissons.*

1595.
Trimouille
suspected by
the King.

son, besides the general Interest of his Party, why the King suspected *Trimouille*. His Ambition, and his Courage, made him fear, that the Duke would never consent to the Delivery of the Prince, under whose Name he might one day be Head of the Reformed, among whom he was in great Reputation. He had taken a Journey to *St. John d' Angeli*, where the Prince was bred up, which had made the Court very uneasie; believing he went to make sure of the Person of his Nephew, and to order it so, that they who had him in their Custody should never deliver him to the Catholicks. But afterwards 'twas known by the Information of *du Plessis*, from whom the Reformed never conceal'd any thing, that his Journey was only to get the Suspension from the Communion taken off, which the Princess his Sister had been under ever since the Death of her Husband, with whom she was thought to have been an Accomplice. This perhaps might have been a Stop, in order to the going farther in time; but then it prov'd of no effect to prejudice the Designs of the Court. In the main, it would not have been an easie thing to support the Claims of that Prince, whose Mother was suspected even by the Reformed themselves of being guilty of a strange piece of ill Conduct, if the Catholicks seeing him bred up in the Reformed Religion, should have once bethought themselves of fostering against him the same Suspicions, to exclude him from the Crown. So that a Head-strong Resolution to keep him in their Power would have signify'd nothing to any other purpose, then to have put the Reformed and his Uncle to a great deal of Trouble.

'Twas thought they might provide against these Inconveniences by the Care which was taken to justify the Princess of *Conde*. *Trimouille* was perswaded to come in himself, for the Honour of his Sister, as being in some measure branded by the Sentence which the Judges of *St. John d' Angeli* had given against her. Therefore 'twas so order'd while the King was in *Burgundy*, where *Trimouille* perform'd great Services both in his Person and by his Courage, that the Kindred should present a Petition to the King, wherein the Judges who had condemn'd her should be expos'd as incompetent, and a Demand made, that the Information should be cancell'd, and the whole business be referr'd to the Parliament of

of *Paris*, where it was proper for the Causes of the Princes of the Blood to be determin'd. The King receiv'd the Petition, and granted by his Letters Patents, that the Proceſs ſhould be ſent back. This done, he ſent the Marqueſs of *Piſani* to *St. John d' Angeli* to be near the Perſon of the Prince, and to find out a way to get him from thence together with his Mother, under the pretence of carrying him to the Court where he might be preſent, at the Proſecution of a Proceſs, wherein he was ſo viſibly concern'd. But the Marqueſs met with many Difficulties. There were ſeveral who by no means relith'd the Reaſons that were alledg'd, and thought it very imprudent to diſpoſſeſs themſelves of ſo aſſur'd a Pledge for the Obſervation of the Edicts. *Rochel* would not conſent, but oppos'd it might and main; but the Intreagues ſurmounted all thoſe Obſtacles; and the greater number was over-ru'd by the Conſiderations which I have ſet down; ſo that the Prince and his Mother were deliver'd up to the King's Diſpoſal. One of the greateſt Difficulties proceeded from the Conſciences of zealous Perſons, who foreſaw that if once the Catholicks got him into their Clutches, they would mould him in ſuch a manner, as ſoon to make him forget the Religion of his Father and Grandfather. Therefore they were deſirous to take ſome Cautions to ſecure him the Liberty of his Conſcience: And the Court, who were unwilling to break off the Negotiation by engaging in new Difficulties, promis'd to do whatever the Reformed deſir'd. But they never remember'd their Promiſes after they had once got the Prince into their power: For a while they ſuffer'd him to have his Reformed Domeſtick Servants about him; but they took 'em from him, notwithstanding his Cries and his Tears, when they perceiv'd that he withdrew into private places along with 'em to be catechiz'd, to ſing *Pſalms*, and ſay his uſual Prayers. After which, they plac'd about him perſons, who being of the ſame Religion which they were deſirous to inſuſe into him, ſoon choak'd the Seeds of that Doctrin which he had learn'd among the Reformed. So that in the progreſs of his Life, after he had been a declar'd Perſecutor, he became a great Caluiſt,

1595.

Piſani carries her away with the Prince her Son.

Precautions taken for the Prince's Religion ill obſerv'd.

1595. Casuist, and a Converter of others. In the mean time his Mother was fully justify'd; no body appear'd against her; and tho the Prince of *Conti* and the Count of *Soissons* were Summon'd, as Persons interested in the Affair, they never made their Appearance; so that the Princess gain'd her Cause with little or no Trouble. 'Tis true, that many People were very lavish of their Tongues against her, and that the Reformed spar'd her no more then others. But after she had got the Day, the Princess embrac'd the Catholick Religion at what time the King lay at *Rouen*, and renounc'd the Reformed Faith, while the Legat, who was arriv'd in *France* but a little before, held her by the hands. This same Change was deferr'd till then, that it might not be said she had purchas'd her Justification at the Expence of her Conscience; as might have been spread abroad, had she quitted her Religion, before she had been clear'd by the Law. But in regard 'twas well known at what time that Resolution was taken, People stuck not to ask the Question, to what Interest a Princess, in whose behalf so many Reasons and Princes sollicitated, was oblig'd to Sacrifice her Religion, had she been innocent. I must confess that some part of this Relation belongs to the next Year; but I thought it more convenient to recite it entire in this place, then to break off and return to it again.

The Deputies of the Assembly at Saumur attend the King.

Paid with general Promises.

In the mean time, the Assembly at *Saumur* having taken their last Resolutions, sent away to the King *la Nove*, and *la Primaudaye*, who waited on him at *Lyon*, and there presented to him their Petitions and their Papers, with new Proposals, which they were enjoyn'd to make by way of Addition to their preceding Demands. They accompany'd 'em with a short Remembrance of their Services, which was taken for a kind of Reproach. However the King receiv'd 'em with outward Civilities which concluded in nothing, and of which the Court is never niggardly. They only obtain'd general Promises from Him. He assur'd 'em he would never forget their Services; and that in a little time he would satisfie their Demands; but he declar'd he could not do it then, by reason of the

the great Affairs that lay upon his hands. In the mean time 1595.
 he earnestly exhorted 'em to continue their Services on *Picardy*
 side, where he had great reason to fear the Attempts of the
Spaniards, against whom War had been declar'd but a little
 before with a great deal of Ceremony; because till then the
 Hostility between the two Nations had been but indirectly car-
 ry'd on, by reason of the League, which they assisted with War declar-
 ed against
 Spain.
 Men and Money. For the Council thought it a shame to
 brook any longer that oblique way of attacking *France*; and
 therefore that now the War was to be carry'd into the
 Enemies Country, to hinder the Succours which they gave
 the *French* Rebels. The Duke of *Bouillon* was one of those that
 press'd this Resolution most home; and the *United Provinces*,
 who saw a certain Advantage for themselves in declaring a War,
 labour'd it on their side, as well as Queen *Elizabeth*. 'Tis
 true, that Princess appear'd not a little offended, that the
 King did so little for the Protestants of *France*; and she grew
 jealous of those Proceedings that renew'd their Terrors and
 their Distrusts. She was afraid of being the Victim of a Peace
 with *Spain*, and of being abandon'd by a Prince whom she had
 so generously succour'd in Distress. But to re-establish a Con-
 fidence between the King and Her, Marshal *de Bouillon* was sent
 to negotiate with her a new League against the *Spaniard*. Nor
 was it a difficult thing to obtain it: But in regard the Queen
 laid to Heart the Affairs of Religion, her Ministers propos'd
 the obliging the King to grant a favourable Edict to the Pro-
 testants of his Kingdom. There was now a necessity to break
 off the Treaty, or consent to a Promise that would have been
 attended with dangerous Consequences, partly through the Dis-
 gust which the Pope would have taken at it; partly by reason
 of the great Obligation which a Foreign Power would have laid
 upon the King's Subjects by vertue of this Article; since they
 would have been more beholding to Foreign Favour for their
 Security then to their Prince. But the Duke of *Bouillon* would
 never suffer any such Article to be insert'd in the Treaty, nor
 that any separate Act should be drawn up, with which the

*League
 with the
 Queen of
 England,
 who would
 have an
 Article in-
 serted in the
 Treaty in
 favour of
 the Refor-
 med.*

*The Duke of
 Bouillon op-
 pos'd it.*

1595. *English* offer'd to be content, for fear it might be imputed to him that he had been employ'd upon their Importunities, and that he had abus'd his Credit and his Plenipotentiary Power, to make that Attempt upon Royal Authority for the benefit of Religion. However the Proposal made it evident, that the Reformed would find Protection abroad, if once they were in a condition to stand in need of it. In the mean time the Queens good Intentions terminated in this, that she secretly solicited the King to grant all necessary Liberty and Security to the most faithful part of his Subjects; and the Reformed had often recourse to that same Intercession.

*Dilemmas
of the Re-
formed, and
their Subjects*

But the Enterprize prov'd not so successful as it was just and necessary, and the King lost several considerable Places. And from thence it was he took an opportunity to exhort the Reformed to do him new Service, and jointly, with him, to turn their Arms against their Common Enemy. But the Coldness which the Deputies observ'd in the King's Answers, and the Incongruity which they found between requiring from the Reformed new Services, and referring 'em till another time for the Reward of Services past, produc'd a very great alteration in their Minds. It seem'd to them, that an Affair which regarded the Life and Conscience of so many Thousands of good Subjects, was as urgent as any other; and in regard they desir'd no more then only to be treated like true and faithful *French-men*, they could not brook to be put off till another time for the Examination of their Demands. For their parts, they look'd upon it as a flat Refusal of the Security which they desir'd; or at least for a Declaration clear enough, that they requir'd time to cavil upon an Affair of so great Importance to their Welfare. Therefore they thought it not to be endur'd, that they should be invited to shed the Remainder of their Blood against a Foreign Enemy, while they were refus'd Security against their Domestick Foes; and that they should be told abruptly, that the King was not at leisure to provide for the safety of them and their Families. The King also went about to perswade 'em, that the Breaches, made by the Treaties with
the

the Leaguers, of the Edict in 1577. were not considerable, 1595. and that the great Benefit which accrew'd to the State by those Breaches was such, that the Reformed might well sit down by the Loss with Patience; as if it had been just, that they should purchase, at the expence of their Security, the King's Reconciliation with their most implacable Persecutors. For these Reasons it was that they propos'd in the Assembly the having recourse to more effectual Remedies. They also discours'd, among other Expedients, of putting themselves into the same Condition they were in, before the Truce between the two Kings, and to regulate the Custody of their strong Holds, the Administration of the Finances, and the Method of Justice in the same Order as they were at that time. Such a Resolution was enough to make the Court and the Parliaments look about 'em, who each for their own particular Reasons were afraid of nothing so much, as to see the Reformed Cantoniz'd: And in regard the Springs of Fear and Interest more forcibly move the Minds of Men, then those of Gratitude and Equity, this irksom expedient appear'd to be the best of all to bring the Catholics to a reasonable Composition.

However this Coldness of the King proceeded not so much from Nature as Infusion: And therefore he repented of this rigorous Usage, so soon as he saw the bad effects of it. But he was continually spurr'd forward to these affected Severities by the Sollicitations of the Pope and the Catholics. The Pope would fain have perswaded him to destroy the Reformed Root and Branch; but the King would never hearken to that, and stood so positively to the Negative, when they made him the Proposal, that after that, there was no body at Court who durst propound it to him any more. But he list'd more willingly to those, who to bring about their ends, fetch'd a larger Compass, and who advis'd him to stay till he was rid of all his other Incumbrances, that he might be in a condition to have the Reformed under his Girdle, and to prescribe 'em Laws like a Sovereign, that acts according to his Will and Pleasure. This

Whence the King's coldness proceeded.

Spring-sons of the Catholics.

1595. Council flatter'd the King, who in that was like all other Princes, who believe it more agreeable to their Supreme Authority, to give what they please, then what is demanded from 'em. But those Catholicks, of which the greater part were Leaguers in their Hearts, or else prepossessed with that false Zeal which breath'd nothing more into 'em, then the Ruine of those they call *Hereticks*, had other Designs than to advance the King's Power. Their Aim was to hinder him from obliging himself by any Edict, before they had taken all their measures for the Destruction of the Reformed, for fear lest after that they might not be able to perswade him to violate the publick Faith, of the Observance of which no Prince in the World was more jealous then himself. They labour'd therefore with great Application to put off the Effects of his good Intentions, of which they were not ignorant, and they made use of all the Considerations to this purpose that might Incense the King, whose Courage active to excess, and vigorous, easily took Fire. They sought to incense him, by laying before him the Importunities of the Reformed, for recompense of their Services, as an injurious Reproach; as if they had fail'd in their respect to his Majesty, in upbraiding him with a Fidelity confirm'd by long Experience. And Kings are apt to show their Weakness in that particular. They love to be serv'd without Interest, and that after great Services done, they may be permitted to forgive 'em. The more they are pleas'd with the Affection of their Subjects, the more they dread the Reproach. They take it for an Affront, that a Subject who has done no more then his Duty, should think he has any way oblig'd 'em; and many times also when they acknowledge the Services of any one, they would have their Returns of Gratitude rather look'd upon as Favours then Rewards. So that it was no difficult thing to perswade the King, that the Reformed were in the wrong to boast their Services as they did; and that the more deserved the Recompense was, the more injurious the Demand seem'd to be. The Catholicks were the first themselves that were provok'd at these Reproaches of good Services, because they

they almost all knew, that it was against them that the Reformed had perform'd it ; so that the one could not vaunt their Fidelity, but the other were put in remembrance of their having been either Enemies or Rebels. Moreover the Catholicks represented the Reformed to the King as a kind of Cabal, that was form'd against his Authority, under the Pretence of Religion, and who having Oaths of Union, Assemblies, Councils, Cheistaines, Strong Holds, and Finances or Exchequers, were a kind of another State set up within his own, and which would prove a Source of Trouble and Confusion, a Sanctuary for Male-Contents and Rebels, and a Party always engag'd in Domestick Conspiracies and Foreign Correspondencies. The Pretence for these Accusations was, that among the vast number of stout and brave Persons of which the Party consisted, there were some that were turbulent and talk'd high, and some perhaps who had Interests of their own apart by themselves, under the Vail of the Common Cause. But it was a most malicious piece of Injustice to accuse of Faction so many Thousands of peaceable People, that desir'd no more then the Repose and Liberty of their Consciences. Nevertheless, because the King's Vivacity render'd him susceptible of suddain Impressions, from thence it came to pass, that he gave the Reformed either Cold or harsh Answers, while his Mind was prepossess'd with a present prejudice against 'em ; tho' in the main, he had always a Design to grant 'em part of their Demands.

The Pope on the other side, well knew how to improve his Advantages ; and in regard he saw there were many things of Importance wherein the King stood in need of him, he granted him nothing for which he did not make him dearly pay. That Pontiff diligently heighten'd all the Suspensions that were infus'd into him, that the King's *Conversion* was not sincere ; and all the Discourses upon which those Jealousies might be grounded. 'Twas easie to pick out several Pretences in the King's Conduct, which oblig'd him

*The Popes
Address.*

1595. him to speak and act quite contrary, according to the Character of those with whom he had to deal. To flatter the Catholicks, it became him to shew a great Disgust against the Religion of the Reformed. On the other side, to satisfie the Reformed, there was a necessity of telling 'em sometimes by way of secret Confidence, that he had always a kindness for their Religion. His principal Allies were Protestants, and it behov'd him that his Ministers Resident among 'em should let 'em know as much, to refix that Assurance in their Minds, which his Reconciliation to the *Roman* Church and the Pope had almost quite eradicated. They were afraid that another Religion had caus'd him to espouse other Interests. Therefore he order'd his Agents to excuse, to his Confederates, his outward manner of Proceeding, and to assure 'em, that only the necessity of Affairs oblig'd him to dissemble; and that he had alter'd his Conduct, but not his Sentiments. The Pope, who was inform'd of every thing by his Spies, believ'd, or else feign'd to believe that this was true. And therefore he extorted from the King many things under that Pretence, as Demonstrations of a sincere *Conversion*: And said he would have drawn him, by these study'd Distrusts, into a League against the Protestants. But the King, who could not confide so well in any but the Protestants, refus'd to hearken to those Propositions: And when he call'd to his remembrance that he had been bred among 'em, and faithfully defended by the Protestants, or that he had been so well assisted and serv'd both by Them and Foreigners in so many Dangers, he could not without Horror hearken to the Council that was given him, for their Extirpation. Of all the Ten Things which he had made the Objects of his Wishes in his Life-time, one of the most ardent was, That he might be in a Capacity to establish the Reformed Religion which he then professed. Therefore when he saw himself the Umpire of his Wish, the Success of which depended upon his Will, he could not resolve to destroy a Religion, the Advancement of which he

had

His wishes.

had so much desir'd and favour'd. However, there must be something done to pay the Pope. For which reason the King enhanc'd the value of the Changes which had happen'd at Court, as so many Effects of his Sollicitations, his Acts of Kindnesses, or his Example. Sometimes he acted the Converter, and disputed against such as presented themselves before him, to the end he might boast at *Rome* the Benefit and Sincerity of his Cares for the reducing of all his Subjects to one and the same Religion. He assum'd to himself also the Honour of the Decay and Ruine into which some Reformed Families fell, and of the Advancement of some Catholick Houses; as if it had fallen out through his preferring the one above the other; whenas, for the most part, neither the one nor the other proceeded from any other Cause then the Ingratitude and Capricio of the Court, among whom there is as little Justice in the Refusal, as in the Distribution of Favours. Certain it is however this way of proceeding drew upon him sometimes most cruel Reproaches; and if we may judge of his Inclinations by the Satyrs of the Time, no body will believe that Gratitude and Liberality were his over-ruling Virtues, in regard they always represent the most ancient and most faithful Servants of this Prince as buried in Oblivion and Miserable, while on the one side, the Ministers of his Pleasures, and on the other, his Enemies, and they who had the Courage to render themselves formidable, were loaded, and became wealthy with his Favours and Rewards.

But the most effectual of all the ways he took to content the Pope, was the Harshness of his Answers to the Reformed, while his Mind was prepossess'd with the Jealousies insus'd into it; and *Rome* never fail'd of having Advice of it, as of a Proof that the Reformed were no longer Sharers of his Good Will. In a Word, they had taught him from that time forward to make a Distinction between

1595. tween the Religion and the Cabal ; on purpose that they might accustom him to hear their Distruction discours'd of without Offence, since they only talk'd to him of ruining the Cabal that wounded his Authority, without meddling with Religion, in the Exercise of which he was resolv'd never to make use of Force.

He look'd upon the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *de la Trimouille* as the Heads of that Party : And he would sometimes say to his Confidants, that one of his Wishes was, That he might have 'em at his Mercy, to the end he might more generously pardon 'em. But *la Trimouille* stood too well upon his Guard to expose himself ; and *de Bouillon* would never trust to his Generosity, as it fell out in an Affair wherein he was engag'd some few Years after. Neither did *Rochel* stand fair in the King's good Opinion ; and it is reported that when he was at the Siege of *la Fere*, that when he beheld the *Oyse* overflowing the Streets of that City, he whispered one of those that stood next him in the Ear, That if he could bring as much to pass in *Marseilles* and *Rochel*, he should think himself absolute in his Kingdom. This Resentment against *Rochel* proceeded from an old Affront which he received there during his Protectorship, and which he always retain'd in his Memory.

1695. 'Twas only to perswade *Rome*, that he had absolutely abandon'd the Reformed, that toward the end of the next Year a Report was spread abroad, that he was highly incens'd at a Petition which they had presented to him, wherein it was said, That the Catholicks had only his Body, but that they possess'd his Soul and his Affection ; that he had return'd 'em a threatening Answer, telling 'em that he would join with the King of *Spain* to their Destruction ; and that if they did not keep themselves close to the Terms of his Edicts, they should not have 'em so cheap from Him as from his Predecessors. 'Tis said, that he receiv'd this Petition at *la Fere*, and return'd 'em this harsh Answer.

But

Reports of
the Reformed
being
guilt out of
favour, and
the Sources
of it.

But if we may believe Monsieur D' Aubigny, he had too deep a sense of Religion to treat those severely who perswaded him to maintain it. This Historian tells us, that at that time the King was afflicted with a Distemper which he believed mortal, and that he then underwent great Conflicts of Mind, because he was afraid that his return to the Roman Church was the Sin against the *Holy Ghost*, which is never pardon'd. The like Discourses also were spread by the Duke de *Mercœur*, who had a design it shou'd be thought that the Wars of Religion were about to revive in the Kingdom, and that he was in a condition to make his interest thereby as the last of all the Patronizers of the Catholic Religion.

Yet, at the bottom, the King was not so displeased with the Reformed, but that he sometimes gave the Romish Clergy cause of complaint against him. It was then an authorized Custom to give *Priories*, *Abbies*, and even *Bishopricks*, to the *Laity*, whereby they pleased themselves with the Name of an *Ecclesiastic* Confident ; and the Reformed under this Reign shared the Benefits of this nature with the Roman Catholics. It happen'd every day that Affairs of this kind were promoted in all the Jurisdictions of the Kingdom, where they were generally carried according to the Contracts of *Confidence*, until there was offer'd to the Privy-Council an Act which gave a Bishoprick to a Woman in pursuance of some act pass'd with her Husband according to this *confidenciary* possession. This was an abuse that the Ecclesiasticks had a great deal of difficulty to reform.

In the beginning of the Year their Deputies were permitted to assemble together. And on their part there was an Harangue made to the King at *Folembray* : He that undertook it cou'd not forbear speaking something of Religion, but he behaved himself very moderately on the Subject, and only propos'd to advance the Catholick Religion by *Doctrine* and *Example*, whereas War or Punishments had been the only Expedient preach'd up formerly. He exhorted the King to issue out an Edict to invite his Subjects to return to the Catholic Religion, which, said he, wou'd be to imitate *Constantine*, who invited the Subjects of his Empire to embrace the Christian Religion by his Example ; and also of *Reccarede* King of the *Goths*, who being converted from *Arianism*;

The Assembly.

1596. obliged all his Subjects to turn with him. But, continued he, I desire not this Conversion to be procur'd either by Arms or Violence.

He acknowledg'd likewise, that the King might not perhaps be so well assured of many Towns and Persons which were return'd to his obedience, that therefore such Measures were requisite to be taken as might prevent any new Troubles arising in the Kingdom.

In a second Harangue the Deputies of this Assembly press'd these Matters a little farther; and to take away all suspicion which any persons might have, that the Edict of Invitation tended to a renewing of the War, they declared that they had need of Peace themselves, and would only have this Edict to dispose the Reformed to receive their Instructions more easily. Nevertheless, they had made an Address, upon which they obtain'd an Edict at *Travercy*, that was very favourable to them. The Reformed, who suspected this Assembly of their Enemies, did all that in them lay to hinder any ill consequences, and the Clergy also complain'd, after they had consented to this Edict, that the King had not provided for the most important Articles of his Demands. There were nevertheless some in this Edict which had respect to Religion. The *First* ordain'd the re-establishment of the Mass throughout all the Kingdom, the *Ninth* forbade Burial in Church-yards and other Sacred Places to such who did not die *Catholicks*, altho' they had the right of Patronage or any other title of pretence. The *Tenth* permitted the selling of Relicks or Church Ornaments out of the hands of the Trustees and other Detainers, and to inform against the Spoilers of Holy Places, at least upon a *Civil Account*, for the recovery of things that were taken. This Clause of *Civil Account*, had a reference to the reform'd, who look'd not upon the *Catholic Relicks* or Ornaments of their Churches as holy things, and it wou'd have made a great noise if they had been prosecuted as criminal for Pillages of this nature: whereas the *Catholicks* very far from being treated civilly upon such accounts might in pursuance of the *Canons* be prosecuted as guilty of Sacrilege. The *Thirteenth* commanded the restitution of all Ecclesiastical Goods of what nature soever, and forbade the detaining of them, even under the pretence of Reparations, Amend-

ments,

Edict of
Travercy.

ments, or any thing of the like nature : and gave a *Grant of Possession* of the Livings belonging to the Bishops of *Dags, Bayonne, Tarbes, and Aize*, which had been seized of in *Bearn*. This Article might interest many of the Reform'd, who were very probably entred upon the possession of these Goods on the credit of the *Attachment*. But this was the main Design of all the Attempts the Clergy had made. In their Harangues nothing was so much press'd as the restitution of their Livings : and Charity was not the Motive that induced them to desire Peace, but a Fear, that instead of regaining what they had already lost, they might yet lose more in a new War.

These Intrigues of the Clergy continued near half a Year : but in the beginning of them the Treaty with the Duke of *Mayenne* was concluded, which had been put off for so long a time ; in which the Duke had proposed an Article of being exempted out of the Enquiry that might be made into the Murder of *Henry the Third*, whether it was, that he knew himself too nearly concern'd in it, which made him willing to secure himself from the Prosecution of the Queen Dowager ; or that he look'd upon it as a reparation of the Death of his Brothers, whom the late King had caused to be slain at *Blois*, to leave those unpunished that had revenged him, even upon the Person of the King. The Parliament had much ado to pass this Article, and perhaps it was the only one amongst all that was agreed between the Leaguers upon which there was so great a contestation. They wou'd have oblig'd the Duke to have clear'd himself by an Oath, that he had no hand in the Parricide ; or upon his refusal to have ratified the Article with this Modification, That it was agreed to because of the urgent necessity of Affairs. The Attorney-General, who had innocently introduced into *Henry the Third's* Chamber the Monk that assassinated him, thought himself obliged to bring the guilty to punishment, and form'd great difficulties, which the zeal of the Parliament seconded very briskly. But in the end it was pass'd, and the Orders of the King were so strong, that they confirm'd the Edict without restriction. The King was oblig'd by many Reasons to prosecute the Revenge of *Henry the Third*, besides the common interest of Kings, who ought to their utmost to preserve the glorious Priviledges of their Persons ; he wou'd this

1596.

An Edict
in favour
of the
Duke of
Mayenne.

1596. Revenge to his own Glory, to the end that he might not appear to have advanced himself at the expence of his Predecessor's life; and he had also engaged himself to do it by formal Promises to the Queen, and to the Officers of the former Court. But the present Affairs made him forget both his Duty and his Promises; and the Death of *Henry* the Third was not reveng'd. Upon which one thing may be observ'd worthy the Reader's attention: *Henry* the Fourth was also basely assassinated as his Predecessor had been; but there was so little care taken to revenge his death, that even those were punished that endeavoured to discover the Authors of it. And in these two cases only the Executors of both these Parricides were put to death; for they did not what they ought, or what they might have done, either to punish or to discover the accomplices. So that *Henry* the Fourth had the like respect shew'd him after his death, as he had shew'd to him that reign'd before him. This Remark is in the History of the Reform'd, for there was none in the Kingdom which complain'd lower than they did, that revenge was not taken on the Murderers of their preserver. But to return to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who only demanded the exclusion of the Exercise of the Reformed Religion for six Years in those Towns which he gave up to the King; and he was indeed after his reconciliation one of the most equitable of the Court, when it was in dispute whether such an Edict shou'd be granted as might comprehend the Reform'd.

Nevertheless they saw nothing which cured their distrusts; not only *the remembrance of what had passed gave them just fears of what was to come*, as Impartial Historians acknowledge; but they gave them every day new occasions, which made a Secretary of State ingeniously confess to *du Plessis*, in a Letter which he wrote to him, that they continually gave them too much subject of complaint. But still Prudence wou'd not let them push their Patience to the extremity, in a time wherein it might have been the cause of strange disorders. Throughout the Kingdom there was almost none less powerful than the King; the Governours look'd upon their Places and Provinces almost as a Possession that belonged to them by propriety; they were only made obedient by the power of Caresses and Benefits: So that
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the State seem'd remiss in the same point it had formerly been when the House of *Cartienna* began to decay ; upon which some unquiet and ambitious Spirits built a like Project to that which brought *Hugo Capet* to the Crown. This Prince bestowed part of his Kingdom upon those which had assisted him in the gaining it, and gave the Dukes and Earls a Propriety to such Countries as they were Governors of ; keeping to himself, with that Country which belong'd to him by Inheritance, only the Sovereignty and Homage of all these Lords, with the Condition of Reversion to the Crown in certain Cases. This same Method was proposed to the King, as a good Expedient to pacifie the Kingdom. The young Duke of *Mompensier* was engaged in this Project, and was to tell the King of it ; but the King's Answer so cast down this young Prince, as made him sensible it was a slender experience had engaged him in this undertaking ; but this did not put an end to the design, for it yet continued in the minds of several persons ; and if the Reform'd had but stirr'd then, many without doubt wou'd have taken an advantage of the occasion. There were strange Intrigues carried on in *France*. The Duke of *Mercœur* had already retired into *Bretagney* ; and *Du Plessis* had stopt a Courier of the Arch Duke's, who was carrying Letters to this Prince, which discovered very strange things to them ; the greatest part of the Catholic Lords were interested therein. Even *Biron*, who afterwards suffered himself quite to be corrupted, was engaged in this Conspiracy ; and it was plain enough, that whatsoever fomented the Troubles at home proceeded from a strange inspiration. If the Authors of these Intrigues cou'd but have forc'd the Reform'd to some desperate Attempt, they wou'd thereby have found a pretext of making War against them, which wou'd have been a fine occasion for them to have taken better Measures to dismember the Kingdom than they had done by the League, the success of which made them observe the defects.

1596.
The Project of dividing.

But the Reform'd only continued their Assemblies ; and after the ill success of their former Deputation, they agreed to meet at *Loudun*, the First of *April*, to consult about the safety of the Churches. The King permitted them because he had considered the consequences of his cold Answers, and he was used upon all occasions.

The Assembly meet at Loudun, with permission.

1596.

New suspicions,

and subject
of complaint.

occasions to repair a harsh treatment by one more sweet and compliable. The Deputies at their arrival found new cause of inquietude, in that it was not long before the Cardinal *de Joyeuse* was to return from *Rome*, whom they believed commission'd to make the first Overture of Peace between the Crowns under the pretence of uniting them to make War against the Turk. But the Reform'd were not ignorant how the Court of *Rome* had abused these holy Leagues, and on how many occasions these Croisades against Infidels had been turn'd against the pretended Hereticks, and therefore were apprehensive, that the Catholicks, under this pretext, intended to ruin them, and that in effect they wou'd imploy against them the Arms that in appearance were taken up against the *Ottoman* House. In this Assembly they were wearied with Uncertainties and Delays, and repuls'd by the Rigour of the Parliaments, in many of which, as well as in the inferiour Courts, they still executed the Edicts of the League, without considering the later Edicts which had revoked them. The King had promised the Deputies at *Lyons* to send Commissioners unto the Provinces, to cause those Declarations which he had made to be executed, and to re-establish the Edict of 1577, with all its Consequences. But this Promise had been so ill perform'd, that it was delay'd, and so very little effect came from the Proceedings of the Court, and from some Commissioners, which were sent into some of the places, that the condition of the Reform'd was no ways bettered; besides, that they cou'd no longer be content with the re-establishment of this Edict, but demanded a new one more ample and more favourable to them. The small advantage the Commissioners promised or sent to the Reform'd soon appear'd in the Parliaments, in which, during the same time, the Assembly offer'd up a Complaint of their Rigours; that of *Bordeaux* made an Act which extended to the ruin of a great number of their places of Exercise. It was enacted in favour of the Marquess of *Trans*, who had great Possessions, that they shou'd not Preach within the limits of his Jurisdiction: so that, besides the places where this Act absolutely put an end to the Exercise of the Reform'd Religion, it produced in them great Fears both of the Example and Consequence. The Catholic Lords, in whose Possessions they had preached until then, might

probably in imitation of the Marquess, obtain Prohibitions for 1596. their continuing so to do : And as all Roman Catholicks are very near equally prejudiced against all other Religions, so there was no room to doubt but they wou'd signalize their Zeal by the like Prosecutions. The Parliament of *Tholouse*, who by Articles of Capitulation with the King had banished the Exercise of the Reform'd Religion four Leagues from the Town, demanded that they shou'd not place within the Walls the Chamber of Justice which they promised to the Reform'd for *Languedoc*, passing an Act which required all the Officers of Justice shou'd be received in the Parliament, and not in the * Mixt Chambers, which manifestly excluded the Reform'd from all inferior Offices of Judicature, and from all subordinate Charges ; since the Parliament took such measures, as to admit none which wou'd not take an Oath to live and die Catholicks. But the Parliament of *Aix* outdid all the rest, and forbad the Publick Exercise of the Reformed Religion throughout its Jurisdiction, on forfeiture of Life : And when the Duke of *Guise*, after his reconciliation with the King, had the Government of this Province committed to him, there was again renewed the Names of *Papist* and *Huguenot* ; which plainly shewed the Spirit of the League still reign'd amongst them, since they thus revived the Names of the Parties, which the principal Authors of this Faction had formerly given to them. And what made the thing more odious was, that the Duke of *Guise* had been introduced into the Province and confirm'd in his Government by the Reformed : And that the Acts of Parliament were pass'd two or three Months after that he had been deliver'd by *Lefdiguieres* from the servitude of the *Espersonists*, and that he had confess'd, that this Lord had taken the Yoak from off his Neck. It will appear plain, upon what this acknowledgment was founded, to any one that reads the History of the Divisions of this Province.

The Assembly complain'd of these Injustices, of which they had Memoirs sent them from all Parts ; and of the small assistances that the Reform'd found from the King's benevolence, who, when they remonstrated to him all these Oppressions, he return'd

* Which was a Court for the benefit of Protestants, one half Roman Catholicks, and the other half of the Reformed.

1596. the Deputies words without effect, and tiresome delays. It was not long before they put up their Requests to the same effect as the former, only a little illustrated with new Expressions and Additions to the like purpose. It was almost the same method that the latter Assemblies observed, who, as to the material Points, demanded as the precedent Assemblies had done, only giving a little Explanation to prevent Frauds and Equivocations, and to take away all pretexts of Disputes whatsoever. *Vulson*, whom the Parliament of *Grenoble* perplex'd on the account of his having obtain'd the Place of a Counsellor, was deputed to go to the King to demand of him the performance of his Promise made at *Lyons* to the Envoy of the Assembly of *Saumur*. *Du Pleffis* writ by him to the King, to shew him the importance of this Journey, and the necessity of sending him back with some satisfaction. He particularly advis'd him to send to the Assembly some peaceable Catholic, qualified with sufficient power, to the intent that they might treat with him to some purpose. But the Catholicks which were near the King possess'd him with quite different thoughts. *Vulson* was received in the accustomed manner, with a friendly Countenance and fine Words, but obtain'd nothing more than the rest had done before him. The Promises were oftentimes reiterated, and as oft found vain, and which in the end were reduced only to the Edict of 1577; and some Promises of compensation for what the Treaties with the Leaguers had retrench'd, which cou'd satisfie no Man: But there was a Conclusion from the Answer which *Vulson* made, that put an end to all their reasoning and patience. The Assembly had given him order to tell the King, that they expected his Answer at *Loudun*; and this was explain'd by the ill-minded Courtiers as an injurious Menace to the Royal Authority, and with a Boldness of Rebels, who wou'd make the King to understand that they staid there to take new Resolutions, if they were not contented with the Answer he shou'd give their Deputy. Passionate Historians make every thing on this side as odious as they can, altho' the intention of the Assembly was much more innocent. The Deputies were accustomed, after having put up their Requests, and named those which shou'd carry them to the King, to return again and expect the effect of their Solicitations; and

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contenting themselves with meeting together, if affairs required it ; but this were an endless trouble. There were already two Years past since the Assembly of *Saint Foy* had been going backwards and forwards, and yet had obtain'd nothing ; and when those which were sent to the Court received any Answer, there was so much time lost in communicating it to the Churches, to the Councils of Provinces, and in naming Deputies for a General Assembly, that it was impossible to avoid tediousness. Therefore to bring things to a more speedy issue, the Assembly of *Lou-dun* resolv'd not to depart, until they saw some conclusion of the Affairs for which they had met together ; and what they had order'd *Vulson* to tell the King, was only a simple Declaration of the resolution they had taken. And indeed this might confound the Council, who found matters went more according to their minds in the preceeding Conduct, because the Year was run out before another Assembly cou'd deliberate upon their Answers ; and this method served to gain them time, and to defer them to a Conjunction wherein the King might bring Affairs to such a pass, as he might treat with the *Reformed* more at his pleasure ; whereas now they perceived that the Assembly were resolved not to part until they had brought things unto some certain conclusion ; and this, without doubt, hastened things more than ordinary, and also hindred the ill-minded Courtiers from an opportunity of finding out new Illusions to amuse them. But the King having taken the thing according to the sense his Council had represented to him, was resolved to answer this Declaration of the Assembly by a Mark of absolute Authority ; and therefore commanded the Assembly to break up, and to depart every one to his own home, assuring the People of the good-will of the King, whereof nevertheless they carried no other Testimonies than general Promises. Such a Command, made with a sort of a menacing Air, rendred all these fine words suspected : The Protestants doubted not but the secret design of this separation was to deliver the Court from these importunate Solicitors, who too strongly demanded the effect of those Promises which they had no mind to perform ; and it is not to be wondred at if this Answer displeased the Assembly, since some of the Council, who was not so very severe, had no hand in it ; and even *Lomanie*,

1596. writing upon this Subject to *Du Plessis*, confessed to him, that he knew not why the Secretary of State had conceived it in such terms, and he did not doubt but that he himself was offended, and that he had some secret reservation.

An Effect
of this Ri-
gour.

The Assembly therefore was very much offended with this Answer; and believing they ought to defer their breaking up, until they had consulted together what was necessary to be done in this unfortunate Conjunction; they concluded they were no longer to expect any assistance from the Court, but henceforth to seek it in their own strength. The Deputies were authorised by the Provinces to do whatsoever shou'd be judged useful for the common Cause; so that the Assembly was ready to depart, having resolved to put the Reformed again into the same condition

A wise Ex-
pedient of
Du Plessis
to reunite
the As-
sembly.

they were before the Truce with the two Kings. But *Du Plessis*, who feared the Consequences of these desperate Resolutions, and the Effects of the Resentments that the Deputies might stir up in the Provinces, did an act worthy his Wisdom and the Fidelity he ow'd to the King. He went to the Assembly, and was so far from advising them to break up, that he proposed the fortifying themselves with a great number of considerable Persons, and to enter into a Mutual Promise, not to separate any more till they had obtain'd an Edict with sufficient security. This they agreed to, and invited such persons to them as were fitly qualified, to strengthen their Assembly by their presence: All that were in the neighbouring Provinces came to them; *La Trimouille*, who had never assisted before, appeared there with the rest. But the Courage of many Persons failed, when they came to sign the Union that *Du Plessis* had proposed, because they expected no relief from the Court; therefore he signed first, upon which all the rest resolved to follow his Example. Thus Wisdom prevailed with them, and altho' their Patience was tired, yet it was not quite spent; they gave *Du Plessis* time to write to the King, and to represent to him the disorders that might proceed from a separation of the Assembly. He plainly told him what the Deputies had reason to complain of; the Rigours of the Parliaments, the Injustices of the Officers, which forbade paying the Garrisons of the places; their Fears, Distrusts and Suspicions, and the Proposition of bringing themselves again into the same condition they were

were in before the Truce : And to appease all these Disturbances, he again renewed his Advice to the King of sending a Commissioner on his account to treat with the Deputies ; he nominated the President of *Thou*, because he lookt upon him to be a lover of Peace : He applied his Advice to the Example of *Henry* the Third, who sent *Bellicveure* to *Montauban*, in 1584. to treat with the Reform'd ; and he begged the King not to believe the affair of small importance, because every person amongst them was resolved to see what was to be expected for their security. *Hesperian*, who carried the Letter with more particular Instructions upon the Subject, in which was contained the Reasons the Reformed had to be afraid, with an Account of their Complaints, and the Motives that ought to oblige the King to yield to the desires of these alarmed persons.

As the King's coldness was caused by the displeasure the Catholic Zealots had made him conceive against the Proceedings of the Reformed, so it was not very difficult to change his thoughts, when they gave him better Reasons for it ; therefore, whether he was toucht with the Remonstrances of his faithful Servant, or that the effect of his harshness had convinced him, that his Counsellors had made him take wrong Measures, he gave pressing Orders that the Assembly shou'd not break up : He promised to send somebody to treat with them, and fixed a time when he wou'd send him ; and strongly enjoyn'd the staying the Deputies until the arrival of his Commissioner. Thus the Mischief that the zealous Catholics had done, was very near repaired by the wise Advice even of those whom they had offended ; and the Reformed by this Expedient were hindred from any ill effect their despair might have produced. Yet without doubt there was some difficulty in making every one patient, and especially when they saw the time past that was prefixed, without any one being sent to the Assembly from the King. *Du Plessis* was even told sometimes, That they ought not always to exercise Patience, after so many Injustices and so many Delays ; the most peaceable were ready to answer, that they were weary, after seven Years sufferings ; having seen the King neglect them whilst he was of their Religion ; and turning from them and adhering to the Catholics, treating to their prejudice, contrary to his Word, and the Promises signed

Is approved of the King ; who revokes the Order of dispersing, and promises a Commissioner.

1596. with the Princes and Lords of his Court, with the Members of the League ; agreeing with the Pope, and it may be engag'd to destroy the *Reformed*, to please him ; and, after all, no answer to their Solicitations, but vain words ; and their Services were like to be no otherwise recompenced, than by endless Delays. Yet, however, they waited the time the King desired, without taking any certain Resolution. This Patience might very properly have pass'd for a great piece of Service, since the only Motive with them was an unwillingness to trouble the State, in a very unfortunate Juncture, wherein the least disturbance might have confounded all, and in which, perhaps, the King might have found himself to have had a less share of the division than any of those that shou'd have rent the Kingdom. But as they were jealous of the glory of their Services, so they wou'd not be corrupted ; and they appear'd always very much afraid of being esteem'd Authors of the ruin of the Crown. Their Enemies have very ill interpreted, what they spoke either by their Deputies or Requests, that if they were not assisted by the King in their pressing Necessities, they shou'd seek a Remedy from themselves ; as if by that they had threatned to take up Arms. That was never in their thoughts, they never dreamt of forcing him ; but only purposed to have stood up in their own defence, if the King abandoned them to the Injustice and Fury of their Enemies. And to make it a Crime for Men, (whom they had treated near 35 Years with so much Perfidiousness and Cruelty) to be careful to avoid the like treatment for the time to come, is, to speak rationally, a Proof that they wou'd not spare them, and that they seem'd to intimate, they ought to suffer themselves to be oppress'd, without making any defence.

Altho' the Catholicks rallied them bitterly sometimes, because they had not known how to take their time, and make use of advantageous Conjunctions to have prevailed in, they suffer'd them to pass this upon them, since they were able by their Arms to make them agree to whatsoever they wou'd. They yielded, even all of a sudden, upon one of their most important Demands ; and it appeared, by the conclusion of the Treaty, how much their desire of preserving the State was more powerful with them than the consideration of their own Interests. Those amongst them
that

The Pa-
tience of
the Re-
formed.

that were inclined to have things carried quietly, had two powerful Reasons to command their Minds. One was, the Reproach they shou'd deserve, if, by a Civil War, they encrease the King's Troubles. The other was, the consideration of what might one day happen, if they shou'd gain any thing by force, as the state of Affairs then were. They very well foresaw, that their quiet wou'd not be very durable, if obtain'd at such a price; that the King wou'd retract these extorted Favours, as soon as he was in a condition to resent them, and that he wou'd reduce them again more than ever under the discretion of the Catholicks. Wherefore they contented themselves with continuing their Solicitations, by Assemblies, Deputations, Requests, Demands, and Complaints. If these Solicitations are lookt upon as importune, it must be remembred, that the King liked the advice of *Du Plessis*, and that to have an excuse to the Catholicks and to the Pope, he was not sorry he was importuned; so that these Importunities cou'd not be criminal, since they were necessary and tacitly authoris'd. It may be an offence to Princes, when they are vigorously pursued to force something from them they are not willing to; but Importunity is not amiss when it serves for an excuse to such persons as they wou'd not offend, yet care not to yield to.

A continuation of their Requests.

The arrival of a Legat, that the Pope sent to *France*, obliged them to be more and more earnest in their Importunities. This Legation gave the *Reformed* new cause of distrust, because they doubted not but the Legat was ordered to use his interest against them, and they were afraid the King might be prevailed on by his Solicitations, or that at least the credit of this new Enemy wou'd put a new stop to their Affairs; and the reason of this Fear was too apparent. Altho' it was promised them, that the Bull and the Power of the Legat shou'd be verified with great Exceptions, yet they did not stick to do quite the contrary; for they confirm'd his Power to the utmost, altho' they thereby injured themselves in many things. They continued likewise to retrench the Garrisons of the *Reformed* in *Poitou* and *Saintonge*; they suppressed that of *Thouars*, on purpose to disoblige *La Trimouille*, who was Lord thereof, and to take away from him a place of strength. The pretext of these Proceedings was, that

A Legat in *France* renews their fears.

the.

1596. the Mony arising from this Suppression was to be made use of in the War against the *Low Countries*; but it wou'd have turn'd to so small account, that it was easie to perceive their chief end was to perplex those that had an interest in the management of these Garrisons. *Roni*, who began to dispose of the King's Revenue, might easilier have rais'd that Fund upon others than those of his own Religion; but as he was friend to none but himself, and perhaps the King, to whom his Fortune engaged him, so he was very jealous of all those that had any reputation amongst the Reformed; and he was not sorry to have them far distant from the Court, that their Merit might not stand in competition with his; therefore he contributed what he cou'd to their ruin, and he was not displeased, when they had occasion to make any advances, which might procure them the ill will of the King. He hated the Marshal de *Bouillon*, who had a very acute Genius in the management of Affairs, and who was capable of prevailing with the King, who had an high esteem for him. He loved not *Lefdiguieres*, who wou'd have no dependance on him, and whom he was obliged to have a great regard for about the Affairs for *Dauphine*; but above all, lest his Merit and great Services might bring him to a higher degree of Authority, *La Trimouille* disturbed him, being a Man that was no slave to Favour, and with whom in time he was like to fall out. As for *Du Plessis*, he was insupportable to him, as a Man that was the King's Confident; and who, if he had been at Court, wou'd have been able to have attain'd to the highest degree in the King's favour, because of his honesty and intelligence in all Affairs. Wherefore he kept him always as an Exile at *Saumur*, where the Fortune of this wise Lord, who deserv'd a better fate, was limited. The occasion of his discovering his Jealousie, will be made to appear in the Sequel of this History.

Jealousies
of *Roni*.

But to return: These Tricks put upon the Reformed about their Garrisons, had an effect that was not foreseen at Court; for after they had used their best interest for a redress thereof, they were forced at last to follow the advice given in the Acts of the Assembly held at *Saintesoy*, and accordingly stop't the King's Mony in some places of *Poitou*, which they employed towards the maintaining of their Garrisons. All this happening
about

about the time of the Legat's arrival, the Reformed were afraid, that, if he demanded it, the Court would make him more Sacrifices, as new Marks of Honour ; insomuch, that they thought it a necessary Precaution, for preventing new Injuries, to press the King hard, nay, to be more importunate with him than ever. Besides, they might well see, that the Legat's presence was like to put the King to new perplexities, and restrain that good will, of which they had daily fresh assurances. It was not likely that any thing could be done for them, but it would offend the Pope, if done in his Legat's presence, unless there was some plausible excuse ready at hand. Therefore the only Remedy was to demand importunately, that the King might not want an Answer whenever the Legat complained. But this Prelate was not the hardest of all to be satisfied with reason, and those Commissioners who managed the Edict of *Nants*, from the Month of *July*, of this Year, to *April* 1598, found him more easie and tractable, though a Cardinal and an *Italian*, than a great many *French* Catholics. The President *de Thou* himself being charged before him with too much favouring the Reformed, when he was one of the King's Commissioners to treat with them, was obliged for his vindication, to give him an account of the whole Negotiation. The Legat rested satisfied with it, and referred all the Interest of the Catholic Religion to the Wisdom of the King's Commissioners.

In the mean while another National Synod was held at *Saumur*, which opening at the same time with the Political Assembly, and so near the place of their sitting, gave the Court fresh occasions of fear. They were afraid, that these two Councils debating the same things, their Resolutions should be more effectual, and that the Ministers would carry along with them to their respective Churches, that Spirit of Eagerness and Discontent which they saw prevalent in the Assembly. The Consistory-men were more dreaded at Court than the rest, because the subsistence of a great part of them depending upon their Religion, it was thereby become their only and darling interest, so that they were firm and inflexible upon it, and could easily by their Eloquence draw in their People to their Opinions. But *Du Plessis* assured the Court, that Ecclesiastical Matters only A Synod at Saumur.
Their Resolutions. would

1596. would be treated of in the Synod. And indeed, they did even take there a Resolution which could not but be very pleasing to the Court, since it allowed the Ministers to assist in the Assemblies where the preservation of the Churches was treated of, only *because of the present necessity*; that is, that this necessity being over, they were ordered to keep themselves within the bounds of their Ministerial Duties. Whether the Motion whereon this Resolution was taken, sprang from the tenderness and scrupulousness of some conscientious Men who were unwilling to meddle with the Affairs of that Government, or that it was inspired by the Court's Intrigues, it is certain at least, that it had mighty Consequences in another Reign, and in several things gave an advantage to the Enemies of the reformed Religion.

Their Letters to the King.

However, the Synod wrote to the King on the general Affairs, and sent Deputies to him. They thanked his Majesty by their Letters for those fresh Assurances of his good Will, brought to them by *de Serres*, which they ascribed partly to his Natural Goodness, partly to the remembrance he had of the good Affection and great Services of the *Reformed*, whereof he himself was a witness. They complained next, that their Grievances were misrepresented to the King, who was made to believe, That they were used almost as well as their past Services deserved, and according to his good Intentions, which hindered him from more earnestly thinking of their relief; whereas, on the contrary, they had every day new Wrongs done them all manner of ways: That the Catholic Party would have them be contented with the Edict of 1577, and the Conferences that followed it, though it was in a manner made void by the Edict of Reduction; by vertue whereof they were treated in most Parliaments according to the Edicts of the League, all that the Rebels demanded being granted them to revive the same: That the *Reformed* had reason to think it strange, that they, who had served the King from his very Youth, and whose Services had, against all humane appearance, been blessed by God, were in a worse condition in his Reign, than under his Predecessors, whose mind was influenced against them with Prejudices baffled by the event and time: At last they excused themselves for troubling his Majesty with their Affairs, at a time when he had such weighty ones in hand, by adding,

ding, that being the Reformed were such a considerable part of 1596.
 his Subjects, and of the most Faithful too, their Concerns could
 be none of his least important Business. The Synod wrote also
 to the Lord High Constable upon the same Heads, but for all
 this they then could get nothing else but a renewing of wonted
 Promises. But, in fine, the King having resolved to appoint
 Commissioners in order to treat with the Assembly, he followed
 exactly the advice of *du Plessis*, and offered the Commission to
 the President *de Thou*, a Man of a known Integrity and Hone-
 sty all the World over; but he refused it, fearing the Conse-
 quences thereof, because he was unwilling blindly to follow the
 Zeal of the rigid Catholicks, whose strictness he did not like,
 and whose reproaches he feared, if he chanced to yield any thing
 to the Reformed. Upon his refusal, *Vick* and *Calignon* were
 entrusted with the same. The first was a Catholick, and the
 other of the reformed Religion. The Assembly was offended at
Calignon's accepting of a Commission to dispute and trifle with
 his Brethren upon their demands, and to bring them such An-
 swers from the King, as did not satisfy their hopes. In short,
 their Powers went no farther than to grant the Reformed the
 execution of the Edict of 1577. with a kind of Compensation
 to make up what the Treatises of Reduction might have altered
 therein; so that they were thought insignificant by the Assem-
 bly; and this first Journey of the Commissioners did not pro-
 mote the Work. The King had, both in the Instructions, and
 by his Commissioners, made some Complaints to the Assembly
 of their stiffness in their Demands, and, above all, of their
 seeming to mistrust his Promises; but had joined to it a kind of
 an Excuse for the Answer made to their Deputies, which he
 thought would have been satisfactory to them, considering what
 Circumstances he was under when he made it. Whereupon he
 mentioned the loss of *Calais* and *Ardres*, together with the linger-
 ing and uncertain Siege of *Fere*. There was, however, amidst
 these Complaints, a very advantageous acknowledgment of
 their Fidelity, when he said, That the Remedy which they
 sought for their Grievances was very far from that respect and
 affection they always had for him, that which nevertheless he
 charged upon some among them, who making advantage of

Commis-
 sioners ap-
 pointed.

Com-
 plaints of
 the King.

1596. the bad posture of his Affairs, were thereby willing to make themselves amends for their distaste at his Answers. I have observed before that the very Privy Counsellors had deemed it capable of producing this bad effect, and thought that the Contrivers of it had then some secret Salve to sweeten it in due time. But the Reformed grounded their holding fast to their Demands upon the Answers themselves that were made them, and could not apprehend what kind of publick Good they were required to prefer before their own Preservation, since the whole Matter amounted to no more than the retaking some Frontier Places from the Enemy, which might be done at any time, so soon as all the Forces of the Kingdom were re-united ; whereas, now by delaying to do them right upon their just Complaints, many thousands of the best Subjects the King had, were left to the Mercy of their Enemies, Men trained up to Perfidy, Injustice and Slaughter.

The Firmness of the Assembly,

which removeth to Vendome.

The Commissioners having given the King an account of the Assemblies Resolution, he gave them new Instructions at *Monceaux*, where they met him. These were no larger than the former ; but the Commissioners were charged to complain of their seizing the King's Mony in some places, and demand satisfaction for it, as being a thing the King was much offended at ; they moved also, that the Assembly should remove from *Londun* to *Vendome*, that they might be nearer to the Court ; which being consented to, the Deputies repaired to *Vendome*, on the Tenth of *November*, where they waited three Months for the return of the Commissioners. In the mean while they sent new Deputies to the King then at *Rouen*, where they presented to him some Articles drawn up upon Proposals made them, wherein they desisted from none of their former Demands concerning their Security ; they did not so much as revoke their Orders for seizing the King's Mony to pay their Garrisons, because they were satisfied that their Holds were the only thing, their Enemies did value them upon, and thought themselves lost, so soon as they should consent to the disbanding of their Troops, and the ruin of their strong Towns. They were also inflexible in their Demands concerning the maintenance of their Ministers, and the administration of Justice, for the security whereof they would

would have, in suspicious Parliaments, Courts, consisting one half of Protestants, the other of Catholick Judges, commonly called *Chambres Miparties*. But they were somewhat loose in the point of their religious Exercise, and accepted the Compensation before offered by the King. It amounted to two new Grants, or such at least that looked so. By the First, they were allowed to continue the exercise of the reformed Religion in all places, where it had been publickly made ever since the beginning of the then instant Year. The Second, allowed them a second place for Worship in each *Balliwick* or Precinct, commonly called *Senechaussee*, almost the same Conditions prescribed by the Edict of 1577. in a Grant of the same kind. There will be occasion to speak more at large of these Grants hereafter.

They desist about a general Exercise.

A second place of Exercise granted in each *Balliwick*, and their right acquired by Possession in the year 1596. confirmed. The Edict of 1577. verified at *Rouen*, doth not content them.

The King not being willing to grant them their other Demands, held fast to these two Articles; but as a proof of his good Will to them, he would not set out from *Rouen*, before he saw the Edict of 1577. pass in that Parliament, as it had passed at *Paris*. This really was of no great advantage, because the Reformed were not contented with it, and would needs have had another Edict. Moreover, this verification of an Edict, which they had so often declared they could not be satisfied with, was but an Artifice to keep up their Patience, by putting an end to those gross Wrongs done them in Parliaments, which occasioned their Complaints: And it was easie to judge through the daily Denials made them of farther Grants, that if they could be prevailed upon to live quiet under the shelter of this Edict, until such time as a thorough settlement of the Kingdom, both at home and abroad, could be made, they would then, doubtless, be made to believe that another Edict was needless, since this had proved sufficient to secure them. All that might be granted them over and above this, was to give them some new places for their Worship, in lieu of those that the several Treatises of reduction had taken from them. The Catholicks themselves consented to that kind of Compensation, and it seems that the King was resolved never to grant them any thing but under the same pretence, it being a plausible Excuse to the Pope or his Legate for all his Favours to them. It was clear enough, that the Reformed could never be obliged to be content

1596. with less, nay, that they might with good reason hold fast to their Pretentions, since 'twas but just to indemnifie them for the loss of an advantage taken from them without cause, against the express word of a King, and that Promise signed by the Princes and Lords, which has been so often mentioned by us. But this Compensation was not sufficient to the Reformed, who aimed at more liberty and security than was given them by that means.

The Pope
complains
eth of it,

D' Ossat
appeaseth
him.

This Verification was, nevertheless, ill resented at *Rome*, whereby it created the King, at least seemingly, a very difficult Work. The Pope made bitter Complaints to *d' Ossat*, both of the thing and of the manner of it, because, said he, the King had forced it upon the Parliament, over-ruling their opposition. *D' Ossat* display'd all his skill and ability to pacifie the Pope; he enlarged upon the great advantage of Peace, after a Civil War of 35 Years, which could not end but by this Edict; besides, he represented that Peace as necessary for the conversion of Hereticks, wherein the King did daily make considerable Progress; he exaggerated the great Miseries which the War had brought, especially upon the Church, and the spoil of the Ecclesiastical Revenues, occasioned by it; he shew'd, 'twas not the King, but his Predecessor, made that Edict, when he was obey'd by all Catholicks at home, and assisted by all those abroad; that this was the least favourable of all those ever obtained by the Reformed; that so long as it was observed, their Religion did visibly diminish, and that tho' the King was now opposed at home, and attacked abroad, yet he had done nothing more than the late King, nor even without the advice of the Catholicks of his Party; that this Edict confining Heresie to certain places, re-established every where the Roman Religion; insomuch that one would hardly have believed that the Reformed, *after having so much contributed to the preservation of the Kingdom*, and strengthened themselves, during the War, with above 50 strong Places, would ever be contented with it, in a time when they might perhaps have extorted more from the King, almost overwhelmed with other Affairs; that the King was very commendable for having so well managed the Interest of the Catholick Religion, or was at least more excusable for his connivence, than his Predecessors;

deceffors ; upon which he brought in the Parable of the Tare, 1596.
 which is left ftanding, when it cannot be fnatched off without
 fpoiling the Corn ; he laid a great ftrefs upon the Examples of
 all other Catholick Princes, and on that of the King of *Spain*,
 who tolerated the *Moors*, and, to bring back the *Dutch* to their
 obedience, offered them Liberty of Confcience, and a free Ex-
 ercife of their Religion : He made it appear next, that the op-
 pofitions of Parliaments are but Forms, fince they know well
 enough that they muft obey at laft ; and that, after all, no o-
 ther Constraint was put upon them but that of the publick Ne-
 ceffity. Then he hinted at the ill Thoughts the *Reformed* might
 have entertained of the King, had he left *Rouen* before feeing
 the Edict verified ; what would have been their Jealoufies, and
 how well grounded ; how cunning the Faction was counte-
 nanced by the *Spaniards*, or what Dangers the Church and the
 State were like to be brought into by renewing the War : At
 laft he concluded, with putting the Pope in hopes, that this
 Peace would bring all other things to a State moft agreeable to
 his Holinefs. Thofe that are not well read in the Policy of the
Roman Court, may perhaps wonder at this Verification making
 fuch a noife there, though at the fame time they did not fpeak a
 word of the publick Treaty that was beginning with the *Reform-*
ed, under the very Nofe of the Legate, who could not chufe but
 give notice of it. But 'tis a Maxim of this refined Court's Po-
 licy, That Affairs muft be handled in a manner like Plays, where
 the Actors never fpeak as they think, and know how to diftin-
 guifh what is to be taken notice of, and what to be difsembled.
 According to this, the Gentlemen of *Rome*, when they are not
 able to obftruct an Affair, do, before its conclusion, pretend to
 be ignorant of it, becaufe it would be an Affront to fee it con-
 cluded, after having vainly oppofed it ; but when 'tis paff Rem-
 edy, then they fall a Murmuring, to fhew their diflike of it.
 Thus the Pope delay'd his complaining of the new Edict that
 was preparing, until it was fully concluded ; becaufe then the
 noife he made about it could do no harm to *France*, but might
 allay the Murmurs of the *Spanifh* Faction.

The Commiffioners came to the Affembly but at the begin-
 ning of *February*, who immediately after their arrival protefted, 1597.
 that

1597. that the King could grant no more than what was set down in their Instructions, for which they gave only the reason of the bad posture of the King's Affairs, that permitted him not to do better, what desire soever he had to favour them. This reason of State was in the bottom nothing else but the Discontents, which the King's favouring the Reformed might give to the Holy leaguemen, who not being thoroughly pacified, might take a pretence from thence to stir up new Wars. The King indeed feared it, and could not put any trust in those so lately reconciled Enemies, who watched him almost as a Slave; nay, the circumstances of the time seemed to render his fears more reasonable, for the *Spaniard*, who still held an Intelligence with that half-suppressed Faction, had opened the Frontiers in several places. But the Reformed were offended at that reason of State, yet not pacified, for upon the whole matter, they thought the design was to make a sacrifice of their Repose and Security, to the Passion of their ancient Persecutors; and, to say the truth, to do nothing in their favour, for fear of giving offence to the League-men, was but to tell them plainly enough, that the King had better leave them in their Misery, than displease their implacable Enemies, who might have an occasion to be dissatisfied, if the Reformed were put out of their reach; wherefore that reason of State had no great effect in the Assembly, who could not relish that by a State-Maxim, the interest of so many faithful Subjects should be sacrificed to the caprice of a violent Cabal; that their great Services should be forgotten, their Persons exposed to new Cruelties, and sufficient Security denied for their Consciences and Lives. Therefore they declared to the King, by one of their Members, that they could by no means be contented with what was granted them, and that the Oppression the Reformed liv'd under, would at last force them to seek for a relief in themselves. The Commissioners, whose Powers were always bounded by certain limits, which it was not lawful for them to go beyond, being sensible that the Reformed were in a discontent, wrote to Court, that they thought it much to the purpose to break the Assembly, but that the Deputies must be sent home with whatever satisfaction could be given them. The *Count de Schomberg*, and the *President de Thor*, then at *Tours*, negotiating a Peace with the

The Assembly is
discouraged
at the return of
the Commissioners.

the Duke of *Mercœur*, wrote to the same purpose, and the Count's advice was to satisfy those People, which he call'd *People sick*, not with Rebellion and Factious Passion, but with Jealousies and *just Fears for what might happen to them*, as we have it in the most impartial Historians. It was not doubted in *Spain*, but that the *Reformed* would be tired at last with so many Delays, and come to Extremities; and these two wise Counsellors saw well enough through the Artifices and various Shiftings of the Duke of *Mercœur*, that he waited to see what the Business of Religion would come to, that he might take a Resolution accordingly. Wherefore, they advised the King to pacify things at home, the better to make War abroad. *Du Plessis* wrote the same, and the *Reformed* offered, after sufficient security had been given them, to employ their whole force, either to reduce the Duke, or beat back the *Spaniards* beyond their ancient Limits.

Now the words of the *Reformed* being maliciously construed, as if they had threatened to take up Arms, tho' they did never so much as mention it, and had only declared, they would no longer expect relief from the Court, but maintain themselves as well as they could in case of Oppression: Their Words, I say, brought the Court into an extream Perplexity; insomuch, that the Jealousies increased in both Parties, and the Court feared more mischief from the Assembly, than perhaps the Assembly designed to do; and, on the other hand, the Assembly apprehended more harm from the Court than was there prepared for them. Thus, in dubious Affairs, Fear is often mutual, and there is a kind of emulation, who shall shew most Resolution and Courage, when really the Fright is equal on both sides. The King severely complained to the Assembly by his Letters, and laid openly the Fault at the doors of the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *Trimouille*; but there happened such Divisions in the very Assembly, as did e'en almost ruin their Affairs. It may be 'twas an effect of the usual Intrigues of the Court, who designedly had drawn the Assembly nearer home, the better to have them within the reach of its Caresses and Favours. Not but that it might be also the effect of that Misfortune, commonly attending the union of divers Persons, differing in Genius, Abilities

Mistrusts
and Jealousies on
both sides.

Divisions
in the
Assembly.

and

1597. and Interest ; who, tho' agreeing in a general Design, do often fall out about the choice of necessary Expedients. It is with them, as with that Harmony by which the World subsisteth, through a correspondency of several discording Causes, which might easily break out of that just proportion whereby they agree, if they were not preserved and maintained by an Almighty and Divine Hand. Thus the union of many Men, who aim at different ends, may break of it self, tho' they often have the same Motives for acting concertedly, when each one wou'd regulate the Conduct and Interest of all others, by his own Maxims and Prejudices. The Assembly, who ascribed the Progress of those Disorders to the influence of the Court, to prevent more Mischief, thought it fit to remove elsewhere, and accordingly came to *Saumur* on the Fifth of *March*. This removal might be agreeable to both Parties ; to the King, to whom *du Plessis* might be very serviceable there, in allaying, with his Wisdom, the Heat of the most forward ; and accordingly the King had sent for him a while before, and commanded him to go to *Vendome*, and endeavour to bring them to a better Temper ; and it was agreeable to the *Reformed* also, in that the Authority of *du Plessis*, his Prudence and Equity might heal their Divisions, and bring them all to an unanimous Effort for the common Cause.

They re-
turn to
Saumur.

In the mean while Matters went on slowly, and the Assembly being very little satisfied with the Commissioner's delays, which were supposed, by several Members, to be designedly made, they carried their Discontents along with them to *Saumur*. Nay, on a Report spread abroad, that the King was secretly treating of a Peace with the Arch-duke, their Jealousies increased, and they thought that the Court used so many delays, to the end that, if a Peace could be made before any thing was concluded with the *Reformed*, the King might be in a condition to grant them only what the Catholics pleased. But a little while after the Assembly was settled at *Saumur*, there happened an Accident, which did extremely allarm all sorts of People ; the *Spaniards* having surprised *Amiens*, the defence whereof was left to its Inhabitants, they defended it very ill. This Blow made a great noise through all *Europe* ; *France* was counted lost, the old Ca-

Amiens
surprised.

balls

bals began to revive, and the consternation was so great, that 1597.
 People knew not what course or resolution was best to take ; the
 King himself was disheartened in this Misfortune, and fell from
 that greatness of Soul he had always been Master of before. In
 short, one may judge what condition *France* was thought to be
 in, by what happed in *Britany*. *Brissac*, who was Deputy-Lieu-
 tenant in that Province and a late reconciled League-man, cau-
 sed an Assembly of the Nobility to be held there in his presence,
 being therein, as 'twas said, countenanced by *Mompensier*, and
 the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *la Trimouille*. There they proposed to
 put themselves under the Protection of the Queen of *England*,
 by the Name of the good *French* People, (*bons Francois*) taking
 it for granted, that the King, after that loss, was no longer able
 to keep his Kingdom, and defend his Subjects against a foreign
 Invasion. The same accident occasioned great Agitations amongst
 the *Reformed* ; some were for taking up Arms , and endeavoured
 to draw to their Opinion all such as were capable to bear them ;
 insomuch that one moved for an Attempt upon *Tours* , whither
 some Troops were to be sent in the Name of *la Trimouille* ; others
 thought, that they ought not to make use of such a dismal occa-
 sion, and that it was even more honourable for them to desist
 from their former Demands, than to make new ones. As for
 the two Dukes, they pushed on briskly their Proposals, and en-
 deavoured to perswade them, that War was the only remedy
 they had left : But almost all the Churches rejected it ; the great
 Towns, whose example might have drawn in the rest, and the
 best part of the Nobility, were deaf to it, so that the Project of
 the two Dukes fell to the ground. It was nevertheless reported
 abroad, that Discord had alone hindred the *Reformed* from voting
 the War, because the Nobility and Consistory-men renewed
 their old Quarrel, and fell out about the management of the
 Money that was to be raised ; the Nobility claiming it as their
 right, and the Consistory-men being for Commissioners to be
 appointed by the respective Churches for the safe management
 of it. But all these Intrigues, as it was given out, miscarrying,
 through the dissention of the different Parties, every one at
 Court, after the retaking of *Amiens*, valued himself for having
 no share therein, and strove very hard who should make the

Confusion
in the Af-
fairs.

A Motion
for War in
the As-
sembly.

1597. first discovery to the King; so that all the odium fell upon the two Dukes, who had been the authors and promoters of the whole matter. From whence it follows, that their misdemeanour might be misrepresented, and made a great deal more than really it was, since in Reports of that nature, Men use to say more than they know, and consequently run the hazard of telling more than the truth. As for the Motive of the two Dukes, 'tis not easie to guess at them. The Catholic Writers charge them with designing to make advantage of the Disorders of the State, that they might get by force those Preferments that were denied them; but the President *de Thou*, who saw the matters nearer than any body else, as being present in all these Transactions, gives us a more innocent Motive of those two Dukes. He ascribeth their Design to Necessity, and the Publick Calamity, because in the General Confusion of the Kingdom every one did almost despair of his own safety, and thought he ought to seek his security from himself; for the proof of which, he saith, that as soon as *Amiens* was retaken, they submitted to what Terms the King was pleased to prescribe to them, because then their former hopes of enjoying Peace, under a King capable to defend them, were, without doubt, revived. That is, in a word, that we may reckon these great Mens Motions amongst such things as are qualified by the event; and, indeed, had the King miscarried before *Amiens*, they had been admired as Master-pieces of State-policy, whereas they have been represented as so many Crimes, because the good Fortune of the King did soon put him in a condition to upbraid their Authors with them. Upon the whole matter, since all this was an effect of some Lords private Passions and Heats, which were repressed by the Patience and Tranquillity of the greatest number, 'tis most unjust to father upon the whole Body the attempts of some of its Members, especially since that the soberest part of them proved the strongest, and, in a manner, forced the rest to lay down their Arms.

The Motives of the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *Tri-mouille*.

The King's perplexity.

The King all this while was reduced to great Extremities, having neither Money nor Troops, and not knowing who to trust to, almost all the Lords of his Court having had a hand in the foreign Conspiracies against him, and the League-men lately reconciled to him were still suspected, and *Biron* himself, who had persuaded

ded the King to take heart again, and to besiege *Amiens*, mistrusted these secret Enemies, whom he called New Converts. Besides, the King's Treasurers were so absolutely out of Cash, that they wanted Money even for the Charges of the King's Household, so that during the Siege of *Amiens* the King did more than once complain to *Roni*, that he had no Cloaths suitable to his Dignity. This obliged him to stoop a little below the Royal State, and to beg a Subsidy from his Subjects, in a manner a little too humble for a great King. When he heard that the Assembly was to remove from *Saumur* to *Vendome*, he ordered presently Count *Schomberg* and *de Thou* to repair thither, and endeavour to bring them back to *Vendome*, thereby to save *Vick* and *Calignon* his Commissioners the trouble of going so far. Their Instructions were full with Complaints of the Assembly's Proceedings, but above all, of their authorising the seizing of his Revenues, with Menaces that he wou'd not permit them to make new Demands any more, adding withal, that he had rather lose with his Enemies, than be slighted and disobey'd by his Subjects. But the loss of *Amiens* made him alter his Language; he wrote to the Assembly at *Saumur* by *Monglat*, on the twelfth of *March*, and his Letter contained nothing but gentle Exhortations to content themselves with his Offers, or to put by their Demands to another time; and besides, there were many earnest Intreaties to put an end to their Session, and prefer in this urgent occasion the publick good to their private interests, justifying thereby the sincerity of their intentions. To this was joined a Letter of *Lefdiguieres* to them, wherein he said, that he was going with all speed from the Court to his Government of *Dauphine*, to watch the Duke of *Savoy's* Motions, for fear he should attempt something on that side, whil'st the King was busie in *Picardy*, and likewise exhorted them not to take occasion from the loss of *Amiens* to multiply their Demands. A little while after the King wrote also to *du Plessis* in a stile which expressed very lively the great perplexity he was in. This faithful Servant had complained to the King of Count *Schomberg's* Answer to the Deputies of the Assembly, it being, in his judgment, too cold and insignificant to pacifie their minds, but severe enough to offend them. Therefore the King's Answer to *du Plessis* was moving and quite of another strain; there he

His different manner of writing to the Assembly before and after the taking of *Amiens*.

1597. vow'd, that if the *Reformed* could but know the state of his Affairs, they wou'd be sensible he could do no more for them. Next he represented his present condition as a great deal worse than it was when he was but King of *Navarre*, because he had no body to trust to, and none to assist him: then stooping a little below the Majesty of a King, he desired him to prevail so far with the Assembly as to rest contented with his Answer, lest he should be forced to make Peace with the *Spaniards*.

The Answers of the Assembly.

The Count of *Schomberg* being arrived at *Saumur* with the other Commissioners, gave notice of it to the Assembly, and required them to send some of their Members to him, that they might hear the King's intentions; but the Assembly would not treat with him by Deputies, not out of any contempt to the Royal Authority, or to treat with the King upon even terms, as some slanderers gave out, but because they thought it more safe to treat publickly, than by private Deputations. So they refused to depute, and invited the Count to come to their Assembly, that they might hear what was his Charge to them. He refused a while to agree to it, because of his Character of the King's Commissioner, but at last he yielded to the Assembly's desire. He sent *Vick* to them, and by him they knew the King's Propositions, but they did not like them, and they made the Commissioners an Answer that pleased them not. It was put very near into the same dress as the Commissioners Instructions were, returning Compliments for Compliments; and as all the Terms of the Commission, that were either pithy or obliging, amounted to this, that the King was still resolved to grant them nothing, or to put off their satisfaction so soon as the new service demanded of them was over; so all their Protestations centred in this, that they could desist from none of their just Demands, and that they were ready to employ both their Estates and Lives for the Service of the State, so soon as satisfaction should be given them. Their Answer to the King was very near in the same strain; for they expressed therein an extreme sorrow for the taking of *Amiens*, and complained of the lingering of Affairs as a cause which kept the *Reformed* from giving his Majesty new Proofs of their affection to his Service, promising for the rest, that so soon as the state of their Consciences was secured, they would be readier than

than ever to give all that was dear to them for his Service ; but next they insinuated, that they could not desist from their Demands for the sake of that publick good that was urged to them, because both they and all the *Reformed* were fully satisfied, that the security of their Religion, of their Persons and Families, was no less a publick good than the retaking of *Amiens*. 1597.

That the King being informed of the Assembly's Dispositions by his Commissioners and by *Monglat*, who brought him their Answer, order'd new Proposals to be made to them, and slackned a little upon some points of small importance, which however could not satisfy them ; so that he resolved to try them with a new Letter before he set out for his Enterprize upon *Amiens*. He had formerly writ to Count *Schomberg*, and complained of the Assembly, and to affect the Hearts of the *Reformed*, he had not forgot to make the best of a slight indisposition that he had about that time, concluding he must certainly sink under the weight of his grief, unless they would rest satisfied with his offers. But in the Letter he wrote to the Assembly it self by *Monglat* and *la Force*, he spoke much higher. There he laid before them the new Troubles, their Firmness, which he call'd Obstinacy, might bring the Kingdom to, and the great Benefits the *Spaniards*, already so formidable, and puffed up with their Victories, might reap by the Divisions of the *French*: Next he began to beseech them by that great Affection he had always had for the *Reformed*, whereof he had so often given them very signal Proofs, and by that Love they owed to their Country, to lay by all other thoughts at present but that of beating back the Enemy.

To these new Arguments, which were backed by *Monglat* with all the strength of his Eloquence, the Assembly made the same Answer as formerly ; and writing to the King, they desired him to observe, that their Demands aimed at no more than their Exercise of Religion and Justice ; that their Pretensions were not grounded upon any Avarice or Ambition ruinous to the State ; that in respect of the present posture of his Majesty's Affairs, their Proposals were fallen very short of what they had been directed to ask by the Instructions they brought from the respective Provinces that sent them ; and then they did highly commend the
Com.

1597. Commissioners sincerity, but bitterly complain of the Privy-Council, declaring that they looked upon those pretended Impossibilities purposely urged against them to elude their Demands, as so many visible marks of an ill will. The Assembly sitting then at *Saumur*, as I said before, *du Plessis*, who was Governour there, proved very serviceable to the King towards allaying the Heats of those incensed Spirits, who were very near upon admitting of no other Council, but such as their Fear and Despair might afford them. Whereupon he advised the King, that it would be easier to bring them to a better temper in an Assembly more numerous than this was, because then his Friends might depend upon more Voices to oppose those Members whose powerful Genius and Authority were to be feared. And, indeed, this was one of the Reasons for removing them to *Chatelleraud*, whither they came on the 16th of *June*. The Assembly was more numerous than any before that time, for it was made up of a Gentleman, a Minister, and a Lawyer, out of each Province, besides several Lords of such quality as was required by the Constitution made at *Saint Foy*, who represented no body but themselves. *La Trimouille*, who had been the most considerable amongst them in the former Assemblies, was chosen Speaker in this, where he maintained the Interest of the *Reformed Religion* with so much Zeal, that the Jealousie and Hatred they had already for him at Court was much increased by it.

which is removed to *Chatelleraud*; more numerous than before.

One of the heaviest Charges laid upon the *Reformed of France*, is their forsaking the King when he besieged *Amiens*; for their Enemies would fain persuade the World, that thereby they committed a Fault sufficient to eclipse the Glory of all their former Services. Two things, say they, are to be blamed in it: First, The Assembly's steady resolution to remit nothing of their Demands, at a time when the Interest of the State seemed to require of them the sacrifice of part of their Pretensions. Secondly, Their refusing to follow the King to a Siege, on the success whereof the safety of the Kingdom was thought to depend. But to this it may be answered, That the Assembly's obstinate Resolution to stick to their Demands was necessary, because being a Body made up only of persons sent by the several Provinces as their Representatives, they were bound to act according to their Orders,

ders, unless they would expose themselves to be disowned by their Principals. Now they were bound by these Orders not to desist from certain Demands which the *Reformed* thought necessary, to secure both their Persons and Consciences; and had the Assembly accepted the King's Offers, it would have come to no more than a tumultuous breaking of it; and the Provinces being frustrated of the hopes they had grounded upon the Fidelity of their politick Assembly, had, no doubt, taken some extreme Resolutions, if they had been betray'd by their own Representatives. In effect the Assembly failed not to give notice to the Provinces of the Court's Proposals, that they might be fully impowered, either to accept or refuse them, and having received at *Chastellerand* a negative Answer by the Deputies newly joined to the former, they let the King know, that they could not be satisfied with his Offers. But, to judge aright of the Assembly's Conduct, and whether they are guilty of Obstinacy, or deserve Praises for their Constancy, we need but cast our Eyes upon that Horrid Confusion the Kingdom had been in, if the Assembly had been complaisant enough to accept an *Edict*, which the Provinces would have unanimously rejected; had not the *Reformed* in this sad case been forced to begin their Work again, and expose the Kingdom to a ruinous War? Moreover, the Articles of the Religious Exercise being settled, there was no more left than that of the security; and it was very strange, that the Court, after having granted Liberty of Conscience to the *Reformed*, would upbraid them with Obstinacy for not desisting from their Demands, in order to secure the performance of a thing promised them. The truth is, the treacherous Methods used in the reduction of the League, wherein their Interests had been sacrificed, contrary to Agreements, even under the Hand of the chief Men at Court, had utterly ruined their confidence in them, and one must be a great stranger to Equity and Justice, who can accuse the *Reformed*, as guilty of a crime, for obstinately requiring security of their Promises, of whose Treachery and Double-dealing they had such fresh Instances.

As for the Siege of *Amiens*, their Opinions were divided: Some were for doing fairly this last Service to the King, thereby to cover the Enemies of the *Reformed* with shame, and make it appear

1597.
The Reasons which may excuse the firmness of the Assembly in their Demands about the Article of Security.

Their Conduct in respect of the Siege to of *Amiens*.

1597. to all the World, that no Injustice was able to wear them out of their Allegiance; nay, by so doing, they hoped to move the Hearts of the most zealous Catholicks, and work upon them so far, that they would let a People enjoy quietly their Lives and Liberties, who had neglected their most Darling-interests, to run where the Occasions of the State invited them. This was the Advice of *Lesdiguieres*, to whom the Assembly sent a Deputation, with Offers very advantageous and tempting, which nevertheless he refused; 'tis true, his Advice had the air of a Reproach, from whence one might conclude, that he was less concerned for the Security of his Religion, than that of his Fortune. But the greatest part stoutly maintained, that they had to do with Men who regarded all their Services as necessary Duties; who thought themselves beholding to no body, and would lose the remembrance of good deeds, so soon as the occasion was over; that several amongst them, who most opposed the *Reformed*, were the very same they had in a manner rescued at *Tours* from the hands of the Duke of *Mayenne*; that it was easie to guess what would happen after the retaking of *Amiens*, by what happen'd every day by the Severities of the Answers sent them, and by the lingering of Affairs. They failed not to observe the vast difference of Style used with them before and after the taking of *Amiens*; that, before that accident, the Court began to threaten them, but returned immediately after to cajoling and giving them fair words; whereby the Assembly might well judge, that nothing was to be obtained from the Court, when the retaking of that important place had put them in a condition to refuse without fear. Some there were who minced not the matter, and thought it a meer folly to contribute in the least to an action which might facilitate a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, being fully satisfied that it could not be made but at their cost. The Example of several Treaties made with the League-men caused their jealousy, and the Double-dealings of their Enemies, whereby they cheated them in those occasions, made them fear the worst for the future; nay, the King himself added much to their fear, when, to bring them to his terms upon divers points, he threatned them with concluding that Peace; and, besides, they were not ignorant, that he hearkned to the Proposals made by the *Spaniards*

towards it, at the same time when he assured them, he would never do it but by force. Others were for letting the Catholicks alone, and observing how they cou'd get out of this scurvy business, and whether they were able to shift without the helping hand of the *Reformed*, whose small Number and Services they were wont to undervalue. Certainly these last Voters had an high conceit of their Party, and thought it such a considerable part of the State, that the Catholicks could not but be very sensible of their absence; and really they were so, and could not but acknowledge, that upon the great Emergencies of State the *Reformed* were to be reck'ned something. The King was more sensible than any body else of the great Mistake he had been in, by so long delaying to give them satisfaction, when at the Siege of *Amiens* he saw himself in the hands of his lately reconciled Enemies, whom he durst not trust, wanting those approved Friends, of whose Fidelity he had such unquestionable Testimonies. Therefore the retaking of *Amiens* wrought such an alteration in the minds of Men, that an Agreement between the two Religions was universally wished for on both sides, even by such as had most earnestly laboured to obstruct it. The King, indeed, being victorious, and having recovered his almost lost Reputation, talked higher than before; and the Catholicks did ever and anon upbraid the *Reformed* with their pretended desertion; but, for all this, the wisest amongst them were more seriously for a Peace, and facilitated it more than ever.

The experience of things past rendred these last Considerations very specious, and even the remembrance of the Massacre at *Paris* gave weight to the advice of those who were afraid, that if the *Reformed* were joined in a Siege with the rigid Catholicks and League-men, these being by much the strongest, might upon so fair an opportunity revive their implacable hatred, and rid themselves once more of the *Huguenots*. This they call'd a *Bartholomew Campaign*, a Term indeed very fit to renew the Memory of the *Paris Morning-Prayer*. These Reasons were so effectual, that the Ring-leaders, who were those that might do the King the best service, thought fit to stay at home. However it is false, that all the *Reformed* did really forsake the King in that Enterprize, for he had both in his Household and Army several Officers and

The *Reformed* serve the King before *Amiens*.

1597. Soldiers of their Religion, and even part of his best Troops was made up of *reformed* Soldiers. The Regiment of *Navarre*, which did excellent Service in the Siege, and the greatest number whereof perished there, was almost wholly made up of them; and the Duke of *Rohan*, whose Name grew so famous since, made there his first Campaign. The *Reformed* answered the Charge at that very time, and marshall'd up such of their Brethren who assisted at that Siege, and were kill'd or wounded before the place. True it is, that they did not serve there as a separate Body, and as having Troops depending upon them; but here 'tis strange, that those very Men who would have had the *Reformed* make a separate Body to serve the State, had been three whole Years a grumbling, because they made a Body to preserve themselves; as if Men, whose separating in order to secure their Consciences was counted a crime, were obliged to separate for the preservation of their Enemies. Moreover, very few amongst the *Reformed* were in a capacity to bring Troops at their own charge to the other end of the Kingdom; so that the Charge affected only a small number of the principal Men who might have served in person. Yet the Count *de Schomberg* and the President *de Thou*, per-
 waded the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *la Trimouille* to raise Soldiers, and received the King's Money for it; but the Troops of the former staid in *Auvergne* upon some pretence or other, and those of the latter were employ'd in *Poitou* for repressing the Excursions of some tumultuous League men. The King was so much offended at these Lords coldness, that he could never forget it, tho', perhaps, if they had been less suspected by him, some reason might have been found to have excused them. Certain it is, at least, that the President *de Thou*, a wise and moderate Man, did what he could, both by Word of Mouth, and by Writing, to vindicate the Conduct of those two Lords, fearing lest the ill affected Cabal, who cried down that Action, and branded it with the odious Name of Rebellion, troubling the Legat's Head with perpetual Complaints about it, should take advantage of it to thwart the Negotiation of the Edict. But of all those who heard the Case *pro* and *con*, there was none so impartial as that Prelate, and who better discovered the Illusion of those Complaints when the true Reasons were offered to him. The state of the King's
 Affairs

The Actions of the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *la Trimouille*.

Affairs was not so prosperous in *Poitou* and *Britany*, which the Duke of *Merceur* had opened to the *Spaniards*, but he might as well fear to lose some Places on that side, as not to be able to mend the Damage done by the same on the Frontiers. Therefore as *la Trimouille's* Troops might be useful in that Country, *du Plessis* did often represent to the King how important it was for his Interest, and for removing the Jealousies of the *Reformed*, to give *la Trimouille* the Command of a Siege in that Country.

Though the Council found Work enough before *Amiens*, they did nevertheless very seriously think of Religion, which they began to regard as a very important and material Business. Therefore as the Number of Deputies to the Assembly had been augmented, when the *Reformed* took a Resolution to labour in good earnest for their Security, so the King doubled also the Number of his Commissioners, when he resolved to think seriously of contenting them. The Count *de Schomberg* and the President *de Thou*, had been added to *Vick* and *Calignon* at *Saumur*; but these two being since employ'd in other concerns, the two former did remain charged with the whole Negotiation, which ended happily in their hands. The *Reformed* desisted from several of their old Demands, though they thought them very reasonable and just; but in the present Conjuncture of Affairs, they would insist upon no Articles, although never so just, but such as were absolutely necessary; nay, they did also in process of time yield up several things, which they had formerly judged most needful. Such was their demand of *Chambres mi-parties* in all Parliaments, and of unsuspected Judges in all Courts of Judicature, but upon this Point they were at last contented with some small matter, besides what had been allow'd them by the former *Edicts*. The King on his side did the like by degrees, and even during the Siege of *Amiens*, he gave new Instructions and new Power to his Commissioners, who came thither to give him an account of the condition the Assembly was in. He also heard there the Complaints they had ordered *Comstans*, Governour of one of their places to make to him, about his treating a Peace with the *Spaniards*, by the Mediation of the Pope, being shrewdly jealous, in respect of the Mediator, that

The Commissioners changed.

The Treaty continueth, and they slacken on both sides.

1597. the main scope of that Treaty was their utter ruin. But the King, in his turn, complained to the Assembly, that whereas he expected hearty thanks from them, he saw, to his grief, that they would not accept the Offers made them by *de Vick* at *Saumur*, which he had himself reiterated to *Constans* by word of mouth; that at a time when he was in person before *Amiens*, the *Reformed* came not to his assistance, and so deprived him of a considerable Succour, he might have expected from them, and which he never stood in so great need of as now; assuring them however, that no Treaty of Peace would be concluded to their prejudice, and that he had given full power to his Commissioners to put an end to this long and tedious business with them.

A new Possession acquired in 1597. Articles granted by Count *Schomberg* with submission to the King's pleasure.

But in the mean while, these Powers coming very slowly, the Count *de Schomberg* made a kind of a Treaty with the Assembly, by which he agreed with them upon the main Articles of their Demands; as for example, that the Right of religious Exercise should extend to all such places where it was made, till the end of *August* of the instant Year; that all their Places should still remain in their hands; that a certain Sum of Money should be given them for the payment of their Garrisons, and another to pay their Ministers; and had the Count been sufficiently empowered, the business might have been ended by that means: But whether he had a mind to gain time, till the Siege was over, or that he would not go beyond his Instructions, and leave the Council at liberty to disown or approve what he had agreed on, he concluded with the Assembly, with a *Salvo*, that all these things shou'd be done with submission to the King's pleasure.

A Debate whether to accept them provisionally, or definitively.

They imagined that the Council would never review what had been granted; but it was still doubtful whether they should accept those Articles as a Provision only, or if they should cause it to be passed into a publick and definitive Law by an Edict. The Court had given Examples of those provisional Settlements, by the King's Declaration published at *Mantes* before his turning Catholick, and by a Treaty made since at *Saint Germain* with the Deputies of the Assembly of *Saintefoy*. Some amongst the *Reformed*, who were not satisfied with what was granted to them, were willing enough to rest still in a capacity of beginning anew,

anew, whenever the tranquility of the Kingdom would permit it, and were afraid that by a decisive Edict they should be debarred from forming new Pretensions when they would: But others, who longed to see an end of their Affairs after so many delays, thought it best to accept of something, provided they might once know what Laws they were to live under; insomuch that the matter was consulted at home, and abroad in foreign Countries, where Advice was begged of all such as were thought capable of giving it in such a weighty Case.

Schomberg and *de Thou's* Moderation was a great help towards a Conclusion; and, on the other side, the *Reformed* were very sensible of the great Confusion and Troubles of the State, being unwilling to draw upon them the Reproach of having forced the King to a disadvantageous Peace with *Spain*. But the continual Delays of the Court marred all that was well done by the Commissioners Wisdom; there they would always review what had already been granted; there they would renew all Questions and Difficulties, without coming to any Resolution; in short, their only business, it seems, was, to abate something of what had been granted; and to that end it was, that the Council would always give the Commissioners a limited Power, for fear they might grant too much; and, on the other hand, when the *Reformed* sent Deputies to Court, they tied their Hands with very precise Instructions, lest that being wrought upon by the Artifices and Intrigues of the Court, they might accept less than the Assembly desir'd; insomuch that both the Court and the Assembly complained one after another, that the Instructions respectively given to the Commissioners or Deputies were too much limited, requiring mutually that they should be mended and enlarged. But that amongst others which the *Reformed* were most offended at, was the often sending the Commissioners elsewhere on several pretences, and their being imploy'd in other Treaties, whilst the Affairs of Religion were put off till another time; such was the Treaty then on foot with the Duke of *Merceur*, which took up the greatest part of their time. But the *Reformed* could not endure that preference, either because they thought themselves as good as the Duke with all his Interest in *Britany*, or because they saw his Treating was but a sham, where-

1597.

The Council's Shiftings about the Articles.

The Treaty is interrupted.

1597. whereby he had amused the King several Years together, or because they thought it easie to reduce him, so soon as the rest of the Kingdom should enjoy a solid Peace; and accordingly they did not fail to offer all their Forces towards that design, provided the Court would first make an end of their business, and not baffle them with fair words, as they had done for eight Years together. That which vexed them most, was the unjust Prejudice of the Catholicks, who could not brook, that the King should think of granting a Peace to the *Reformed*, whilst there were some Catholicks whom 'twas not yet given to; for they fancied, that the Honour of the *Romish* Religion was at stake, if the King should treat with the *Hereticks*, before having satisfied all those who took up Arms for its defence; and had therefore secretly extorted a Promise from him, never to do any thing in behalf of the *Reformed*, before he had reconciled all such as had a hand in the League; which he deny'd not when he was blamed by some for his delays, endeavouring sometimes to make the Complaisance he had for the Catholicks go for a piece of Prudence advantageous to the *Reformed*, in that the *Edict* he would give them, should appear by so much the more voluntary and less extorted by force, that there should be less Troubles and Discontents in the Kingdom; but they took it in a quite contrary sense, and were afraid that after all his other Troubles were over, he would force them to submit to his own terms.

New Instructions.

In the mean while the Commissioners, at their return from the King before *Amiens*, had brought Instructions, which confirmed, in part, the things granted by the former; but several new Difficulties were started upon some Articles, as, amongst others, about the manner of paying the Garrisons, and re-establishing the Mass at *Rochel*, which that *reformed* City would not consent to. As for the Garrisons, there was so little safety in depending upon the Orders of the King's Treasurers for paying them, that they demanded, that in case of refusal or delay, it should be lawful for them to cause the Money to be seized in the Provincial Exchequers. But when, after a long debate, they had agreed upon the matter, and removed all difficulties, they must go to the Council for its approbation, which was no easie matter to obtain, several tricks being made use of to oblige the
Depu-

Deputies to desist, but they stood firm to their resolution; and the King, on his side, commanded his Council to stand to what had been concluded by his Commissioners. He had nevertheless been offended at the Assembly's begging the Intercession of the Queen of *England* and of the *United Provinces*; in short, they had sent some Persons of Quality, as Deputies to these two States, in order to desire their Mediation and Interest, for obstructing the conclusion of a Peace with *Spain*, which they apprehended to be levelled at the utter ruin of their Cause, intreating them to charge their respective Embassadors to look to it, and advising them besides to draw into the same Precautions all such other States as this Peace was like to be fatal to. Next they gave an account to the Queen how far they had gone in the Treaty of Religion; what they had gained about the Liberty of Publick Worship, and what had been granted in this point over and above the former Grants; of the Concession of *mi-partied* Chambers, with the Priviledges allow'd to Parliaments; of the free admittance of the *Reformed* to all Charges, even of Judicature it self, which Article had been obtain'd with a world of difficulties, and which they were to enjoy by a new Creation in their behalf of six Places of Counsellours in the Parliament of *Paris*; of the several Sums granted them for paying the Garrisons of their places of safety, which they made up one hundred, strong enough to maintain a Siege, and hold it out against a considerable Army; of the Settlement agreed upon for their Ministers subsistence; in a word, of all that had been concluded upon with the King's Commissioners concerning the Liberty and Security of their Religion. But 'twas no longer reasonable to take notice of those slight Misdemeanors, which the King knew very well were not the effects of any rebellious Intentions in the *Reformed*, but of their Allarms and Jealousies renew'd every day by his Councils delays and shiftings. The *Reformed* were certainly in the right on't, for, by that means, the final conclusion of this affair lingred away even beyond the end of the Year; and there was certainly affectation and malice in some of those delays; which cannot be denied, if we consider that the paying of the Garrisons and repairing of the Places was their greatest business, and the matter whereon the greatest difficulties were

1597.
Disputes
put to an
end by the
King's
firmness.
The As-
sembly
beggeth
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cession of
the Queen
of *England*
and of the
United Pro-
vinces.

New De-
lays, partly
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partly in-
nocent.

1597. renewed; though *Roni* was the Man who could do any thing in the Treasury, and was able, had he been willing, to assign as good Funds to those of his own Religion, as he did to the Roman Catholicks. But it must be confessed also, that some of the same delays were occasioned meerly by accident, by sickness, absence, or other excusable impediments of some, whom the King had appointed to view the Articles of the Assembly, and to prepare the Form of the Writs; which being made out by unquestionable Proofs, the *Reformed* did not despond at all, but waited patiently till all these Difficulties were removed by time.

The End of the Fourth Book.

T H E

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
Edict of Nants.

The Fifth Book.

The Contents of the Fifth Book.

A Book setting forth the Grievances of the Reformed ; blamed by some. The Importance of its Contents. It beginneth with excusing the freedom of those Complaints. Maketh Remonstrances to the King about the delays of his Council, and the general state of the Reformed. By what degrees the King had been drawn from them. The design of their Petition. General Complaints made by them against all the French : against each Order of the State, and the Clergy in particular. The Publick Exercise of the Reformed Religion obstructed, and Private Devotions hindred. Instances of great Violences. The Boldness of the Parliament of Bourdeaux. The Exercise interrupted or forbidden in several places by divers Decrees : in the Army : at Rouen, the King being there. Complaints on the account of the places : against the Catholick Gentlemen ; and against the Treaties with the League-men. The sing-

F f f ing

ing of Psalms hindred. Books seized and burnt. Religious Assemblies prohibited. Consolation of the Sick. Consciences forced in divers actions. Christnings and other things concerning Children. The Prince of Conde. Keeping of Lent and Holidays. Schools. Colledges. Offices. The Poor ill used. Places where the Reformed dare not dwell. Remarkable Injustice done at Lyon. Trades. Violences. Wicked Acts. Seditious Words and Speeches. Passionate Judges and Parliaments. Great difficulties in re-establishing the Edict of 1577. Special Instances of the Ill will of Parliaments. Burials made difficult; hindred; Tombs violated. A strong, free, and pithy Conclusion. Reflections upon this Book. New Delays and Difficulties upon particular Places. The Assembly breaketh up. The state of the Garrisons. Appointing of Governours. Annual renewing of the state of the Garrisons; the number of the places of safety. Private Interests. The Edict delay'd till the Month of April, when there are no more Leaguers. Jealousies of the Assembly. The King being armed, granteth the Edict. Conclusion made at Nants. Particulars of the Difficulties on each Article. 1st Demand, A new Edict: Reasons pro and con. 2d Demand, Free Exercise; its extent. New Concessions. The advantage secured to the prevailing Religion. A second place of Exercise in each Bailiwick. was no new thing. Difficulties about the Place: about the Proofs. Difficulties about the Tombs. 3d Demand, The Subsistence of the Ministers. A Sum of Money promised by the King. Schools. 4th Demand, The Possession of Estates and the Rights of Successions. 5th Demand, Unsuspected Judges. Chambers Mipartie, or of the Edict. 6th Demand, To be admitted to all Offices: the extent of this Concession. Illusion upon that Demand. 7th Demand, Securities. Reasons for demanding them. The Election of Governours for the places of security. How they were serviceable to the King. The paying of Garrisons. Private Gifts. Debates upon the Form of Concessions, which doth vary, according to the nature of the thing. The distinction of Places. The form of Payment. The Conclusion.

597.

AS in the Sequel of the Negotiation of the Edict there was little Alterations made in what had been agreed upon between the King's Commissioners and the Deputies of the Assembly, it might be well said, that the Treatise ended with the Month

Month of *August* of the present Year, and that the end of the same was in a manner the Epochæ, or Date, of all the Grants peculiar to the Edict of *Nants*. Thitherto the substance of things had been the main Business, whereas afterwards the rest of the Difficulties and Debates was for the most part only about the Form and Circumstances. But before we come to the Conclusion of this Important Affair, it behoveth us, for the better clearing thereof, to take notice of a Book which came out this Year, after the taking of *Amiens*, under the Title of, *Complaints of the Reformed Churches of France, about the Violences they suffered in many places of the Kingdom, for which they have with all humility applied themselves at several times to his Majesty and the Lords of his Council*. The Manuscript of this Book had been handed about last Year, and contained in substance the same Complaints that were set forth in a Petition presented to the King during the Siege of *la Fere*; but it was publickly printed this Year, with some new matters of fact which the *Reformed* had occasion to add to it, besides some alteration in the form. It can hardly be imagined with what cunning the generality of Historians do extenuate or lay aside those Complaints, though they are indeed as a *Manifesto*, which gives the reason of the Conduct of the *Reformed*, and makes an Apology for their innocence. It is true, that amongst them there were some who disapproved the Impression of the Book: but we shall not wonder at it, if we consider, that they had their Politicians and Courtiers, who were always of a contrary opinion, and whom the Court used as so many Tools, to divide the Minds, or elude the vigorous Proceedings of the Assembly. Besides, that part of the *Reformed*, who lived within the reach of the Court in the neighbourhood of *Paris*, being frighted at the sight of their small number, were apt enough to be dazzled with fair Words and Promises, and highly commending that complaisant Behaviour, did always speak the Court language, either out of weakness or interest. We shall see in the Sequel of this History the sad effects of that timorous Policy, even after the expedition of the Edict, and when it was about to be verified in Parliament. But the disowning of a small number, doth not hinder the Cause of those Complaints to be most real, and all the Matters of Fact

A Book setting forth the Grievances of the Reformed.

Flamed by some.

1597. mentioned therein, to have been the Subject of so many Petitions presented to the King, and the Occasion that made the Assembly keep firm to their Demands. The Piece is very Eloquent for those Times, it moves the Passions well, but especially Compassion and Indignation are so lively excited there, that it is not easie to read the Work, without pitying those who complain of so many Evils, and without being angry with them who refused to remedy them. There you may see above two hundred particular Instances of Injustices, or Violences, committed against the *Reformed*, with all the Circumstances of Persons, Actions, and Time; which so exact particularizing of Matters of Fact, evidently sheweth, that they had unquestionable Proofs in hand, and feared not to be misrepresented, since they made so publick Complaints, and gave such Particulars thereof, as made the thing easie to be inquired into. Since therefore the Wrongs and Cruelties the *Reformed* complained of in that Book, were the Causes of all those pretended rebellious Proceedings their Enemies have since upbraided them with, it will be no great digression from the History of the *Edict*, nor tedious to the Readers, to give them a View of those Complaints, as short as things of that nature can bear it

The Importance of its Contents.

It beginneth with excusing the freedom of those Complaints.

Maketh Remonstrances to the King about the Delays of his Council, and the general State of the *Reformed*.

First, The *Reformed* began with vindicating the Liberty they took to complain; which, in a Kingdom so free as *France* was, ought not to be blamed in those from whom the quality of Subjects and *Frenchmen* could not be taken away, who had been sufferers so long, and who had been so serviceable to the State. They declar'd nevertheless, that they complained with regret, and were forced to discover the shame of their Country, by the fury of their Enemies, which they exaggerated with all the Expressions and Figures the Hearts of Men are apt to be affected by. Afterwards they addressed their Discourse to the King, and the better to move him with pity, they most submissively shew'd, that they were neither *Spaniards* nor Leaguers, and there they made a rehearsal of their great Services done to the State and to himself from his very Cradle, against those two sorts of Enemies; and of the great Efforts they had made under his valiant and wise Conduct, to defend that Crown which he wore on his Head; adding, that these Truths, which were clear and known to all the

the World, had put them in hopes, that, though they were asleep, the King himself and all the good *Frenchmen* that were left, would have thought, in their stead, of not suffering such a necessary and servicable part of the Nation to be ruined and lost. That yet, during these eight Years, they had seen no diminution in the Catholicks hatred, nor any abatement in their Miseries. That their Enemies had now, if not more Malice, at least more means to annoy them, because the *Reformed* did so frankly throw themselves into the King's Arms. That the Catholicks had even been emboldened against them, from their Loyal Affection and Patience, as being assured they would never be revenged of any Outrage done them, for fear of raising new Troubles in so dangerous a Conjunction. That the Truce, which their Enemies would fain have pass for a Peace, which ought to content them, (if, as 'twas said, they could be contented with any thing) was infinitely more prejudicial to them than the open War, during which they were aware of their known Foes, and blessed be God with sufficient means to take from them either the desire or the power of hurting them. That a great part of their Enemies had taken up Arms against the Crown for much less, even upon account of Fears without ground; whereas now the *Reformed* remained peaceable, though spurred by real and present Evils, and attacked on all sides with such a cruel animosity, that it might bring the most patient People in the World to despair. That they were still striving with that despair, by their confidence in the King's love, which having proved so favourable to those who made War against him, could not be severe and backward towards them who had always been his most affectionate Servants; but that the Papists were hard at work to deprive them of this very Support, by endeavouring with Pretences of Conscience to oblige the King to destroy them. That first, they had forced him to go to Mals, in order to draw him from them; whereupon he gave them his Royal Word, that he would never consent to their ruin, but rather join with them again, than suffer any War against them. That even those who induced him to a change, and feared, that in such a case the *Reformed* might highly resent it, and come to extream Resolutions, (which however they bless God Almighty, that the event had

made

1597.

By what
degrees
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from
them.

1597. made it appear, they were not capable of ; and that they did not make use of Religion as a Pretence to disobey their King) that those very Men represented to the *Reformed* the great advantage which might accrue to them by that change, and that the King thereby might be in a greater capacity to make them feel the effects of his Affection, and might even go so far as to undertake a Thorough-reformation of the Church, as having nothing changed in him, but the outside ; whereupon they represented with exaggeration how little likely it was, that the King, whose Conscience was so enlightened and knew so well that Temporal Interest ought not to be preferred before the Kingdom of God, would change his Sentiments on a sudden upon meer Reasons of State. That nevertheless the Papists had obliged him to believe the grossest Errors of the Romish Religion, and to take a Solemn Oath at his Coronation, renewed since at his taking upon him the Order of the Holy Ghost, that he would, to the utmost of his power, extirpate both the *Heresie* and the *Hereticks*, as they used to call their Persons and Doctrin, though the same Oath had been established not only against them, but himself too, when he was engaged with them in the same cause ; from whence concluding, that their Enemies might also by the same Considerations engage him to their ruin, they beg leave to let the King know the Particulars of their Grievances, to the end that he may see thereby how ill they fare under his Reign, since his Counsellors do misrepresent to him the Miseries of their present Condition ; and that such as are free from Passion, may not take it ill, if they demand so earnestly a general Liberty to serve God according to their Consciences ; impartial Courts of Justice, to whom they may trust their Estates, their Lives, and their Honours ; and sufficient Securities against those Violences wherewith both the present and past time threatneth them ; and that all equitable People may use their best interest for the relief of those who are unwilling to survive the State, but only to be preserved with it, fearing God, and honouring the King.

The Design of their Petition.

General Complaints made by them against all the French.

Next they came to particulars, and declared, that in general they complained of all *Frenchmen* ; not but that there might be some who would do them justice, but they were so fearful and weak, that they suffer'd themselves to be drawn in by the rest ;

and

and so might be well included with them in a lump. Then they hinted at all Orders and Degrees, complaining of the Nobility and Gentry, of the People, of the Magistrates, of the Council, but above all, of the Ecclesiastical Order, as that which influenced them all, and inspired them with injustice and hatred to the *Reformed*. They handled that Order pretty roughly, with great Contempt and shrewd nipping Jest and Railleries. From thence they passed on to their Sufferings, and said, that for 50 Years together they had undergone all sorts of cruel Punishments; that they had been burnt, drowned, hanged, massacred one by one, massacred by whole shoals, banished out of the Kingdom by Edicts; that the Catholics had, for those fifty Years, made a cruel War against them; to which they added, that the Exercise of their Religion was free in those places only where they had been strong eno^t to keep it, but that they had lost it every where else. They named some places where the *Reformed* were fain to go ten or twelve Miles to hear a Sermon, and whole Provinces where they had not so much as one place of Exercise allow'd them, as *Burgundy* and *Picardy*; and others where they had very little liberty, as *Provence*, in which they had no preaching but at *Merindol* and *Lormarin*; and *Britany*, where it was allow'd them but at *Vitre*. They named other places, where, tho' the *Reformed* were the strongest, yet they durst not exercise their Religion within the Walls, but were forced to go abroad for it and expose themselves to fall into the hands of the Enemies Garrisons; others, where even the *French* abused them at a strange rate, and lay in wait for them to throw Dirt and Stones at them; others, where Seditions had been stirred up against them, as at *Tours* on Easter-day, where the Ring-leaders did insolently boast, that they had whetted their Weapons. Moreover, they related, that an eminent Gentleman, *Bordage* by Name, being invited to stand Godfather to a Child of the Lord *Mongomeri* at *Pontarson*, the Parliament of *Rennes* had commanded the Militia of several Parishes to stop the Passes; and that having avoided that danger, he was in his return set upon by two or three thousand Men, who, notwithstanding the resistance of the Garrison of *Pontarson*, which guarded him, kill'd two of his Men; and had it not been for the Garrison of *Vitre*, that came to his help, he could never have

1597.
Against all
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Against
the Clergy
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1597. escaped. They related likewise, that at *Saint Stephen of Furan*, in the Province of *Foret*, (a Parish-Priest of which place did with impunity offer every day horrid Violences to the *Reformed*) thirteen hundred People fell upon one hundred of them, as they were coming from a place distant one day's journey from their Town, where they had celebrated the Lord's-Supper on Easter-day; and then beat them, wounded them, maimed them, leaving several for dead upon the spot; that the Night following, their Doors and Windows were broken, and on the next day the Catholick Mob gathered again together before their Houses, threatening them with worse. The like had happened at *Manosque* in *Provence*, where the *Reformed* coming home from receiving the Communion at *Lormarin*, were served after the same manner; and it is observable, that the seditious Rabble, to give a colour to their intended Violence, had themselves pull'd down a wooden Cross, and then accused the *Reformed* of doing it.

And in
their pri-
vate Devo-
tions.
Instances
of great
Violences.

They represented farther, that they were troubled even in their private Devotions at home, and for Instances thereof named places where Men had been clapt into Prison for praying to God with a loud Voice, as well as the Masters of the Houses where they prayed, for suffering the same. In other places all those that were present had been taken up and threatned to be drowned, to force them to go to Mass. In some others, Praying was forbid them in their own Forms; and for christening Children in Country-houses, Warrants were delivered against the Ministers; and all who had been present, were adjudged to pay cost, and besides, severely fined for it. Upon the like occasion they had in other places been in an imminent danger of being massacred by the Rabble; some places were remarked, in which they were forbid to assemble, on pain of Ten thousand Pounds fine; others wherein Houses were forcibly entred into, if five or six *Reformed* were but thought to be there; for instance, at *Saint Stephen of Furan*, the seditious Mob gathered together one day to the number of three hundred Men before a certain House, upon a meer suspicion of an Assembly, though the Magistrates, who view'd it, found no such thing. Other places were named in which the Priests and Friers did openly say in their Pulpits, *That*
'twas

'*was a shame to suffer the Reformed in their Towns ; and this upon* 1597.
 a groundless Accusation of having assembled in the Neighbour-
 hood, as the Officers found it after a strict inquiry into the mat-
 ter. It was observed besides, that when the Lady *Catherine*, the
 King's only Sister, came to *Bordeaux*, the Parliament had sent
 Spies to watch those that went to hear Sermons in her House,
 and committed to Prison one of the most considerable amongst
 them. To all this it was added, that the free Exercise of their
 Religion being limited in some places to Publick Prayers only,
 which they were however very well satisfied with, yet at *Mon-*
tagnac, a place of that kind, they had not been permitted to cover
 a certain House purchased by them for that purpose ; nay, that
 afterward the Lord High Constable and the Parliament of *Thou-*
louse had forbid them to pray there any longer. Then they relat-
 ed those Violences committed at *Marchenoir* by the Duke of *Ne-*
mours's Troops, and those by the Soldiers of the Duke of *Guise*
 at *Lormarin*, where they turn'd the Temple into a Stable, and
 threw seven or eight Persons into the Water, and among them
 the School-master, whom they took to be the Minister : Where-
 upon they observed what we remarked elsewhere ; that the lat-
 ter had been powerfully and chiefly assisted by the *Reformed*
 against the League, when he took possession of his Government
 of *Provence*. They did not forget to represent, that the Garrison
 of *Roche-chouart* in *Poitou* had fired with two Cannons from the
 Castle upon fifteen hundred *Reformed*, assembled in the Town-
 house for their usual religious Exercise ; that in another place
 a Man on Horse-back, breaking through the Crowd, fell upon
 him who prayed, and wounded him with the butt-end of a Car-
 bine, after he had vainly endeavoured to fire and shoot him with
 it ; that the occasion of this Assembly was to sign a Petition for
 re-establishing the Exercise of their Religion, interrupted by the
League ; that the wounded party offering to proceed against the
 criminal by way of Justice, the Priests of the place where he sued
 him, had, by their private Authority, committed him to Prison,
 and got him carried by the Lieutenant of the Provost to the Goal
 of *Puy in Velay*. That at *Caen*, on the twenty eighth of *March*
 of the instant Year, the Catholicks had burnt all that was found
 in the place of their Exercises, to all which they joined a lively

The bold-
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Bordeaux.

1597. Picture of the Massacre of *la Chataigneraye*, with all the horrid circumstances that attended it ; making here very pathetick Exclamations, to renew the remembrance of all other Slaughters formerly made of the *Reformed* by the *Papists* : But above all they urged in as strong and powerful terms as they could, that all this happened under the Reign of a King, who was formerly the Protector of the *Reformed* ; and they did not forget to make a comparison of their Patience with the Fury of the Catholics, to whom they did not render like for like in those very places where they were the strongest.

The Exercise interrupted or forbid in several places by divers Decrees.

These being thus premised, they did complain afterwards, that they could not obtain the re establishment of the Exercise in those places wherein it had continued ever since the *Edict* of *January* under *Charles* the Ninth, till the *Edicts* of the League were made ; of the Catholick Governours refusing to obey the King's Orders on this Subject ; of the Decrees of the Privy-Council and Parliaments, whereby it was taken away from such places where they found it established ; in some whereof it was indeed maintained, because the execution of those Decrees was not thought easie and safe. They did not forget here to mention the Decree of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, by which the Exercise was forbidden in all the Lands of the Marchicness of *Trans*, on pain of Ten thousand Crowns fine ; nor another Decree of the same Court, which tended to make it cease also at *Bergerac*, a Town thoroughly and intirely *reformed*, in forbidding the Inhabitants to assess themselves for the subsistence of their Ministers, though these Assessments had been allow'd them ever since the Conference at *Fleix*. Next, the Decrees of the Parliament of *Aix*, which we have taken notice of before, were brought in : Whereupon they did observe, that this Court had emitted two in one and the same Year, to forbid the Exercise in some places wherein it had been continued during two or three hundred Years ; that this Prohibition was made on pain of forfeiting both Body and Estate, and three Months after the solemn acknowledgment made by them, that the *Reformed* had saved their Necks, by calling *Lesdiguieres*, who delivered them from the fury of the *League*, as I have observed in the foregoing Book.

More-

Moreover, they complained, that though the Exercise of their Religion had been allowed in the Army during the Truce under the Reign of *Henry* the Third, yet that it had not been suffered ever since *Henry* the Fourth came to the Crown. That the Lady *Catherine* her self had been forced to go out of *Rouen* on a Communion-day, because the Legate would not permit her to receive it in that City, though she had always had that freedom allowed her at *Paris* in her own House; that few days after a Sedition had been stirr'd up against the *Reformed* in the very sight of the King, without any respect to his Royal Presence. That *Argentan* had been taken from the Baron of *Courtemer*, though 'twas one of the places of *Ballinwick* promised by the Treaty; that *Beausse Ganville*, a place held by the *Reformed*, had nevertheless been demolished. They also made Complaints of the reformation made in their Garrisons, which were weakened by diminishing the number of Men, and paying the rest but ill, insomuch that it amounted not in a whole Year to above three or four Months Pay; for which they had even very remote and incommodious Funds assigned them, as for instance, the Garrison of *Royan* had it upon the Treasuries of *Quercy*. They did also complain of several places taken from the *Reformed*, razed, or ordered to be so by Decrees of Parliament; of some others dismembred, nay, given to their Enemies. Thus *Milhau*, which belonged to the Lady *Catherine*, and which the Inhabitants had, by virtue of an express Commission, fortified at their own charge, had certainly been demolished, had not they had the Courage to oppose it. In the mean while the reconciled *Leaguers* were very exactly paid, though they received fifteen times as much Money from the King as the *Reformed* did, who made it appear in the Assembly of the principal Men of the Kingdom at *Rouen*, that for their Garrisons they had not Two hundred thousand Pounds from the King.

They complained besides of the Catholick Nobility and Gentry, who had caused the Exercise of the *Reformed* Religion to cease in such places of their Lordships, as they had found it established in at the time of their reconciliation with the King. They upbraided them with that Writing subscribed by them at *Mantes*, after the King's turning Catholick, in order to assure the *Re-*

1597.
In the Army.
At *Rouen*, the King being there.
Complaints upon the account of the places.
Against the Catholick Gentlemen.
Against the Treaties with the League.

1597. *formed*, that they would never enter into any Treaty with the *Leaguers*, to their prejudice, or without calling them in for a share ; which solemn Promise had been nevertheless broken in the Treaties made with eight and twenty Towns, and with eight Princes or Grandees, wherein the *Reformed* had been deprived of their Rights, and which were concluded without their knowledge ; whereupon they observed with indignation, that during the War, a little poultry Town, call'd *La ferte Milon*, would not surrender, but upon condition, that the *Reformed* Religion should be excluded out of its Walls and Territories ; they also exaggerated that famous Succour given so seasonably by the *Reformed* to *Henry* the Third at *Tours*, and accepted then by the *Catholicks* with so hearty thanks, and yet so soon forgot.

Singing of
Psalms
hundred.
Books seized and
burnt.

From thence they came to complain of their being hindred in the most minute acts of their Devotions, naming divers places where they had been sent to Prison on that account, and where even the Psalm-book had been burnt by the Hangman ; whereof, amongst many others, they gave one remarkable instance, which is this : It happened at *Meaux*, that a very honest Man was caned by the Major of the Garrison for singing Psalms ; the King being then at *Monceaux*, about two Leagues off, the Deputies of the Assembly of *Loudun*, who were with his Majesty, failed not to complain to him of that affront ; but all the satisfaction they could get was only, that the King would speak to the Major about it. In other places their Bibles and other Books concerning Matters of Religion, were taken from them, and if they kept any by them, it was enough to make them liable to Imprisonments, Exiles and Fines. At *Digue* in *Provence* the Judges had impudence enough, to add to the punishment of being imprisoned, a Fine of a hundred Crowns for such as should assemble, in order to pray to God Almighty ; and the Parliament of *Rennes* forbidding the Exercise of the *Reformed* Religion, joined to it an Order, that their Books should be diligently searched into, forbidding the *Reformed* to print, sell, or keep, any about Matters of Religion.

Comforting
ing of the
Sick.

Next came their just and charitable Complaints of being hindred from comforting the Sick and the Criminals of their Party,
and

and even that they were forced to endure the presence and solicitations of the Friars ; to which purpose they did relate, that at *Saint Quintin* a Man was banished the Town for comforting from the Street a person infected with the Plague shut up within his House : Whereupon they did judiciously observe, that all such Articles, whereby some advantage was taken from the *Reformed*, were punctually executed ; but that all which the Edicts had granted in their behalf, proved insignificant and useless for them for want of due execution.

They did afterwards hint at Matters of Conscience, complaining that nothing came amiss to the Catholicks that might afford a pretence for oppressing them ; that they were forced to hang up Cloths or Tapistries before their Houses on *Corpus Christi day*, and even to assist at the Procession, on pain of a Fine, which amounted sometimes to fifty Crowns ; that they were often imprisoned upon their refusing to comply ; that the Count de *Grignan* himself taxed his Vassals twenty Crowns for each offence ; that the Parliament of *Paris* inflicted a corporal punishment upon such as refused to bow to the Cross, and prostrate themselves before the Hostie ; that in other places they were condemn'd to publick penance for refusing to pay the same honour to the Sacrament when they met it in the Streets ; that the Parish-Priest of *Saint Stephen* of *Furant* did yet do worse than so, for on such occasions he would run after those who fled before him, and beat them soundly, either with his Fists or even with the Cross-stick ; that in divers Towns of *France* they were forced to contribute to the charges of holy Fraternities ; of Divine Service done after the Catholick way ; and of building and repairing Churches, and even to pay the Arrears of their Contributions for many Years past ; that in some places the Papists would force them either to assist at the Masses sung before the Companies or Trades incorporated, or to leave the Town ; that the Publick Notaries of *Bordeaux*, having set up a new Fraternity, they would force the *Reformed* of that Profession to assist at the Masses of their Company, on pain of twenty Pence forfeit for each offence ; that the Judges of *Angers* had constrained a *reformed* Fidler to play at the famous Procession which is made there with a very extraordinary pomp on *Corpus Christi day* ; that in several Courts of

Conscien-
ces forced.

Judi-

1597. Judicature the Judges and Advocates of their Party were forced to take their Oath after the manner and form of the *Roman* Church ; that sometimes old People were dragged along the Streets to Mass ; that at Saint *Stephen* of *Furant* the Parish Priest had almost starved an old Man to death to make him abjure, and at last forced him to pass an Act before a Publick Notary, whereby he bound himself to be banished, if he should not live and die in the *Romish* Religion.

The same mad Priest, continued they, got himself accompanied by the Judges to the Houses of the *Reformed*, where he christened Children in spite of their Parents ; and one day, upon a false advice, that a Woman was brought to Bed, he forced his entry into the House, beat her Husband, searched every Corner, and finding no mark of what he looked for, he got the Woman out of the Bed, and forced her to shew him her Belly, that he might have ocular demonstration that she was not delivered. They continued to give an account of several Matters of Fact of the like nature ; As that in another place, a Father carrying his Child to be christened, the Servant-maid of an Inn had stoln him away whilst the Man was leading his Horse to the Stable, and afterwards, she calling the Neighbours to her help, caused the Child to be christened in a Catholick Church. That at *Bordeaux* a Lady had been forced to abjure her Religion, to keep the guardianship of her Children, and having a little while after reunited herself to the communion of the *reformed* Church, the Attorney-General sued her at Law, and got her bound to remain a Catholick ; that a Child being deposited in the hands of his Grandfather at *Orleans*, when that Town was in the power of the League, and his Father demanding him back again after the reduction of the place, the Judge refused to deliver him up to his Father ; that a Man was debarred from all his Rights by the Court of *Angiers*, until he had got his younger Brothers out of the *reformed* School at *Loudun*, to put them in the Catholick Colledge of *Angiers*, contrary to the last Will of their deceased Father, who had ordered them to be brought up in the *reformed* Religion ; that the same Judges had appointed a Catholick Guardian over a Maid, who refused to go to Mass. Then followed sad and grievous Complaints of the unjust way of dealing

ing with the Prince of *Conde*, whom the *Reformed* had surrendered to the King, even beyond the hopes of the Catholicks; they said, that this young Prince had bitterly wept, and struggled long with those who brought him away from *St. John d' Angeli*; that since being kept at Court, he was used to withdraw into his Closet, there to sing Psalms, to Pray, and Catechise his Pages; but that at last they were taken away from him, notwithstanding all the marks of his anger for it.

1597.
The Prince
of Conde.

They complained afterwards, that to all these so great and so publick Grievances, the Court had hitherto applied no other remedy, but Reasons of State, as if the Interest of the State ought to have been opposed to their Consciences, or that the *Reformed* had not been part of the State, or that the State could not stand, but by their fall. Then returning again to the particulars of the Injustice that were done them, they complained of their being forced to keep Lent; that at *Rennes* the Parliament caused the Houses to be searched, to see if their Orders in this point were obey'd; that the Bishop of *Agde* did the same by his own authority in the Towns of his Diocels; that keeping of Holidays was also forced upon them; that even at *Saumur*, one of their Towns of security, a Man had been sent to Prison for being surpris'd at work within his House on such days; that their School masters had been expelled out of several places, even without any form of Justice; that divers Parliaments had refused to verifie the Patents obtained by the *Reformed* from the King, for the establishment of some Schools, even after reiterated Orders from Court; but that nothing was comparable in this particular to the boldness of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, who did not so much as vouchsafe to answer a second Order sent them from the King, for setting up a *reformed* School at *Montelimar*; that even so in several places they refused to admit in, or turned out such of the *Reformed* as were appointed to teach and instruct the Youth; which Article was concluded with these remarkable words: *Are they then willing to beat us into Ignorance and Barbarity? so did Julian.*

The keep-
ing of
Lent and
Holidays.

Colledges.

Next they complained of their Poors ill usage: That the Laws of Equity were so little regarded in this point, that in those very places where the *Reformed* contributed most to the publick Alms,

The Poor
ill used.

the

1597. the Poor of their Religion had no share therein ; that in many
 Places where the *Reformed* suffered to live there, though they promised to be quiet and
 dare not make no publick Exercise of their Religion ; that the Judges of
 dwell. *Lyon* had banished out of their Town those who having formerly
 A remark- left the Kingdom on account of Religion were returned thither
 able Inju- after the change of affairs ; and that it had been confirmed by the
 Rice done at *Lyon*. *Edict of Reduction* ; upon occasion whereof they complained here,
 that the *Reformed* were called *Suspected People* by the King him-
 self, whom they had served with so much Fidelity and Courage ;
 letting this gentle Reproach slip withal, that for one and the
 same cause the King had been declared unable to inherit the
 Crown, and the *Reformed* banished from their Houses ; but that
 since he had been restored to his Throne by the assistance of the
Reformed, he had not yet restored them to their Houses. Here
 the Parson of Saint *Stephen* of *Furant* was brought again upon
 the Stage ; he did not suffer the Catholicks to let out their Hou-
 ses to the *Reformed*, and constrained them to turn out before the
 term, such as had already taken any ; he hindred Tradesmen by
 grievous Fines from admitting any *Reformed* into the freedom
 of their Trades. This mad Fellow of a Priest, had caned a Man,
 born in that place, but settled elsewhere, who was come to the
 Town upon some business ; his pretext for abusing him, was, that
 he had forbid him to come thither, as if he had authority to ba-
 nish whom he pleased : But that Man seeing himself abused with
 so much injustice, and that no body took his part, kill'd the
 Priest in a passion, and so rid the Country of this furious Beast.
 The King granted him his Pardon, but the Catholicks hindred
 it from being allow'd by the Judges.

Trades. They remonstrated besides, that the *Reformed* were excluded
 from Trades, and to colour their exclusion, the Companies made
 new By-laws, by vertue whereof none but Catholicks were to
 be admitted to them. That in several places Violences against
 the *Reformed* were countenanced by impunity ; that a Man se-
 venty five Years old having complained, that some Children had
 hurried him in the Streets with injurious Clamours, was sent to a
 Goal, instead of having satisfaction ; from whence afterwards be-
 ing released, he was pursued anew, and pelted with Stones in the
 very

very sight of the Judges, who did but laugh at it; that a Fraternity of Penitents, called, *The Beaten Brothers*, walking bare-foot, in order of Procession, their Feet happened to be cut by some broken Glass spread in the Streets, which they did immediately lay upon the *Reformed*, because the Glass was found before the House of a Goldsmith of their Religion; that thereupon a Sedition was stirred up against them, but that at last the whole was proved to be a trick of the Priests.

Then they began to give particular Instances of the crying Injustice done them about Offices; That in several places they were kept from those of the Town-house, and that it was publicly said at *Lyon*, that none ought to be admitted to them, who either was now of the *Reformed*, or ever had been so, nay, not even any Son of one that had been so; that the States of *Perigord* had declared void the Election of a Sheriff made by the Town of *Bergerac*, according to the custom of that Province, meerly because the party elected was one of the *Reformed*; that even those who were appointed by the King could not be admitted, before taking an Oath that they would be Catholics; being moreover forced to declare their charge vacant, *ipso facto*, if they should ever happen to break their Oath: In some places they were sent back, without so much as hearing their Complaints; in others they were turned out, even after they had been admitted and suffered to execute their Places; or else they were forced to dispose of them in favour of the Catholics. The Parliament of *Bordeaux* had opposed, during three Years, the re-establishing a Presidial Court at *Bergerac*, where it had been settled before, and the Debate about it was still depending in the Grand * Council at the time of these Complaints. In several Provinces Gentlemen were forbid to appoint Protestant Judges in their *Fiefs*, on pain of forfeiting the same; nay, the Parliament of *Paris*, when yet sitting at *Tours*, inserted in their Decree for verifying the *Edict* which revoked those of the League, that upon the presentation of Letters Patents to the Court, an Inquiry into the Behaviour, Manner and Religion of the Presenters should be always ordered, and that they could not be admitted without giving a

Injustice
done to
the Re-
formed a-
bout Offi-
ces.

* The Council of State is not meant here, but a Court of Judicature in *Paris*, where some Special Matters are debated.

1597. sufficient Testimony of their being Catholicks, save only in the City of *Rochel* and other such Towns as were held by the *Reformed* at the time of the Edicts of the League, as I have related in the Second Book of this History in the Year 1591. About the same time the Deputies of the *Reformed* were told even in the King's Council, that they were under a great mistake if they thought they should ever be admitted to Offices, whatever Edicts, Orders from the Court, and Decrees of Parliaments, they might obtain; whereof they gave instances in all sorts of Offices, of Judges in Parliaments, and Presidial Courts, of Solicitors General, of Publick Notaries, of Attorneys, and Sergeants. The Parliament of *Grenoble*, though formerly rescued out of the hands of the Duke of *Savoy* by the Arms of the *Reformed*, was now still refusing to admit *Vulson*, who had obtained a Patent for a Judges place in the same Court, and had already been tired with five Years vain pursuits. One of the *Reformed* having obtained a Patent for the Place of one *Colas*, Vice Seneschal of *Montelimar*, an obstinate Rebel, who would never be reconciled with the King, whom he forced to besiege him in *La Fere*, whereof he stiled himself Count; that *Reformed*, I say, could never get his Patent allow'd by the Parliament of *Grenoble*: but after he had, to facilitate the matter, treated with *Colas* for the Place, and bought it of him, then the Parliament admitted him to the Proof of his good Behaviour and Manners, and kept him eighteen Months about it, being even yet uncertain of the issue of this business at the time of these Complaints. The same Parliament had taken away the Precedency from some Judges who were ancients than their Catholick Brethren, and had been admitted even during the League; which put them to the charge of obtaining new Edicts, new Orders, and peremptory Decrees from the Council.

Seditious
Words and
Speeches.
Passion of
Judges and
Parliaments.

All this was followed with Complaints about many Seditious Expressions uttered against them and connived at in Parliaments and other Seats of Judicature, where, in full Court, they had been call'd Dogs, Turks, Hereticks, Heteroclitcs of the new Opinion, a People who deserved to be destroy'd with Fire and Sword, and expelled out of the Kingdom. Their being Hereticks, added they, had been allowed in several Courts, as a sufficient

cient cause of exception ; as if the Laws of the Emperours against the *Manichees*, had been made against them. *Sequier*, one of the King's Solicitors-General in the Parliament of *Paris*, speaking in the Cause of *Roche Chalais*, a very considerable Gentleman amongst the *Reformed*, had said, that they were unworthy of the King's *Edicts* ; that the benefit of the Laws belonged only to the Catholics ; and that if the Court should give a Verdict in favour of this Gentleman, to restore him to his Estate, the King's Council would oppose, and take it away from him, as from an unworthy Heretick. They related thereupon several Instances of Justice denied to the *Reformed* ; of Murders left unpunished ; of unjust Condemnations without a legal Process ; of false Witnesses tolerated, though convicted. A famous Highway-man, being thought to be of the *Reformed Religion*, was sentenced at *Bordeaux* to be quartered alive, and fined five hundred Crowns, two hundred whereof accrued to the King, and the rest was applicable as the Court should think fit : but the Criminal having declared to a Jesuit, that he had been a Catholic for two Years past, the Punishment was changed into beheading, and the Fine applied to the repairing of the Jesuits Colledge. The extraordinary Assizes of the Parliament of *Paris* being held at *Lyon*, such of the *Reformed* as went thither to demand Justice against the Catholics of *Saint Stephen of Furant*, were called Seditious Persons, who troubled the Judges with their Complaints.

They added, That the Writs obtained by the *Reformed*, for bringing Causes from a suspected Parliament before another, were eluded, by denying them Letters of *Pareatis*, or, *Hereof fail not* ; which they were forced to sue for, sometimes whole six Months together : but that at *Bordeaux* they would do worse, for there they judged the cause definitively, and then granted Letters of *Pareatis*. Whereupon it was observed, that the Parliaments did the *Reformed* more harm by their ill will, than the King was by his good will able to redress. Whereupon they enlarged upon the great difference between the verification of the *Edicts* granted to the League, and those granted to the *Reformed* in order to grant them a Peace : the former being allowed without alteration or reservation, and with a great deal of Pomp and Solemnity,

1577. as *Edicts*, the Syllables, Letters, and the very Accents whereof were looked upon as so many Props of the State, whereas the latter were either thrown off with a thousand shifts, delays and tricks, or allow'd with so many limitations and exceptions, that they were made altogether uselefs. And here they brought in very pat the great Abuses formerly offered to Parliaments by the *League*, the Massacre of *Duranti* at *Thoulouse*, and the shameful Death of *Briffon* at *Paris*. There they shew'd also how little satisfied the *Reformed* were with the *Edict* of 1577. which, in their judgment, was not fit for the present time; for it put them in a worse condition than the War had left them in: which reflected on them a thousand ways; therefore they had not demanded, but constantly refused it. Whereupon they observed with what difficulty the *Edict* which re-established the same had passed in the Parliament of *Paris*: they did not forget the shiftings and tricks of the Attorney-General, and the several reasons urged to hinder the verifying of it, insomuch that it was carried in the affirmative only by three voices. They named here the Parliaments which would not verifie it; but above all they observ'd the severity of that of *Dijon*, which likewise refused it, tho' the King, going through that City in his way to *Lyon*, had with his own Mouth commanded them to do so; insomuch that Menaces were necessary to bring them to a compliance: after which the Attorney General, following the example of that of *Paris*, would not suffer this word, *requiring*, but only those of, *not opposing*, to be inserted in the Decree of its verification; and the Court formally declared, that they did it only to obey the King's often reiterated Orders.

Difficult-
ties in re-
establis-
hing the E-
dict of
1577.

They also complained, that Decrees made even in 1585. and 1586. were still every day executed, and the *Reformed* by vertue thereof forced to restore to Clergy-men the Incomes of their Estates taken during the *League*; but that the *Reformed* were not allowed to take possession again of their own, on pretence that they had not paid the King's Taxes in 1512. And then was related a special Case of *Florimond de Raimond*, a Judge in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, which runs thus: He had been made Prisoner during the War, and afterwards released upon ransom for which he compounded and paid down a thousand Livers; but since

Special In-
stances of
the ill will
of the
Parlia-
ments.

since he sued at Law those *Reformed* who had taken and ransomed him, boasting every-where, that he had already got from them four thousand Crowns. Farthermore they complained, that every day the Parliaments gave sentence according to the *Edicts* of the League, and that that of *Rouen* had accordingly declared the Buryings and Preachings of the *Reformed*, to be Trespases upon the *Edicts*; whereupon two Presidents, two Counsellors, and the Attorney-General, being sent for to Court, they had the boldness to say, they had judged according to the Laws, because the *Edicts* which favoured the *Reformed* were revoked. They promised however to forbear executing the Decree, provided it should stand still upon Record; but whilst they were at Court, their Brethren caused it to be proclaimed with the usual Ceremonies. Besides, divers Parliaments made void every day the Sentences given in those Courts of Justice which the King had suppressed, though he had confirmed them all by his Edict of Suppression.

After these long Complaints they came to the Article of the Burials, and by way of transition, it was observed, that the *Reformed* were ill used at their Births, in their Lives, in the Breeding of their Children, and even in their Funerals. Therefore they complained, that in several Towns Burying places were denied them; that in others they were fain to carry their Dead five Leagues off; that their Funeral-assemblies were fixed at certain Hours, and limited to a certain Number of Persons; that in some Places the Catholicks committed great Insolences on their Graves, and abused those who attended the dead Corps, though the Burials were made in the Night-time; nay, that in certain places they were fined for it, and forced to buy the security of their Marches by 20 or 30 Crowns; that there were some in which the dead Bodies were digged out of the Ground, either by the Command of the Bishop, or by some other Authority, and even those who had been buried in the Chappels of their Ancestors; that the same Barbarity was used on the Bodies of Women, which were left naked on the Ground, and exposed to wild Beasts, no enquiry being made into such a barbarous and indecent Usage. That some persons who died with Marks of being of the Reformation, and on that account were not suffered to be buried

Burials
made difficult:

Hundred.

1597. buried in Catholick Church-yards, their Relations were proceeded against for laying them in the Burying-places of the *Reformed*. The Parish-Priest of *Saint Stephen of Furant* had a great share in that Article, wherein he was represented making false Contracts, in order to exclude the *Reformed* out of a Burying-place purchased by them; breaking the Tombs open with a Hammer; ringing the Alarm-bell upon a Funeral-convey guarded by the Soldiers of the Garrison, and drawing together three or four thousand Men, who dispersed the Convoy, and forced them to leave the Corps at the discretion of this profligate Priest; digging out of the Grave a dead Body, which he carried into another Man's ground, who digged it out again; and in fine, constraining the Wife of the deceased, even after she had obtained a Decree from the Judges to the contrary, to bury him without the Parish-ground. Even so *Florimond de Raimond*, being one day Chairman, (as ancientest Judge in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*) ordained the exhumation of a Child, adding in his Decree, that the Bodies of all the *Reformed*, buried ten Years before in the Catholick Church-yards, should be also digged out of the ground. Whereupon many instances were given of dead Bodies which had been in an imminent danger of being devoured by Dogs; and it appeared by all the premises, that the Catholicks made no distinction either of Quality, Sex or Age, and treated with the same inhumanity, both Gentlemen and Commoners, Men, Women and Children, all alike.

A strong,
free and
moving
Conclu-
sion.

All these Cruelties were exaggerated with much eagerness, and it was very ingeniously observed, that Burying-places were usually inclosed with Walls, to hinder Beasts from ravaging them; but that Men themselves were not ashamed to violate and dig up those Sacred Asyles of the dead. The whole ended with a very pathetick Discourse: They said, that all this was but a small part of those just Complaints that might have been made by the *Reformed*, whose Patience was much enlarged upon; who had no other aim, but the good of the State; and who, to be satisfied, demanded nothing, but to be secured from ruin and destruction. They shew'd, that the fall of the State was inseparable from that of the *Reformed*; and then very earnestly begg'd the Catholicks compassion. Addressing afterwards to the

the King, they valued themselves for having neither Dominican Friars or Jesuits capable of attempting on his Life, nor Leaguers aiming at his Crown. He was told, that he knew the fidelity of the *Reformed*, and that they demanded an *Edict*, not after the manner of the *Leaguers*, who instead of humble Petitions for Peace, had never presented but the Point of their Swords; that in the space of four Years the *Reformed* had six several times renew'd their Petitions, at *Mantes*, at *Saint Germain*, at *Lyon*, at the Camp before *la Fere*, at *Monceaux*, and at *Rouen*. Now upon the Reasons of State they were still put off with, and upon their being told over and over, that it was not yet time to grant them an *Edict*, they cried out, *Still, O good Lord! after five and thirty Years of cruel Persecutions, ten of banishment under the League, eight of this King's reign, and four of constant petitioning!* Then they declared, that their being put off after the King had done with all the Leaguers, gave them a great jealousy, that new Proscriptions were intended to humour the Pope, who, they could not but know, was pushing on that design with all his might and strength. They stoutly maintained, that the Catholics alone were not the State, but that the *Reformed* made a great part of it. In fine, they concluded with these words: *We beg from your Majesty an Edict, whereby we may enjoy what is common to all your Subjects, that is, much less than what you have granted to your furious Enemies, your rebel Leaguers: An Edict which may not constrain you to dispose of your Dominions, but as you please, which may not force you to exhaust your Treasure, or to burthen your People with Taxes. It is neither Ambition nor Avarice moves us, but the Glory of God, the Liberty of our Consciences, the Tranquility of the State, the Security of our Lives and Fortunes; these are the height of our Desires, and the only aim of all our Petitions.*

Altho' the reformed Courtiers in a manner disowned these Complaints, as I observed before, yet it is certain, that they could not deny the truth of the several Facts contained therein, nor that there was a necessity to put a stop to so many Injustices and Violences; but they imbraced the Opinion of the Court, which was much offended at the Form of those Complaints, and would fain have had the *Reformed* to wait for another time to publish them; but upon the whole, the generality of the *Reformed* spoke their

1597. their Minds in that Book; and it cannot be doubted but it had been viewed by the ablest Men of the Party; nay, it may be easily perceived by the Style, that the greatest amongst them had notice of it, and even given to the Subject a great part of its Form. What most vexed the Court in the printing of it, was their being now and then upbraided in it with bitter Reproaches of past Services, which were so much the more insupportable, because they were just and well-grounded; that the warm Strain of this little Piece made them sensible they had to do with Men who took the thing to Heart, and whose Courage was not yet lost; and that in fine, such a long Series of Injustices, Outrages and Violences, made them ashamed of their so long delaying to satisfy those who deserved at their hands a more favourable usage, insomuch that the Court's dissatisfaction served only to make them resolve to handle this Affair more seriously and put an end to such an important Negotiation.

Reflection
on that
Book.

But before we proceed any farther, it behoves us to make (at least slightly) some Reflections upon this Abridgment of their Complaints. First, They make it appear, That this Business of the *Reformed* was no trifling Matter, and that their Fears and Jealousies were but too well grounded; which is the more observable, that in complaints of this nature, as every body knows, commonly no other Facts are related, but such as are most notorious and important, and that a great deal more are buried in oblivion, either because the Complaints thereof have not been made by the Parties concerned, or that they appeared less clear, or of a less moment in their circumstances. Secondly, These Complaints do well answer the Reproaches made to the *Reformed*, That they followed the King too close when he was in his greatest Perplexities: But this must not be wondered at, since 'twas at that very time they were used worst, and that the Facts here mentioned, except perhaps thirty, were all recent, and had happened either in this or the foregoing Year, giving therefore just causes of Fears and Jealousies to the *Reformed*, who were from day to day by so much the greater sufferers, as the Peace and Reunion of the *Catholicks* was more forwarded by the reduction of the *Leaguers*. In fine, Those Complaints may serve to shew the Injustice of those Tricks used to elude the *Edict* in these last Years,

Years, since that the *Edict* having been granted upon Com- 1597.
plaints made by the *Reformed* of such-like Vexations, it was im-
possible to renew them, without acting directly against the inten-
tion of that irrevocable Law.

In the mean while the Year was spun out with tedious Delays, New De-
lays. as I observed before, and though the *Reformed* had with a won-
derful patience overcome their grief occasioned by them, the
minds on both sides were nevertheless grown sour and much
exasperated; the King himself expressed sometimes his resent-
ment, nay, he would now and then let out some menacing
words very pat to the purpose, and he had once written to his
Commissioners, that it would grieve him to the very heart, to
come to Extremities with the *Reformed*, whom he loved more
than they loved themselves. This new Language the King had
been taught of late, since the retaking of *Amiens* had a much
worse effect than it was thought at Court; and the *Reformed*,
who found it so different from that which was used with them,
when the King stood in need of their assistance, and when he in-
vited them to shed the rest of their Blood at the Siege of that
place; they drew, I say, very sad Consequences from that change,
which seemed to them to imply as much as if they were told,
that their Tranquility could never agree with the Prosperity of
the State, since they were cajoled only when the King's Affairs
were embroiled; but that when the same began to clear up, they
were told, they must surrender at discretion; that when the suc-
cess of the King's Enterprises was dubious, fair Promises, Pray-
ers, tender and pathetick Intreaties, were used to them; but
that when the Court was puffed up with some advantageous Suc-
cess, then their most just Petitions were answered with Shiftings
and Menaces; from whence they concluded, that since new Cau-
ses of Mistrust were given them, they ought also to take new
Precautions against the ill Designs of their Enemies. The Dukes
of *Bouillon* and *La Trimouille* were the most exasperated of all,
because they were sensible that the Court's Threatnings chiefly
aimed at them, being looked upon there as the Authors of those
Motions made in the Assembly, contrary to what the Catholics
called the Publick Good, and the King's Service; but what the
Reformed called the Artifices of the Council, and the Oppression

1597. of their Consciences. Therefore the Assembly was no less importunate than before. They had sent new Deputies to Court with full Instructions, which were altered, as new Difficulties arose; besides, they seriously examined the Answers sent them by the King's Commissioners; and as they had sent some Gentlemen to *England* and to the *United Provinces*, in order to beg the Intercession of those faithful Allies of the Crown, they also expressly charged their Deputies to wait upon the *Protestant* Embassadors, now at the Court of *France*, and represent to them how necessary it was to satisfy the *Reformed*, that the King might be able to give the *Spaniards*, or the Duke of *Merceaur*, some considerable Blow, to make them sensible, that the Affairs of Religion, instead of being forwarded, were delay'd at Court, inso-much that they knew not when the end of such a tedious Negotiation might be hoped for; and to engage them by the general Interest of the *Protestants* to see it brought to a happy conclusion.

And Difficulties upon particular Places.

The Points left still undecided were not so little important but that they well deserved this warm pursuit. The Council started new Difficulties about the Right of Exercise, in respect to certain private Places, wherein the *Reformed* intended to establish or keep it, which the Court would not grant. Moreover, They demanded, that their Assembly should continue at *Vendome*, until the Edict, which was granting, was verified in all Parliaments; which the King would grant only for that of *Paris*, requiring them, after the verifying of the *Edict* there, to break up and return to their respective Provinces. But this made them jealous that the Court aimed at dispersing the Assembly, afterwards to elude with more freedom the execution of the *Edict*, when none were left to sue for verifying the same; because *Edicts* in *France*, having no force of Laws before that Solemnity, this might be still subject to a thousand Tricks and Exceptions in those Parliaments where the same had not been yet performed.

The breaking up of the Assembly.

The King was necessitated to give the *Reformed* some satisfaction upon these Points, because he was resolved to put off the verification of the *Edict* till the Legat's departure, the time whereof was still very uncertain, and that he was of opinion, that the
doing

doing it in his presence might have been an Affront put upon him. Therefore it seems, that to gild over this new Delay, and make it acceptable to Men disheartned by so many others, and who justly feared, that this would prove prejudicial to their Interest, or at least put back the conclusion of their Affairs; it seems, I say, that the Court ought to have complied with their desire of continuing their Assembly. Such as had an interest in the keeping of the places of security, wondred at the King's proposing to leave to the Council the settling the state of the Garrisons, and as they had not all of them the like credit at Court, such as had little or none at all, were afraid that this was an Artifice in order to deprive them of their Places. Besides, the King would name the Governors, before the Party named had taken the Certificate of the Provincial Assembly, in whose Jurisdiction the Place was seated; because, if the Certificate should precede, it might then seem, that the *Reformed* should give the Government, nor the King, which would have been a breach made to the Royal Authority. But on the other hand, the *Reformed* would needs have the entire disposal of the choice, lest that if the Governments of their Places should become Court-Preferments, the Parties so preferred would be also Court-Creatures, and care but little to please the *reformed* Churches, as being able to maintain themselves without them. They had a great mind also at Court to change the state of the Garrisons every Year, but the Assembly were afraid, that it might be a color for weakening and shortening the same; nay, for taking them away one after another: for they were well informed, that the King was against leaving so many Places in the hands of the *Reformed*, who before that time had never had above seven or eight granted them for securing the execution of the *Edicts*, whereas now they kept above two hundred both great and small; and that he was also afraid, that the Catholicks might conceive a jealousy from the state of those Garrisons, because of the great number of Places that were to be set down therein: but the Assembly agreed on a publick state, in which such Places only might be named as both Parties should think fit, provided always there was a secret one for the security of the rest. Private Interests were none of the least occasions of new Difficulties: Those of *Rochel* could obtain none of their

1597.

The state
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Interests.

1598. Demands, no, not so much as a confirmation of their Charter ; because the King, who had still a resentment of what had passed there, whilst he was Protector of the *Reformed*, had a mind to make them sensible, that he had Power enough to punish them for it.

The *Edict* delay'd till the Month of *August*, when there were no more Leaguers.

The discussion of all these Difficulties, which the Council would always be trifling about, even after they had been adjusted by the great Wisdom of the Commissioners, caused the final conclusion to be put off till the Month of *April*, insomuch that the Catholics got the Point they had so much wished for, *viz.* That no *Edict* should be granted to the *Reformed*, before the Catholics were all satisfied. The Treaty with the Duke of *Mercœur* was concluded towards the end of *March*, and even the Peace with *Spain*, made before the *Edict*, for though it was concluded on the first of *May*, yet all the Articles thereof had been long before agreed upon.

The Assembly alarmed.

The King had long before that time been advised to march towards *Britany* with a Royal Army, in order to rescue that Province out of the hands of the Duke of *Mercœur*, who hitherto had been but weakly attacked, and had never treated in earnest, but when he saw himself e'en upon the point of being abandoned by the *Spaniards*, and that the King was coming upon him with great Forces ; in effect, after he had trifled several Years with Sham-Treaties, at last the King marched that way, so soon as the approaching conclusion of the Peace with *Spain* set him at liberty to do it. His coming alarmed the Assembly at *Chatelleraud*, and they were in no small fear that the King would suddenly fall upon them, either to force them to accept his own Terms, or to disperse them, through fear of falling into his hands. At the same time the King's Commissioners pressed them to come to a conclusion, which conduct was variously interpreted by Men long since distracted by Allarms and Jealousies. The most distrustful, thought it a kind of violence offered to the Assembly, so eagerly to press the King's offers upon them, at a time when he was in a manner at their doors with a powerful Army. This Passage is to be well observed, as one of the most notable Circumstances of the time wherein the *Edict* was granted, and as a most proper Argument against the Calumny of the Catholick Writers,

ters, who have represented it as a Grant extorted by force. But to make a right Judgment of the Case, we need but look upon the Troubles and Jealousies of the Assembly, on the approach of the Royal Army; and indeed they accepted the *Edict* when they were disarmed, and in a manner at the King's discretion, whereas the King granted it when he was armed, and had the Assembly within the reach of his Canon.

The King grants the *Edict*, being armed.

This long Affair was at last put to an end, to the great grief of some, and to the full satisfaction of others. Some Catholicks there were who grumbled at so many Concessions; on the other hand, some *Reformed* complained that they had obtained so little; but there wanted not some in each Party, who thought the advantage to be equal on both sides, and who being truly desirous of Peace, were apt to allow of any thing which might conduce to it. During the King's abode at *Angers*, almost all the Difficulties had been adjusted there, tho' he had spoken so high, and uttered such Menaces, that thereby the Assembly was well nigh brought to despair: but this was but a shew to save the appearances, of giving the Law like a King, and making the *Edict* less offensive to the Legate and the zealous Catholicks, by granting it with that affected sourness and severity. Indeed, the King was very desirous to come out of those Troubles, which plainly appeared in the kind reception the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *La Trimoille* met with when they waited upon his Majesty at *Angers*, where he welcomed them both with such signal demonstrations of Love, that thereby one might easily conclude, that his threatening had been rather to maintain his Royal Dignity, than the effect of any real Anger. Therefore, after the Assembly's Memorials had been returned, together with the King's Answers to them, and the Articles and Forms of the Grants had been finally agreed upon, the whole was again carried to the King at *Nants*, where, having altered what he pleased, to shew that he granted it with a full Authority, and that nothing constrained him thereunto, it was at last signed, sealed up, and deposited into the hands of the Deputies of the Assembly, by whose order it was left in the custody of the Inhabitants of *Rochel*, who, till the time of their ruin, kept all the general Records of all the reformed Churches of *France*. Thus, from the place where the

Different Opinions about the *Edict*.

The Conclusion at *Nants*.

Edict

1598. *Edict* was proclaimed in the Month of *April*, it was called the *Edict* of *Nants*, by which it has been famous all over *Europe*.

Hitherto I have only related the Complaints, Pursuits, Alarms, and Impatiences of one Party, with the Artifices, Delays, Shiftings, and Difficulties of the other, to the end, that I might give a better insight into the nature of an *Edict*, which has been so long negotiated and debated with so much Maturity and Wisdom. But, to do it yet more clearly, I shall make an Abridgment of such Matters as were the Pretexes of these Delays, and for so many Years took up the Time of the wisest Men in the Kingdom, wherein I shall only treat of what was either demanded or obtained by the *Reformed*, without taking notice of what was inserted in the *Edict* in behalf of the *Roman* Religion, because the Articles of that kind always passed before the others, and that in all this Negotiation the Catholicks would never submit the Concerns of their Religion to the Success of Disputes and Debates. None but the Pretensions of the *Reformed* met with Difficulties, because the Catholicks laboured hard to make them rest satisfied with less than they asked; tho', indeed, there was no need to take away anothers Right to satisfy them in their Demands. Therefore Difficulties arose, both upon the Substance and the Form of Things, and the Court had no less difficulty in agreeing upon the one, than on the other. The Demands of the *Reformed* came to six or seven general Articles, but each of them was subdivided into a great number of others, necessary either for the Explanation, or for the Security of some principal Matter; insomuch, that at first the *Reformed* having brought all their Proposals to a limited Number of Articles, amounting to Ninety six or Ninety seven, the Difficulties arising in the Series of the Negotiation, obliged them to add several new Articles to the former, either to remove or prevent Difficulties in the Conclusion or Execution of the *Edict*. Therefore without desisting from the Substance of their Demands, save only in such things wherein they had approved the Alterations made by the Court, they often added to their Memorials, and changed the Forms and Style thereof: So they gave two different Titles to their new Articles. Those which were set down last of all, and were not very numerous, had

The Particulars of the Difficulties on each Article.

had the name of *Additions*, the others were called *Explanations*, 1598. because they were Articles upon which they desired the King to explain himself, that no ambiguity should remain in the matter, and to prevent all difficulties in the execution. Those *Explanations* followed each Article, the Contents whereof they desired to be explained; and often there were many added to one and the same Article, which went by the Names of First and Second.

Their first principal Demand was for a new *Edict*, because they could not rest satisfied with those formerly granted; whereupon they said, that in their opinions their Services deserved something better, and that after the King's turning Catholick they had a solemn Promise of another at *Mantes*, and a Year after at *Saint Germain*. The main ground of this pursuit was, that they could not endure to be treated under the Reign of *Henry* the Fourth, after the same manner as they had been under that of *Henry* the Third, and that they thought it very unjust for a Prince, whom they had so faithfully served from his Cradle, to grant them no more than what they had obtained from another, who had been their greatest persecutor; so that their Pretensions were not grounded (as the late promoters of the revocation of the *Edict of Nants* would fain have perswaded us) upon the prejudice they had received by the King's Treaties with the chief Leaguers, but upon the greatness of their Services, for which they demanded an *Edict* as a recompence due to them. As for the breaches made on the *Edict* of 1577. they were but little concerned at them, for they plainly declared, they would not have it, thinking themselves rather prejudiced than favoured by it. Nevertheless, this last Consideration seemed to be the only Motive of the King in this Affair, as being the most plausible that could be alledged to the Catholicks, either because it removed all pretexts of murmuring at new things granted, since thereby the King did but make amends to the *Reformed* for Injuries unjustly done them; or because, having received that damage contrary to a Promise in Writing, that no Treaty should be made with the Leaguers to their prejudice, the breach of such Promise could not be repaired, but by granting them a sufficient Compensation for what Losses they had sustained by it. This fancy

They first demand a new *Edict*.

Reasons pro and con.

of

1598. of Compensation was the Sequel of the first Pretension of the Catholicks after *Henry* the Fourth's coming to the Crown. As they had extorted a Promise from this Prince, that he would maintain their Religion in the state he had found it, they looked upon all new Favours done to the *Reformed*, as so many Injuries to the Catholick Religion; from whence it was, that they stood so obstinately to their first resolution, never to make them any new Grant; or if any should be made, then they would have it go by the name of a Compensation for what damage they had received by the private Treaties with the Leaguers; nay, even after the Promise made to the Deputies at *Mantes* and at *Saint Germain*, the Catholicks, moved by the same reason, would fain have cheated the *Reformed*, by only granting them the restitution of the *Edict* of 1577. Upon which account also the Council delay'd sending the King's Commissioners to the Assemblies of *Saumur* and *Loudun*, because a new Treaty begun upon new Demands, and which could not but end in new Concessions, was, in their judgments, a new Grant: But this difficulty was removed after the arrival of the King's Commissioners, for the word *Compensation* was again revived, and, after some debate, still remained, to satisfy the zealous Catholicks and the Court of *Rome*. But they had also a regard to the first Demand of the *Reformed*, who at last obtained many things over and above the promised Compensation, because the King was willing to gratify them upon account of their inviolable Fidelity and great Services. In a word, he gave them a new *Edict*, which revoked all others, and therefore could go no longer for a meer Compensation of Trespasses upon them, since they were all abolished by the same, which, for the future, was to be the standing Law in their stead. This Observation will be of good use in the Sequel of this History, especially against the trifling Arguments brought in of late Years, to elude all the Concessions of the *Edict* of *Nants*; which trifling Arguments were grounded on this false Principle, that since the *Edict* granted only a meer Compensation for Damages received by the Treaties with the Heads of the League, in which there were Restrictions prejudicial to the *Edict* of 1577; it was therefore likely enough, that such Damages being very inconsiderable, the intention of the *Edict* of

of *Nants*, which made amends for them, was to grant but little to the *Reformed*; but their Principle being false, as is apparent by the Premises, their Consequence must needs be very unjust. 1598.

The second Demand had respect to the Freedom of Exercise, and was of a very large extent, since it contained the Grounds of the Right of that Exercise which was to be established, or continued; the Bounds of that Privilege, according to the Times, Persons, and Places; and generally all the Circumstances of the Exercise, together with the exemption from certain things belonging to the Catholick Worship which their Consciences could not comply with. The Assembly had at first demanded an indistinct Liberty of Exercise in all the Kingdom; but they soon desisted from that Point: either because in several great Towns there was not one single *Protestant*, and therefore the grant of Exercise had been there to no purpose; or because at *Bordeaux*, *Thoulouse*, and other most important Cities, they would have rather begun the War again, than suffered the Exercise of the *Reformed Religion* to be established within their Walls: or because it had been granted to other Towns, that no such Exercise should ever be introduced amongst them. Therefore the *Reformed* were forced to restrain that Demand to a general freedom of dwelling where ever they pleased, and to a free Exercise in certain places only, since it could not be obtained every where: but they stood fast to their resolution of getting it with a larger extent than before. This was at last granted them in two Articles: By the first whereof their Exercise was permitted in all places where they had established it ever since the *Edicts* of the League, till the Truce was made between the two Kings, and after the Truce, so long as the War continued with the rest of the Leaguers: and after some Debates, all those Places were comprised under the general Clause of *Places* where the Exercise had been made during the Years 1596. and 1597. The Catholicks have of late endeavoured to confound the Rights of these two Years when they have sought for trifling Arguments to elude the plainest Concessions of the *Edict*; and they have pretended, that the Proofs of the Right acquired by the Possession, during these two Years, might shew, that the Exercise had been continued during both:

The second Demand, a free Exercise, and its extent.

1598. which, however, was not the design of the *Edict*, as it appears in that during the Year 1597. the continuation of the Exercise had been granted in all places, wherein they had it settled in 1596. but that the *Edict* not being concluded this Year, new Exercises were set up during the following Year, which the *Reformed* required to be confirmed with the rest ; so that such Exercises as had not been established before the Year 1597. needed no older proofs ; this Year having certainly been added to the Year before, as a favour, and upon the solicitation of the *Reformed* : Now it could have been no favour, if thereby they had been obliged to prove the continuation of the possession in 1596. by that in 1597. since this would have been to lay upon them a new obligation of proving by these new Titles a Right which they had sufficiently acquired by the possession of 1596. But as in 1596. the actual exercising in several places was a sufficient ground for a right for the future, though the *Reformed* had it not before ; so in 1597. the like actual Exercise, often reiterated, gave them the like right in time to come, though they had it not before. And indeed, as the Negotiation of the *Edict* was not yet finished in August 1597. the Catholics, who were afraid, that during the new Delays of the Treaty, new Churches might be set up, and the confirmation thereof demanded, as well as of those established since the Year 1596. they caused all the Dates of those Establishments to be fixed upon the Month of August of this Year 1598. Inasmuch that, to be within the Dates of the *Edict*, it was not needful to prove the Exercise for these two Years, but it sufficed to prove it in either of them. The other Article granted, that in each *Bailiwick*, or *Seneschalcy*, where, by the *Edict* of 1577. the *Reformed* had already a publick Place for their religious Exercise, either in a Burrough, or in the Suburbs of a Town, another should be given them, besides the first ; so that the Exercise of the *reformed Religion* was grounded upon four different Titles. The first was, That of the Places of *Bailiwick*, and of Possession, granted by the *Edict* of 1577. The second was, That of the new Possession acquired during the two Years which had preceded the conclusion of the *Edict* of *Nants*. The third was, That of the new Place of *Bailiwick*, granted by the same *Edict*. And the fourth was, The Personal Right of the Lords,

Lords, grounded upon the nature of their *Fiefs* or Jurifdictions. 1598. In all this the Catholicks secured the advantage of their Religion, and would never suffer that of the *Reformed* to stand upon even ground with it, by granting them a liberty equal to their own: so that the *Roman* Religion was exercised every where, as prevailing; but the *Reformed* was limited to certain Places, and restrained by certain Conditions, as tolerated. For the rest, The Grant of a second Place in each *Bailiwick* was not really a new thing; for it was grounded upon the Truce agreed upon between *Henry* the Third, and *Henry* the Fourth, then only King of *Navarre*; whereby *Henry* the Third not only re-established the *Edict* of 1577. and therefore gave again to the *Reformed* the first Place of *Bailiwick*, which had been given them by the same, and added thereto, besides a free Passage granted to the King of *Navarre* over the River *Loire*, a Place in each *Bailiwick* for the sick and wounded of his Armies. This Article of the Truce was very ill executed, either because of the sudden Death of King *Henry* the Third, or because there was no occasion for it in some Places where the *Reformed* had no Troops. Three Places only were given them by vertue of that Article of the aforesaid Truce; insomuch, that when *Henry* the Fourth granted them a second Place of *Bailiwick*, he did only perform what had been promised them, giving, nevertheless, a larger extent to that favour, than it had before; since he permitted then the free Exercise in those Places to all sorts of People, whereas the Truce had granted it only for the sick and wounded, and made perpetual what his Predecessor had granted only with a *Proviso*. But there was little appearance, that this Prince, after having received so great and important Services from the *Reformed*, would make their Condition worse by the Peace which he promised them, than it had been by the Truce; and it is easie to guess, that he would never have taken away from them, by an *Edict* of Gratitude, what had been granted them by a necessary Treaty.

Great Debates were also made on the Nature of the Places where the Exercise was granted; whether within the Walls of Towns, or in the Suburbs; whether in Burroughs, or Villages. There were some upon the manner of declaring the Places where the new Possession gave the Right of Exercise, because the surest

The advantage secured to the prevailing Religion. A second place in each *Bailiwick* was no new thing.

Difficulties about the Places of Exercise.

1598. appeared the less advantageous; for it was proposed to get all those Places numbred one by one in the *Edict*, or to comprehend them all under some general Character. There was, it seems, a great deal more security in the first, but the second gave a larger Extent to the Privilege, because they hoped, that in the Execution of this Article, means might be found to facilitate the keeping of the Exercise in some Places, where, perhaps, it might be contested, if their Number was sent to the Council. There was, at least, a sufficient Ground to fear it, for the King had commanded his Commissioners, before they came to a Conclusion upon this Point, to send him the aforesaid Number, that he might see if there was any ambiguity concerning them: Therefore the *Reformed* stood to the general Clause; but because the Catholicks would not permit them to settle themselves in so many Places, they also troubled them about the Proofs they were obliged to give in, either to prove that the Exercise had been, or ought to have been made in such or such Places, according to the *Edict* of 1577 or to shew that it had been actually performed where the new *Edict* allow'd it: The *Protestants* pretended, That Praying publicly, together with Singing of Psalms, Marrying or Christning, ought to go for sufficient Proofs; but the Catholicks, who foresaw, and feared the consequence of such Proofs, if once allow'd, could never be brought to an Agreement upon this Point; and the King's refusing then to admit of those Acts alone (and distinct one from another) as a sufficient Ground for the Right of an Exercise, has since afforded to our late Interpreters of the *Edict* of *Nants* a very specious Pretence, to maintain that the same Acts were not sufficient Proofs for the Right of the Exercises in some Places, in which they, nevertheless, found it continued for seventy or eighty Years together. But it is a Case which needs a Distinction, for Prayer once made, without any other Acts of Religion, and Marrying or Christning occasionally, might not indeed be solid Proofs of the Right of an Exercise; but the same joyned together, continued and performed with all the ordinary Circumstances of publick Worship, ought in these latter Times to be taken for Authentick Proofs of an Exercise so long since established.

Upon the
Proofs.

All Points having a reference to that Demand, as the Liberty of Visiting and Comforting the Sick, even in the Hospitals; of assisting the Prisoners, of exhorting the Criminals, and following them to the Place of Execution it self: The Exemption from several things, at which the Consciences of the *Reformed* were offended, as being parts or Circumstances of the Catholick Worship, and several other Articles of the same nature, met with proportionable Difficulties before they could be agreed upon; but that concerning Burials occasioned the warmest Debates of all the rest. The Catholicks having, through a blind Zeal, contrived Canons, which under colour of Piety, destroy all Sense of Humanity, in forbidding all such as the Councils or Popes have declared Hereticks, to be buried in Holy Ground, as they call it, their Clergy could not endure the *Reformed* should enjoy this general Right of Mankind in common Church Yards, nor even the Gentlemen of that Religion in the Chappels of their own Houses, or in the Churches wherein they had a Right of Patronage. On the contrary, the *Reformed*, though no longer insatuated with the ridiculous Conceit, That one Spot of Ground is holier than another, earnestly demanded that the same Church-Yard should serve for both Parties; either because the Nobility and Gentry were desirous to preserve the Rights of their *Fiefs*, or that the *Reformed*, in general could not brook that Distinction in Burials, by which they thought themselves injuriously reflected upon: For, Hereticks being excluded out of common Church-Yards, by the Canons, the Burying of the *Reformed* in other Places, was a plain Declaration of their being Hereticks, and, besides, it exposed them, by such a publick Blur, to the Hatred of the Catholicks, a People always zealous, even to Fury and Madness, against any thing that appear'd to them in the Shape of Heresy. Indeed, there was little Appearance that the *Reformed* could ever enjoy a quiet Life or a happy Society with them, who were taught to hate their Countrymen in their very Graves, and to deny them the Honour of a Common Burial; and who could not see without Scorn, nor frequent without Horror those Men, whose dead Bodies, in their Opinion, would prophane and sully the Places where they lay buried. This important Article was explained by the *Edict*, or executed by the

1598.
Difficulties about
the Burials.

Com-

1598. Commissioners after such a manner as proved in our Days the fatal Spring of innumerable Vexations and Injustices.

The Third Demand, the Subsistence of the Ministers.

The third Demand was concerning the Subsistence of the Ministers, and the Maintenance of the Schools. The *Reformed* were willing to be freed from paying Tenths to the Clergy, to whom they ow'd nothing, since they did not own them as their Pastors; and they thought it unjust, that being at the Charge of maintaining their own Ministers, they should also contribute to the Subsistence of the Priests of a contrary Religion. They demanded, That at least their Ministers should be pay'd out of the publick Mony, according to an Article of the Treaty of Truce with *Henry III.* They also desired Schools for the Instruction of their Children, with a publick Allowance for the Masters; and moreover, that the *Reformed* should be indifferently admitted to places of Doctors, of Professors and Teachers in all the Universities and Faculties; to the end that their Children might freely take their Degrees in the most flourishing Colleges. In this Pretension of publick Salaries, they thought not so much of saving their Mony, as they aimed at the most important point of being owned Members of the State, equal to the Catholics, and capable, as well as they, of all sorts of honourable and profitable Employments: But the Catholics stoutly opposed all this, for fear the *Reformed* should be equal with them; therefore they could not relish the maintaining of Ministers and Teachers, out of the King's Treasury, because then it might seem, that the *Reformed* Religion was owned as the Religion of the State, which eminent Character they would by all means secure to the Catholics. Besides, they imagined, that by settling publick Funds towards the Subsistence of Men, who laboured Day and Night for the propagation of the *Reformed* Doctrine, they should so firmly establish it, that afterwards it could hardly be shaken; whereas it might soon fall, if the Salaries of the Ministers were left to the Charity and Zeal of their own People. But these Difficulties were in a great Measure remov'd by their Demand of being freed from paying Tenths against their Consciences, to a sort of Men, whom they looked upon as false Pastors, and the Ministers of Antichrist. The Clergy could not abide to hear of losing such a real and considerable part of their Revenues; and, besides,

besides, were afraid of the bad Consequences it might have ; 1598.
 such a fair Privilege being like to draw in a great number of
 Catholicks to the *reformed* Religion ; for it was well known that
 the *Reformed* taught, That the Tenth was not due to the Mi-
 nisters of the Gospel, by Divine Right, and that therefore a
 great Advantage would accrue to any one, who keeping the
 Tiths to himself, might come off for a small Contribution to-
 wards the Minister's Salary. As there wanted not able Ministers,
 in the Assembly, so they did not fail to secure and promote their
 Interest, insomuch that this Affair was debated with great Heats:
 But at last it was put to an end, or rather eluded by the King's
 Promise, to pay the *Reformed* a yearly Sum of Mony, to be em-
 ploy'd, as they should think fit, without giving an account
 thereof: But still they trifled about the Quantity of the Sum, in
 respect to the Number of the Ministers, for whom it was de-
 signed, about the Assignations of the Mony, about the Security
 of the Payment : And after all this, the Measures they took
 were so uncertain, that, a little while after the Conclusion, the
Reformed complained of their being but ill paid, and that they
 enjoyed not the effect of this Promise much longer than twenty
 Years. Moreover, as the promised Sum was not sufficient to
 maintain such a great Number of Pastors, it was in a manner
 made up by two Articles ; by the first whereof the *Reformed*
 were permitted to accept Gifts and Legacies for the Subsistence
 of Ministers, Scholars and the Poor: And by the other they
 were allow'd on certain Conditions, to raise Mony upon their
 People. But this was set down in the secret Articles, being too
 advantageous to appear in the Body of the *Edict*.

A Sum of
 Mony pro-
 mised by
 the King.

The Article of the Schools was left in a greater ambiguity
 than the former. The *Reformed*, who were still prepossess'd with
 an Opinion, That their Religion should be triumphant, as soon
 as Men could embrace its Doctrin, without being debarred
 from their temporal Advantages, thought, in good earnest, that
 in a short time the Universities should be filled with *Reformed*
 Professors and Teachers, if they could but get them declared
 capable of holding those Places ; which Fancy was not a little
 confirm'd by the general Reputation the *Reformed* had gotten in
 the World, of being Men of greater and more polite Learning
 than

The
 Schools.

1598. than the Catholicks ; from whence they concluded, That all the Pulpits would be soon filled with Persons of eminent Doctrin, out of their Churches. To the same end it was, that they importunately demanded, That their Children should be admitted to publick Schools, and to all the Priviledges and Immunities of Scholarship, even as well as the Catholicks themselves ; and that they should not be excluded or molested upon the account of Religion. These two Demands were granted them, but upon Conditions so ill explained, that a little after the verifying of the *Edict*, some Difficulties were raised upon the first, which brought the Concession to a small matter, and, by degrees, to nothing at all. As for the second, it was so far from being advantageous to them, that it proved one of the principal Springs of those great Vexations they have groan'd under, during sixty Years and above, because it served for a colour to deny them the Liberty of teaching any thing in their small Schools, except Reading and Arithmetick ; and they were told, that they had a Right by the *Edict* to send their Children to the publick Colleges, where they should not be molested in their Consciences. When Experience had made them fully sensible of the Cheat, they endeavour'd, under the reign of *Levis XIII.* to remedy it, by creating Schools in the principal Churches of each Province : But the same Pretence, of their being allowed by the *Edict* to send their Children to the publick Colleges, gave the Catholicks occasion to hinder several of those Establishments, to ruine the rest, and even to force the Ministers and Consistories to suffer the Children of the *Reformed* to be sent to suspicious Schools, as we shall have occasion to relate hereafter.

The 4th.
Demand,
the possession of
Estates,
and Rights
of Succession.

The fourth Demand concern'd the securing of Estates, and of Civil and Natural Properties ; by virtue whereof Children, or the next of kin, inherit their deceased Parents or Relations Estates ; and the Members of the same Commonwealth are made capable of receiving Benefits, Gifts and Legacies ; of Buying and Selling ; of Contracting, Acting and Disposing of what belongs to them, according to Law. The Nobility and Gentry had, besides the general concern, a special Interest therein, in respect of their *Fiefs*, Lordships, Patronages and Honours. Now the *Canons* depriv'd the *Hereticks* of these Rights, and afforded so many ways

ways of bereaving them of all the Advantages of civil Society, 1598. that though they had not formally condemned them to Death, yet they sufficiently brought them to the Necessity of Dying, by taking away from them all Succours and Reliefs necessary for the maintenance of Human Life. Therefore the Catholicks observed those cruel Laws with much Severity, and formal or equivalent disinherittings (by which they partly or wholly excluded their *reformed* Relations out of their Succession) were always advis'd by the Directors of their Consciences, or authoris'd by the Judges: So that it was high time to put a Stop to such a great Disorder, and because a Healing Article had already been inserted, upon this Matter, in the former *Edicts*, they needed only to get the old Orders renew'd; which was done, with Exceptions, in respect to some particular Cases, some whereof were explain'd in the secret Articles, and others left undecided, for Reasons of State.

The fifth Demand was for obtaining an equal number of Judges of both Religions, in all Parliaments, and was grounded upon the ill-will of these Courts, who daily did notorious pieces of Injustice to the *Reformed*, and started a World of Difficulties and Scruples in the verifying of the *Edicts* granted for their Security: Which they had made out with so many Instances in the Book of their Complaints, that the Court was not able to deny it; and thought it very insignificant to allow them only some Protestant Judges in each Court, since it was certain, that where-ever the Number of Catholicks were greater, the *Reformed* should be infallibly cast: But the Parliaments had such an Interest to prevent the multiplying of Offices in their Bodies, and the dismembring of their Jurisdictions, that this Affair met with many Difficulties and Obstacles. The King, nevertheless, granted one *mi-parted Chamber* in the Parliaments of *Tboulonse*, *Bordeaux* and *Grenoble*, where all the Causes of the *Reformed* should respectively be brought. There was already one at *Castres*, and some *reformed* Judges had been establish'd in the Parliament of *Grenoble*, and it seem'd that the *Reformed* of *Dauphine*, where *Lefdiguieres* had a full Power, had nothing common in several Affairs with those of the same Religion in the other Province; three Judges were then added to the former, to make up

The fifth demand, impartial Judges.

Chambers Mi-parties, or of the *Edict*.

1598. a *miported* Chamber, which at the very Time of its Creation was incorporated with the Parliament, insomuch that its Members were call'd in, when ever any thing was to be debated in a full House; Moreover, the King promised to erect a Chamber at *Paris*, consisting of ten Catholick Judges and six *reformed*, and those Protestants who lived within the respective Jurisdictions of the Parliaments of *Rouen*, *Rennes* and *Dijon*, had their choice, either to bring their Causes before that of their own Province, or before any of the Chambers granted in the nearest of them. The King's Promise, made to the *Reformed*, in respect of the Parliament of *Paris*, was not executed; but, it seems, he made them amends for it, by creating some new Offices of Judges in that of *Normandy*, and a Chamber of the *Edict*, upon the Model of that which was establish'd at *Paris*. They had not the same Favour in the Parliament of *Britany*; either because the Judges of that Court, which were some of the most furious against the *Reformed*, would not consent to it, for that it was not judged necessary in that Province, where the Number of Protestants was very inconsiderable; or, in fine, that all the Members of that Parliament were so partial and passionate, that a sufficient number of equitable Men could not be found among them, to make it up. Nothing was changed in what had been agreed upon concerning the Parliament of *Dijon*. That of *Rouen* being a great Enemy to the *Reformed*, they had therefore obtained the Choice I spoke of just now: But this bringing up of Causes from one Court to another, had brought to the Parliament of *Paris* all the Causes of *Normandy*, where the *Reformed* were very numerous, and the Catholicks themselves stuck not sometimes to beg their Intervention in their own Causes, when they were jealous of their Judges; insomuch that this Parliament losing much by that means, chose rather to agree to the creation of a Chamber, like that of *Paris*, than to see almost all the Law-Suits of its Jurisdiction brought to another. The *Reformed* found also some Advantage therein, because they were no longer obliged to travel out of their Province, and so far from their Friends; because also the Customs of *Paris* and *Normandy* were very different, and that the Charges and Delays were more troublesome at *Paris* than at *Rouen*. Besides, they were Gainers in that Bargain,

gain, by the three Offices of Judges created by the King in their behalf: But, for all this, that Parliament was not reconcil'd to the *Reformation*, and, as it was the most corrupted and venal Court in all France, so there was none where the *Reformed* were expos'd to greater Vexations and Injustice. However this Establishment was made but 15 or 16 Months after the *Edict*: Because it was long doubted whether the Clause concerning Offices, inserted in the *Edict* granted to the Marquess of *Villars*, permitted the Protestants to be sharers therein: But, upon the whole matter, it was concluded, That the King had not by this Clause deprived himself of his Right, and the Interest of the Parliament oblig'd him to declare that it was but provisional.

The sixth Demand was, For a free Admittance to all Offices of State, War, Justice, Policy, Treasury, and to all Commissions, Employments, Professions, Arts and Trades, without Danger of being excluded upon the account of Religion. It was directly against the Canon Law, which debars from all these Rights such as are not obedient to the *Roman Church*, and who are for that Reason call'd Hereticks; and it had been the Original of all the Oppositions made to the *Reformed*, during so many Years together; but it was of such great Consequence to them, that they would never desist from that Article; because, besides the Honour and Credit of Offices, which they would not have their Families to be depriv'd of, they saw well, that if that honourable Door was shut to the Protestants, such as had more Ambition than Piety, would soon bid adieu to their naked and barren Religion, and thereby bring the *Reformation* to a declining State. The greatest Opposition came from the Parliaments, who refused to admit them to the Places of the Law: But at last they obtain'd their Desire, and the King declared them capable of holding all sorts of Offices; whereby they thought they had gain'd a considerable Point, because that Honour being refused to Hereticks by the Canons, their being admitted to them was a Discharge from that odious and hateful Name. This Pretension extended much farther than the former, by which they only desired a certain Number of impartial Judges; but the latter aim'd at no less than to be made capable of diverse Offices which were supream in Cities and Towns, of Shrievalties, Mayoralties, Con-

The sixth Demand, to be admitted to Offices.

The extent of this Concession

1598. fulats, *Tabellionages; of Places of Attorney, of Recorder, of Bailiff; of Places in the Marshalsea, Admiralty, in the Table of Maible; of those of the Chamber of Accounts, of the Court of Aids, of the Courts of Elections; of those of Judge or Judge-Assistant in the inferior Jurisdictions, of Judge in chief in the *Court leets* of the Lords. They were also admitted by the same to the Places of Master of Requests, two whereof had been promised them *gratis*; and to those of Secretary to the King, which are none of the least importance, in respect of their Priviledges. They were already possess'd of some Governments and military Dignities, and several among them were even Counsellors of State. The same Article had also a very great extent in the Profession of Mechanick or Liberal Arts, and, in a Word, tended to a levelling of the Catholicks with the *Reformed*, by making the latter Civil Members of the State as well as they, and equal Sharers in the Distribution of Favours and Rewards. Yet in this important Matter the *Reformed* were highly Mistaken, when they contented themselves with a wide and general Declaration of their capableness of Offices, without solidly engaging the King that they should be really conferr'd upon them. In effect, to appease the Pope, who made as if he had been offended at it, they represented to him, That there was a vast difference between declaring one capable of a Place and bestowing it upon him; which perfidious Maxim the Event has shewn to be too true, since the *Reformed* have been so far from being admitted to high Places, or prefer'd to the greatest Dignities, according to their Merits, that they have been shifted with, even about the meanest Places, and the most inconsiderable Trades of the Kingdom. There were some among them, who foreseeing that some Time or other this general Declaration would be misinterpreted, mov'd in the Assembly for fixing, in each kind of Employments, a certain number of Places, that should be conferr'd upon the *Reformed*; and *du Plessis*, as I have said elsewhere, treating, some Years before, with *Villeroy*, had obtain'd the fourth part of all Places, and was even in hopes to obtain a third. But, besides, that such a general Declaration had something more plausible and flattering than the limitation of a certain Number of Places, because thereby the *Reformed* were more fully equal'd

to

*The Offices where-
in Notaries Pub-
lic, allow'd
by Authority, in-
gross and
register
private
Contracts

The Sham
of this
Concessi-
on.

to the Catholicks, it was more suitable to their different Circumstances in the Provinces of the Kingdom; for in some their Number was so great, that if they had been reduced to a fourth or a third part of the Offices, they had been very unjustly dealt with, and the Court had been under a necessity of calling Catholicks from the other Provinces, to bestow the remainder upon them. But in others they were so much inferior in number to the Catholicks, that there had not been enough among them to fill the third or the fourth part of the Places. Moreover, a special Regulation had been necessary almost for every Balliwick; insomuch that a general Clause was in a manner unavoidable. Add to this, That the Provinces where the *Reformed* were the strongest and most numerous, they did so little question their being able to engross all the Offices to themselves, for want of qualified Catholicks, that it was no difficult Matter, for the Court to satisfy them with that indefinite Declaration: And, indeed it was very advantageous, had it been observ'd *bona fide*; but as the same had been formerly eluded by *Henry III's* Artifices, so his Example has been follow'd since for above 40 Years, and this equitable Rule of Equality has been turn'd into a Sham by the Treachery of his Successors. True it is, that at the Time of the *Edict* the *Reformed* gain'd by it no small Credit, since the best part of all inferior Offices fell immediately upon them, and even the Catholick Lords were so well perswaded that they had a better Stock either of Ability or Honesty than others, that they stuck not to prefer them, before the Catholicks, to such Places as were in their Gift; moreover, Offices being venal in *France*, the *Reformed* bought them dearer than others; and, with the Help of that strong Machine, overcame all sorts of Oppositions, which happen'd especially for Places of a new creation, when he that bids most is sure to be the Buyer: But this happy State of the *Reformed* lasted only till after the taking of *Rochel*.

The seventh Demand was concerning the Securities, the principal whereof was, in their Judgment, the keeping of those Places which they had now in their Hands, and were numerous and strong enough to resist their Enemies in case of an Attack: But 'twas this very thing made the Difficulty; for the Court was very unwilling to leave so many Fortresses in the Hands of brave and bold Men, amongst whom there was a great number of war-

The 7th
Demand,
Securities.

like

1597. like and courageous Nobility, who had been permitted to unite together for their mutual Defence; but the *Reformed* were inflexible upon this Point, and would, by no means, hear of parting with what they had; for, first, the Experience of past Times made them afraid that the *Edict* might be us'd as a Pretence to disarm them, and that the Catholicks might break their Oath as soon as their Places of Refuge should be taken from them. Besides, they could not but know, that, according to the Policy suggested by the Court of *Rome* to all Princes who submit to the Pope, they keep Faith with none but such as they fear; and that therefore it might be kept to the *Reformed* no longer than the Danger of breaking it should last. 'Tis a Maxim no less general than true, *Since Conscience and Honesty have not been a sufficient Warrant for the Security of Treaties, that such as are concerned in the Observation of them, must make themselves formidable to such as would break the same, and make them sensible that they could not do it with impunity*: Therefore it was necessary for the *Reformed* to keep still some strong Garrisons, to stifle in the Catholicks Hearts the Desire of attempting their Ruin, by shewing them the frightful Prospect of an equal Danger on both sides; moreover, all the rest of the Kingdom was in Arms: All such as during the War had commanded, either under the King, or under the League, had some Place or other at their Devotion; and as there was no great likelihood of so soon disarming so many Men, who acted like petty Princes in their Government, so the *Reformed* had good reason to fear, that if they should lay down their Arms alone, they might soon be at the Discretion of their irreconcilable Persecutors. This same Article comprehended also many private Interests besides the general, because there was neither Lord nor Captain which had not some Place in the Guard, and no one was so disinterested to give up his own, to preserve that of his Companion. There was also as engaging an Interest which concern'd the common Cause, diverse Places had Catholick Governours that were not bigotted enough to their Religion to neglect their own Fortune, tho' it were advanc'd to the Prejudice of the Popish Cause; nor yet so well affected to the *Reformed* to embrace their Party without an evident Advantage. They plainly saw, that when a Peace should be establish'd in the Kingdom, their Places would become unuseful, their Garrisons broke,

and

and their Profits cease ; but concluded, that if the *Reformed* obtain'd the keeping of their Places, they needed only to change their Religion to preserve their own, as being the same Reason whereby others should possess them. The Memoirs of those Times give an account, That there were Men of this Character, who had promised to profess the *Reformed* Religion, but declar'd they would first see the State settl'd. 'Twas to favour these Conversions, which might increase and Strengthen their Party, as made them demand, That if any Governour of any Place embraced the *Reformed* Religion, his Place should be continued to him without any Innovation : And Examples may be seen in the Reign of *Lewis XIII.* of the Protection that the *Reformed* gave to those under such Circumstances : But the Council, desirous to hinder the multiplication of the Places of the *Reformed*, limited the Time in which they were to be at the disposal of the *Reformed*, to the end that they might be able to reckon up their strong Places.

This Article was very difficult to be resolv'd, because there were Disputes about the Number and Quality of these Places, the Strength of the Garrisons, the Nomination and Oath of the Governours, upon the Changing, in case of Death, about the placing of under Officers, the time of the Guard, and many other things which respected the Circumstances of this Affair. The *Reformed* chiefly declar'd, They desir'd that those Places that belonged to them might not exclude them from other Governments, whereto they might be chose, according to their Merits. The Council employed all their Art to evade these Pretensions of the *Reformed*, and, above all, to bring the Nomination of the Governours under the King's Power, to the end that such as were admitted might be greater Friends to the Court than to the contrary Party.

But to prevail with the *Reformed* to consent to this Proposition, it was requisite to oblige those that should be chosen by the King to take an Attestation from the Provincial Assembly, to the end that the Assembly might object against them, if they were suspicious Persons. The King likewise promised the *Reformed* to take their Advice when any Government should be vacant, that he might not chuse such Persons into those Places as would be
diss.

1598. disagreeable to them. In which Proceeding there was something very different from what happened on other occasions, where the People have any part in the disposing of Offices. Generally the Subjects nominate to the King such as they think fit, and he accepts or refuses them: But here the King names and the Subjects have a Liberty to refuse; wherefore the King sends back all those whom he chuses for the Attestation of the Assembly, obliged the Assembly, in case they refuse them their Testimony, to give their Reasons to the Council; to the end that by this necessity of giving an account of their Refusal, the Respect due to the Royal Nomination may be observed, and that the King might always appear Master and Arbitrator in the Affair. And upon the whole, the *Reformed* obtained a great part of what they desired, and had it not been for the Divisions among themselves, they might have gain'd much more: It was very happy for them that there was not in every Province a Governour, as indifferent to Religion, and as powerful as *Lefdiguieres* was in *Dauphine*. They would have disunited them, in treating with each separately, as they did with him who would never have his Garri- sons comprehended with the rest, under the same Conditions. He made Religion a pretext to keep his Places, but he would have no dependance on the Assembly, liking better to be sole Master in his own Province. The Court would have gained by it if every Governour had been able to have done the same, because by that means they would have ruined the Authority of General Councils: But none of them besides *Lefdiguieres* being in a condition of maintaining himself, all were obliged to unite for their mutual Security.

How they
were use-
ful to the
King. ;

But to return, these strong Places being held by the *Reformed*, was not so contrary to the Interests and Intentions of the King, as some would make us believe, and as he himself was even sometimes obliged to pretend. This Prince was not yet free from the perplexity wherein the uncertainty of the Succession, the Authority of the Nobility, and the Power of his own Officers had put him. The Seeds of those Conspiracies which had been raised against him and against the State, were rather hidden than quite stifled: And there was too much reason to fear that so many Men being corrupted by the Practices and Gold of the *Spaniards*,

niards might form such a Party as would give him a great deal of Trouble to destroy ; upon which he often complained, That there was none about him that prudence would permit him to confide in. On the other side, when he thought of the Affection that the *Reformed* had so seasonably shew'd towards him for so many Years together, he was satisfied there was amongst them such as were proved Friends, and from whom, in the greatest extremity he might promise himself all Assistance. It is true, at that time they were dissatisfied with his indifference towards them, and his delaying their Affairs, but he was certain he should always find them ready to lay down the last drop of their Blood for his Service, as soon as ever he should give them any Testimony of his former Confidence and Trust in them : And therefore he thought it a very important business to preserve them, and spoke to his Confidants of the Peace he had granted them, as a thing he had the most ardently wish'd for, and which might be very serviceable to him in his greatest Undertakings. He lookt upon the *Reformed* as his Party, and their strong Places as his own : He knew very well, that whatsoever Intrigues the *Spaniards* might carry on with the turbulent Spirits of the Court, yet that part of the State which was held by the *Reformed* could not be taken from him, and they might be serviceable even in keeping others in their Duty. Indeed there were some persons in this Party that were suspected by him, and that he would have been very glad to have had at his discretion, that he might have been able to have unhinged those Cabals whereof he thought these Persons the Ring-leaders : But he had seen by the Negotiation of the *Edit* that this pretended Faction was not always the strongest, and that those that were the most difficultly pleased, had, nevertheless, sometimes yielded upon the Necessity of his Affairs : And, upon the whole matter, he was not ignorant that he had the infallible means of re-uniting them to himself, whenever he would ; and that he might depend as much upon them as on the rest of the *Reformed*, as soon as by the state of Affairs his Interest would permit him to rejoyne himself to their Party : He had only a Desire of having a Power of naming the Governours of their Towns, to the end that he might place such in them who were as much engag'd to his Fortune as to their Religion,

1598. and who by consequence should depend more upon him than on the Councils or political Assemblies : But to procure their Consent to this Article, he must find out an Expedient, which might in some sort content them, because they were afraid that by this means their Places might fall into the Hands of some treacherous Persons. This same Reflection may be seen in the Reasons why the King suffer'd so many Places to be held by the *Reformed*, in the Memoirs of those Times, and in the Writings of those who have endeavour'd to justify the War that *Lewis XIII* made against the *Reformed*, under the pretext of regaining the Places of Security. This is one of their Reasons, That since the King had not consented to leave them wholly to them, but only under their Names to keep these Places for himself, against the secret Factions which might trouble the State ; it was therefore no longer just to suffer them in their Possession after these Factions were extinct. We have already seen how dissatisfied the Marquess *d'O* was, because the King had put as many Places as he could into the Hands of the *Reformed* ; and that, for this Reason, he had rather see a Place taken by a *Spaniard* than kept by an *Huguenot*.

The pay-
ment of
the Garri-
sons.

But there was, besides, a great difficulty about paying those Sums that were necessary for the maintaining of the Garrisons, Fortifications and the Walls of their Towns : There was nothing the Council was more difficult to part with than Money, and the Catholics were much offended to see so great Sums paid by the King to the *Hereticks*, to maintain such Fortresses as rendred them very formidable ; nevertheless it could not be refused to Men who could say, That the like had been done for the Leaguers, the greatest part whereof had Pensions, or their Garrisons paid them out of the King's Coffers : The Contestation therefore was reduced to the means how to save the King's Money, and the *Reformed* were contented with so little, that it can hardly be believ'd that all their Garrisons could be paid with so inconsiderable a Sum : And, in effect, there were some of the Leaguers to whom they had given or promised more Money than they had granted to the *Reformed* for the maintenance of their Towns for many Years together. When all was thus settled, a new Dispute began upon the manner whereby they should assure the *Reformed* of the Payment of the promised Sums : They should have been very glad

glad if they might have been permitted to have stopp'd the King's Taxes at the respective Treasuries, rather than to accept of such Assignments as they fear'd would be both inconvenient and uncertain: But they judg'd it not handsome to let the King know they so much distrust'd his Word, and therefore they were forc'd to be contented with the Promise he gave them of convenient and certain Assignments. There were some private persons also, who having neither Commands in these Places or in the Souldiery, made particular Requests, some of Arrearages of Pensions, others of some Gift to establish their Affairs; and, so others again, for some Gratification for their past Services, which had not yet been acknowledged: And thus they were all made under different Pretensions; but the whole of their Demands amounted to so small a matter, that altogether it would scarcely equal the least Recompence that the Leaguers had obtained.

Gifts to
private
Persons.

When all things were agreed on, there still remain'd a general difficulty, concerning the manner wherein those Concessions should be publish'd; an *Edict* appeared the most Authentick Security to the *Reformed*, but there were so many Obstacles, so many Fears of offending the Catholicks, and of giving any Pretence to the Disaffected of beginning new Disturbances, and such Hopes given to the Churches of mending their Conditions with the Times; That, in fine, they agreed upon several Forms, under which diverse Concessions should be granted, as had been done on other occasions. First, Therefore they gave an *Edict*, which contain'd to the number of 92 general Articles, by which the Exercise of the *Reformed* Religion was authorized in many Places, under such and such Conditions. The *Reformed* were admitted to all States and Offices; the administration of Justice was regulated by the setting up of *Chambers Miparties*; and many other things were commanded, conformably to what had been practis'd in the *Edicts* of the same nature; a Pardon for whatsoever might be laid to the Charge of the *Reformed*, was express'd at full length; all manner of *Edicts*, Letters or Articles of the preceeding Times, that were contrary to this New *Edict*, were expressly abrogated by it: And for the Security of this, the King commanded all his Officers to take an Oath to observe it with Care and Fidelity; and taking all the Inhabitants of the Towns

Contesta-
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1598. and other Places into his Protection, he put them under the care of each other, to prevent Seditions and Violences.

To the *Edict* were added secret or particular Heads, to the number of 56, among which there was many of great importance, which well deserv'd to have been inserted into the Body of the *Edict*; but they contented themselves with placing them in this Appendix, because it was address'd to the Parliaments as the same *Edict*, and many of them verifi'd it. Such were the Articles which exempted the *Reformed* in respect of many things that belong'd to the Worship of the Catholicks, the Privileges of the Ministers, the exercise of the Discipline of the *Reformed*, with the holding of their Consistories, their Colloquies and Synods, the Education of Children, the Liberty of Marriages in such degrees wherein the Catholicks are obliged to procure Dispensations, the observations of Fasting and Holidays, the nullity of extorted Abjurations, and many others the like; they forgot not the Confirmation of the Articles granted to the Heads of the League, who had submitted to the Government. The Shiftings made use of in our Time, upon many of these Articles, sufficiently shew how needful it was that general Articles should be granted thereon: But what seems most singular in this Affair, is, that there were in these secret Articles some Passages which formally regard-ed only what was past, or else the Time of the *Edict* it self, that nevertheless were executed from the time it was published until its Revocation, of calling them into Question, such were the Articles which concerned Marriage in such a degree of Affinity as the Catholicks were not permitted without a Dispensation. This, in a manner, made some amends for certain Articles of the *Edict* that had never been put in execution, which permitted the *Reformed* freely to live in all places of the Kingdom. There were all a-long many Towns wherein the *Reformed* could never appear with safety, so far were they from living without Disturbance in them. But a particular Remark may be here made upon *Liberty of Conscience*; The *Edict* had aimed expressly to establish it, and yet there was no formal Article in it which gave it to all the *French*, but it was so plainly presupposed by the *Edict*, and by that Spirit of Liberty which they always so highly pretended to, even to the fancying that *France* was the only Kingdom in the World

World where Freedom had the least interruption, that all the King's Subjects were suffered to enjoy it for fourscore Years, without any Person's ever being disturbed about it : And indeed they durst not violate it, until they had in many respects ruin'd the *Edict* in its most important Concessions.

The rest of the things that could not be comprehended in the *Edict*, nor in the particular Articles, were Promises by private Patents, wherewith the *Reformed* were not easily satisfied, because these sorts of Letters are not like a Law, but only continue at the King's Pleasure, who revokes them when he has a Mind to it : But as these Grants were the nicest, and such as the Catholicks were the least pleased with, so they were under a necessity of depending upon the King's good Will, and allowing such Excuses as were taken from the State of his Affairs, which would not permit him to do any more. There were Three Patents of this nature : The first, which was dated the third of *April*, granted a Sum of Forty five thousand Crowns for the Payment of the Ministers ; it was assigned upon several provincial Exchequers, for the Conveniency of its Distribution, payable quarterly in ready Mony, with Precautions that were very favourable for the Payment, and a Dispensation given to the receiver, appointed either by the King or the *Reformed*, by which he was freed from giving an Account in any Court. As the Court durst not declare openly that this Sum was designed to maintain the Ministers, lest the Catholicks should murmur to see part of the King's Revenue employed in the Preservation of *Heresy*, so they were obliged to put in some Clause which might secure it from giving them any Scandal. *Dupleffis* having inserted an Article on this Subject, among those which had been agreed upon at *Mants*, after the King's turning Papist had obtained that the promised Sum should be paid under the Name of the Lady *Catherine*, because she might receive greater Gratifications from the King her Brother, without its being suspected by any one : But she could not live always, and therefore some pretext must be thought on which might serve them at all times : So that it was declared in the Patent that this Sum was given to the *Reformed*, to be employed in their secret concerns, which his Majesty would have neither specified nor declared.

1598. The Second Patent concern'd the Places of Security : But it contain'd also many other Passages, which explained several things that the Edict seem'd to leave undetermined. It was dated the thirtieth of *April* at *Nants*; and the King declares there, in the manner of a Preface, the Motives that induced him to grant them the keeping of these Fortresses : *viz.* That the *Reformed* thought it necessary, for the Liberty of their Consciences, and Security of their Persons and Estates; and that his Majesty was assured of their Fidelity, and of their sincere Affection to his Service. To which he added in general Terms many other important Considerations for the Advantage and Peace of the State. After which there followed Twenty four Articles, the first of which permitted them for eight Years, under the Authority of his Majesty, to keep all those Fortresses, Towns and Castles which they had held until the End of *August* 1598. wherein Garrisons were to be maintained according to the Settlement made in the Council for it; the eight Years were to be reckoned from the Time the Edict was published in all the Parliaments. The second promised, That nothing should be innovated in any of the *Reformed* Towns, where there was no Garrison. The third excepted some Places which they should not keep under the Title of Security; and that even for the Time to come, if the King should place any Governour of the *Reformed* Religion therein, they should draw no Consequence from it. These Towns were *Vendome*, *Pontorson*, *Aubenas* and its Citadel. He commanded also that *Chavigni*, which belonged to the Bishop of *Poitiers*, should be restored to him, and the Fortifications thereof rased; but by one of the secret Articles of the *Edict* the Exercise of their Religion was formally permitted continuing there. The fourth gave them the sum of One hundred and four-score thousand Crowns for the maintaining of their Towns and Payment of their Garrisons. The fifth excepted the Places in *Dauphiny*, of which a particular State was promised to be set up by it self: *Lefdiguiers* liking better to defend them on his own account, than for the common Cause, and the Court, favoured this Division, to weaken a Party, the uniting of whose Members would render it redoubtable. The sixth promised good Assignments, and that the Money thereof should not be diverted to other uses.

uses. The seventh promised, That the *Reformed* should be called, when the state of the Places should be settled, to take their Advice, and hear their Remonstrances, and afterwards to do every thing as much to their Liking as possible. The same Promise was made to *Lesdiguiers* for *Dauphiny*. The eighth permitted, That in case any Change should happen in their Places, either by the King's Pleasure, or through the Desire of the *Reformed* themselves, they should act there in the same manner as when the former State was settled; that is, that the *Reformed* were to be called in order, to give their Advice and Remonstrances. The ninth assured them, That if by Death any of these Governments became vacant, during the eight Years, none but the *Reformed* should be admitted, wholike wise must be obliged to take an Attestation of the Assembly which belonged to that Province the Place was situated in: And added, That if the Assembly should refuse their Attestation, then the Cause should be heard before the King. The tenth provided, That after the eight Years were passed, although the King was quitted of his Promise, he should nevertheless continue those in their Governments that were then in possession, in such Places as he thought good still to keep a Garrison. The eleventh declared, That the keeping of these Places should not exclude the *Reformed* from other Governments, whereto they might be received, indifferently with others, according to their Merits: But that such Places as were given them upon this account should not, nevertheless, be reckoned among their Places of Security. The twelfth permitted the keeping of Magazines, Ammunition, Powder, Cannons, &c. to those to whom the *Reformed* had given them, and to take a Commission from the Master of the Ordnance and from the Commissary General of Provisions, which should be delivered them *gratis*, under certain Conditions. The thirteenth, provided for the Payment of these Commissioners out of the Hundred and fourscore thousand Crowns, and not to charge the King's Exchequer with it. The fourteenth declared, That the King had caused the Temple of *Mets* to be removed, and granted Letters Patents to the Inhabitants thereof, which permitted them to dispose of the Materials; and promised them to give them another Place within the Walls to perform their Exercise

in;

1598. in; for which Reason this was not necessary to be inserted in the *Edict*. The fifteenth assured the *Reformed* Lords that might happen to reside at Court, that they should not be questioned for what they did in their Houses with their Families only, and their Gates shut, without they sung Psalms with a loud Voice, or gave any reason to suppose there was a Publick Exercise. The sixteenth had a relation to the fourteenth of the *Edict*, permitting them to continue the exercise in such Places where it was publickly allowed, if the Court (who made it cease by its Residence) continued above three Days there. The seventeenth relating to the same, declared, That because of the present state of his Majesty's Affairs, Matters concerning Religion should remain in the same condition they were in *Bresse*, *Barcelona*, and the Country on that side the Hills, but that when they should be reduced to Obedience, they should be treated like the rest of the King's Subjects, notwithstanding what was mentioned thereof in the *Edict*. The eighteenth granted Provisions *gratis* to those that should be put into the place of Presidents, Counsellors, and Deputies of Attorney and Solicitor General, to serve the first Time in the *Chambers Miparties*. The nineteenth promised *gratis* the Places of Judges to those Substitutes, in the Parliaments of *Toulouse* and *Bordeaux*, if it happened that Chambers were incorporated with them. The twentieth declared *Francis Pithou* substitute to the Procurer General in the Parliament of *Paris*, and after him assured the Charge to some of the *Reformed*. The one and twentieth promised the *Reformed* two Places of Masters of Requests, when they should be void by death, at the rate of its Value; and in the mean while two such Places should quarterly be given them, who should report their Affairs.

The two and twentieth permitted the Deputies of the Assembly of *Chattilleraud*, to leave ten of their Members at *Saumur*, until the *Edict* was confirmed in the Parliament of *Paris*, altho by the *Edict* they were commanded to depart: This was to reduce the Assembly to the Number which was set up by that of *S. Foy*; the twenty third took from these ten Deputies the Power of making any new Demands, and forbad them meddling with any thing, except the soliciting for the Confirmation of the *Edict*, and sending Commissioners into the Provinces to see it executed.

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The twenty fourth was the most important of all ; the King, in that, gave his Word and Faith for the Security of the Execution of the whole, declaring that all that was contained in the Patent should be of the same Force as if it had been comprized by an Edict, confirmed in the Court of Parliament ; *Being*, he said, *those of the said Religion, to comply with what was for his Interest, were contented not to press him, as the state of his Affairs was, to put this Grant in a more authentick Form, trusting in the Word and Goodness of the King, that they should entirely enjoy it :* Upon which account he had commanded all necessary Expedition to be made. Thus, as the private Articles were a kind of Instruction for the Executors of the *Edict*, wherein the King explained many things; that the general Articles had left obscure and undecided ; so we may say also, That this Patent served for a kind of a *Salvo* to certain Articles of the *Edict* that the Times would not permit to be put in more favourable Terms, although the Intention of the King was not contrary to it : And above all, he justified the *Reformed* from the Reproach of having made any Advantage of the Conjunction of Affairs, in forcing him to grant them what they pleased, since he declared, That they were contented with the King's Word upon so many important things : because the state of his Affairs would not permit him to give better Assurances.

The third Patent contained a distribution of three and twenty thousand Crowns, to several private Persons, to some for one time, to others for two Years, to some for four, and to others again for eight Years : To some by way of Gratification, and to others as Arrears for past Services. The Historian *D'Aubigne*, one of those that they esteemed at Court too zealous for their Religion, who thought himself ill-requited for his Services, by this means extorted a moderate Sum for the Arrears of a Pension that had been some time detained from him. Thus all the personal Favours that the King granted to the *Reformed*, amounted to a very small matter ; by which it appeared, that private Interest was not the Motive, as they declared in all their Requests. All the Sums amounted not to Two hundred and fifty thousand Crowns : And even at the end of eight Years the whole was reduced to less than a fifth part, which they gave to the *Reformed*,

1598. in compensation for the Tenth, that they were obliged to pay to the Clergy their Persecutors.

It seems not improper here to speak a Word or two of the Places that the *Reformed* had in their Keeping, to the end that we may see what condition they were in, as to the Strength of their Party, at the time the *Edict* was made. There were two sorts of Towns comprehended under the Name of *Towns of Security*, one of which had neither Governour nor Garrison, but defended it self: Such were *Rochel*, *Montaubon*, *Nismes*, and some others. They had Priviledges so great, that they were almost free; and *Rochel*, above the rest had had such Treaties with the *Kings of France* as had made them very near independent, tho' indeed all was done there in the King's Name, yet each Place had its Magistrates which had the sole Administration of the Government. These Towns were the firmest to the Common Cause, because they had two Priviledges to defend, their Religion and their Liberty. This kind of Independence must not be imputed to the Doctrine of the *Reformed*, since there were Catholick Towns which had as much Liberty: But the Court made Religion a pretext to destroy them first, and by the means of their Ruin found a way to oppress the rest, who have all now submitted to the Yoke.

There were other Places who had both Garrisons and Governours, some of which belonged to particular Lords, who disposed of Matters therein, as they pleased: The rest were governed by great Men, that had made themselves Masters of them during the War; or else by such as the King, whilst he was their Protector, had placed therein, to defend them. Some of these were properly Places of Security, others were call'd Towns or Places of *Marriage*, because they had no Garrison of their own, but were comprised under the Name of more important neighbouring Places; and that their Garrison was a Detachment from those of the principal Place whereon they depended: Many of these Places of *Marriage* were only simple Castles belonging to Protestant Gentlemen, some of which had not above six or seven Men in a Garrison; but they afterwards disputed them with the *Reformed*, and pretended that these Places of *Marriage* were not comprehended in the number of those that the King permitted them to keep.

The

The Payment of the Soldiers (without speaking of *Dauphine*, 1598. which had its Affairs separate, and contained eleven Places) consisted of two States, the one of which was publick and the other private, because they found it necessary to conceal part of their Strength and the good Will of the King, for fear of offending the Catholics. The least Sum was employed upon the Publick State, and the rest was set down in the other, which was called the little State. In respect to the first they followed the accustomed Order for the Payment of the Garisons, furnishing of Rolls of Acquittances, &c. and they were paid by the extraordinary Treasurer of War; but the other was paid with less, upon simple Orders obtained from the respective provincial Exchequers.

The manner of Payment.

Thus ended the long Civil War, whereof Religion was made the Pretence. The *Reformed* began to take Breath, and the Minds of the People to be a little settled again. *La Trimouille* by his inflexibility incur'd the Hatred of the King, but gained the Esteem and Confidence of his own Party: The Court endeavoured all ways possible to draw him from the common Cause, but nothing could work upon him; to that end the President *de Thou* offered him incredible Advantages; but he answered very generously, Whatsoever they could do for him would avail nothing, whilst the Requests of the *Reformed* were unanswered; but if they would grant them the Security of their Consciences and Lives, they might hang him up at the Gate of the Assembly, and that no Disturbance would come upon it. They also endeavoured to stir him up with Emulation and Jealousy, when the Duke *de Bouillon* came to the Assembly, where *La Trimouille* being youngest, gave him the first Place that he had held for two Years together: But he was not concerned for this Point of Honour, which would have shaken a Soul less Noble than his. He gave way without any regret, and maintained himself unto the end with an equal Courage. There were many other great Men which seconded him; the Minister *Chamier* was one of the most undaunted; and, because of that, he became as odious to the Court, as he was considerable to the Churches. There are some Authors among the *Reformed* who affirm, That the King's

The Conclusion.

Ava-

1598. Avarice was the Reason why the Division was less in the Assembly than it might have been, if the King had been willing to buy its Members at as dear a rate as he had bought the Leaguers. But that many continued firm to the Common Cause, because there was no Advantage in abandoning it. Indeed *Aubigny*, one of these Authors, might speak by Experience, he was not rich, and he was very willing to make his Fortune ; but they did not love him at Court, because he was too free and satyrical in his Discourses, and disturbed them with the Reproaches of his Services. Tho' it was not really so much from the King's Avarice as his Wisdom and good Intentions for the Preservation of the *Reformed*, he chose rather to grant Favours to them in general, whom he had some reason to love, than to raise the Fortune of some private Persons, which he thought he might have cause to complain of.

The End of the Fifth Book.

T H E

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
Edict of NANTS.

B O O K V I.

The Contents of the 6th. Book.

THE Sentiment of the Reformed in the Provinces upon the Edict. Artifices to gain them, at a Synod at Mompellier. The Number and Condition of the Churches. What it is that Forms a Church. Uniting of many Churches into one. Reasons why they are contented with the Edict obtain'd. Prospects of Re-union. The Religion of Lesdiguiers. A Treatise of the Eucharist. The Consequences of its Publication, Three Important Negotiations with the Pope. 1. A Dissolution of the King's Marriage. 2. The Re-establishment of the Jesuits, their Confidence and their Credit; the Passion of the Monks against the King. The Persecution

in Piedmont, and in the Marquisate of Saluces, the Kings Reasons for favouring the Jesuits Opposition. Marriage of Madam, her Constancy, the Unkindness of the King unto her. The difficulties on the Popes side, and their Reasons. The King goes on without staying for a Dispensation. The Pope is Offended thereat, and persists in his Refusal, the Consequence of this Negotiation until the Death of the Princess. The Advantages the Reformed drew from her Perseverance. Difficulties upon the Examination of the Edict. An Assembly of the Clergy; their Propositions upon the Edict. The Disgust of some Prelates. The Moderation of the Nuncio. Contradictions of the Parliament. The Equity of the Duke of Mayenne. The Resolution of the King. The withdrawing of the Reformed from the Court upon many Articles. Prejudices of the Clergy. The Chambre of the Edict at Rouën. The Mipartie Chambre in Guienne. The Examination of the Edict after which the Pope makes great Complaints to stop the Mouth of the Spaniards. The Answers of Cardinal de Joyeuse and Cardinal D'Ossat, agreeable to the Inclination of the Pope. An Edict for the Principality of Bearn, which is Received. Complaints of the Alterations made in the Edict. Article concerning Burials. Particular demands. Precedency pretended by the Catholick Officers, who compos'd the * Chambres Miparties, over the Reformed. Verbal demand upon Occasion of the Chappels in Gentlemens Houses. Answers to those Papers. Article concerning Church-Yards. Precedency preserv'd to the Ancient President. Martha Brosier counterfeiting her self to be Possess'd. The Consequence of that Comedy both within and out of the Kingdom. The Kings Marriage dissolv'd. The Decree of the Parliament of Bretagne upon the Oath referr'd by one of the Reformed to a Catholick. La Trimouille made a Peer of France the Pope grumbles, and d'Ossat appeases him. He takes little Notice of Ronis Advancement. Commissioners to put the Edict in Execution, and their Power. General Observations upon the Edict. Reproaches of the Catholicks cast upon the Reformed, Answer'd.

* *Chambre Mipartie* is a Court of Justice, Erected in divers good Towns of France, in favour of, and for the righting them of the Religion, one half of the Judges being of the Reformed, the other Papists.

THE Edict being then at length Decreed in this manner, nevertheless did not all of a sudden allay the general Murmurs : And when the News was carry'd into the Provinces, several people of Nice and Difficult Palates found that there were many things altogether omitted, others ill-explain'd, others inconvenient, and with which the *Reformed* had less Reason to be contented then the *Catholics*. The delay of the Verification put 'em to a great deal of trouble, and the Reputation of the Duke of *Beuillon*, who had taken upon him to engage 'em to Patience in this particular was not sufficient to stop the Mouths of all the World. But the Court had then recourse to little Artifices to mollifie their minds by gentle means, and bring 'em to that submission which she desir'd. She had her Confidants in all places, who, according to the Genius of those people with whom they discours'd, knew how to vary their Arguments and their Remonstrances. Sometimes they put a Value upon the King's private Promises, who durst go no farther for fear of Offending the *Catholics*, and returning their Arms into the Hands of the *Leaguers* ; but who had giv'n his Word to do so many things for the *Reformed* for the future ; which was that which far exceeded all they had demanded, and which was contain'd most favourable in the Edict. Sometimes the Prince himself was represented as altogether of the Reformed Religion in his Heart, Weeping when he spoke of the Churches, and causing his usual Prayers to be said before him in private ; and that, perhaps, was no Invention altogether. Moreover, he had every day in his Mouth all the passages of Scripture, which all the *Reformed* well knew how to apply to all the accidents of Life : And tho' that all the outward Actions of his Devotion were Catholic, yet his private Meditations and Retirements had still sometimes a relish of the Reformed Religion. So that, both at Court and at *Rome*, they were still afraid, or made a shew of being in fear, that he was only turn'd Catholic for the sake of the Crown, but that he was still *Reformed* in his Will and Affection. There were a great Number of the *Reformed* who were heartily of this Opinion; and who pitied the constraint, wherein, as it seem'd to them,

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1598. the King was oblig'd to live. Nor was it a difficult thing to win over those who were of this Opinion, and to make 'em sit down contented with the present, in the midst of Extraordinary future Expectations: So much the rather because that almost all the *Reformed* were Anticipated with a full perswasion that their Religion would in a short time Triumph over the Tricks and Artifices of the Roman See.

On the other side, to frighten those that were timorous of themselves, they aggravated the Puissance and Prosperity of the King, who began to make himself formidable both at home and abroad, and who being in a condition to force Respect from Foreigners was the more able to constrain Obedience from his own Subjects. In short, they who by their Intrigues had brought *France* within one Ace almost of her Ruin, saw with astonishment, that the same Prince, whom they had so rudely handled liv'd peaceable in his Dominions, in a Capacity to trouble those in his turn that had so long and so Maliciously turmoil'd him with incessant Vexations, and as it were of a sudden become the Terrour of one part of *Europe*, and the Protector of the other. But the most conceal'd of all the Court Artifices was to give those some little Trouble who spake too loudly in the Provinces. They were sent for to Court, under various pretences, either of hard Words which they had let fall, or of some bold Actions which they had over boldly committed, or of too violent Councils which they were accus'd of having given. But when they had 'em in their Clutches, instead of treating 'em with severity, which they had put 'em in some fear of at home, they lull'd 'em with a thousand Caresses; loaded 'em with praises and promises; and causing 'em to be managed by persons who understood what they were to say, sent 'em home somewhat Tam'd and Mollify'd, and ready to believe themselves and perswade others, that the best course they could take, was to comply with the King's pleasure.

A Synod at
Mompel-
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The number
of the State
of the Church.

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In the mean time the *Reformed* Assembled a National Synod at *Mompelien*; where their principal business was to draw up a State of the Churches. Every Province brought thither a List of such as were already Erected within their Jurisdictions; and it was found that they amounted altogether to seven hundred and

1598.

and sixty. Upon which it behooves us to observe in the first place, that while it was uncertain what extent the King would allow to Liberty of Exercise, there were many places whose Franchises were confounded one with another, and which were intermixt with those whose Priviledges were more immediate and uncontroulable, to the End they might have the fewer disputes with the Catholicks. But when the Edict had Regulated the Foundations upon which the Right of continuing Free Exercise was to be established, they began to unpester those confus'd Rights, and to separate several Places into distinct Churches, which had been a long time uncertain what would become of their Pretensions. Thus the King having consented that such places where Free Exercise had been several times performed during the year 1596. should be preserv'd for the future, those places, which had been under uncertainty till then, betook themselves to a New Form after that Concession; and Churches were Erected Correspondent to the Models in Government of those of which they had been long in Possession. But in regard the Edict was not concluded that Year, they made New demands the year following, and obtain'd that the same Right of Free Exercise should be preserv'd where it had been several times perform'd in that New Year till the Month of *August*. A Term which the King limited for New Possessions, that they might not multiply every day. So that the Places which had acquir'd this New Right could not take upon 'em any Regulated Form, till they knew what could be obtain'd of the King upon this New pretention. Moreover there were several places where Free Exercise ought to have been allowed according to preceding Edicts; but where it had been left off for several Reasons; either the Opposition of the Catholics, or the Neighbourhood of the Troops of the League, or other Inconveniences which the Reformed there suffer'd. It was requisite therefore, in resuming the Possession of those Places, to set up such Churches as had a priviledge to Assemble there, and whom those Obstacles had disperfed. These were the different places where the Provincial Synods reported to the National, that they had set up Churches; and there were yet several others, the Settlement of which was contested; nor could the Disputes be determin'd

1598. min'd till after the Judgment of the Commissioners which the King sent into the Provinces to put the Edict in Execution.

This may serve for an Answer to the Brabbles and Wranglings rais'd in these latter years, as to the Number of the Churches above 760. or as to what concern'd others which did not appear to have taken upon 'em the Form of Churches till after the Conclusion of the Edict. Nor was it for want of Right that those Churches had not been set up, but because their Right remaining undetermin'd, and in suspense till August 1597. they were unwilling to draw together an Assembly of people, which they were not assur'd they were able to maintain there. For they were not look'd upon as Establish'd, till they had acquir'd a Right by the New Concession, or by the Commissioners who remov'd the Difficulties. In the second place, by what the Synod calls forming a Church, is not to be meant the settling an Exercise in a place where it never was before; or the receiving a Minister by Imposition of Hands, or appointing a Consistory, of which there is not the least shadow formerly. But it is the rendring that perpetual and customary, which was only provisional and by Intervals; the assigning a peculiar and standing Minister to the place, which before was only serv'd occasionally; the subjecting the Elders to a Regular Discipline; the separating the Families into Quarters, under the Jurisdiction of an Elder, who is to take care of that business; the declaring to what Classis or Colloquy the Church belongs; and putting it into the Number, among the rest of the Province. Things formerly accusom'd to be regulated *Viva voce*, and to be put in practise without any other Law, than the Conformity of Custom receiv'd in the Churches of the same Synod; which is the Reason that the Acts of these Establishments are very rarely mention'd in Writing. In the third place it is to be observ'd, that under the Name of one Church, they comprehended two, three or more places where Free Exercise was allowed according to the Edict; but for their Reciprocal Convenience put themselves under the pastoral Charge of one Shepherd, who divided the Officiating his Duty among 'em according to the private agreement. These different Places which they call'd *Quarters*, or *Annexes*, were United, Separated, Clos'd, and divided

Forming a
Church
what it is.

Several
Churches
United in
to one.

vided, as the Synods pleas'd, who as they saw convenient, of several Churches made one; or of one, several; which might probably sometimes augment the Number of the Places of Exercise; tho' there were nothing of Usurpation in the Excess of the usual or prefix'd Number. Nevertheless, these Truths which ought to be beyond all dispute, by reason they are so evidently demonstrable, have been look'd upon in our days, as Unjust and Chimerical pretensions.

But to return to the Synod, there were some Reflexions made among 'em, what should oblige the General Assembly to depart from the Pretensions of the Churches, to content themselves with the Edict as they had obtain'd it. They were offended, as it was but just, that the Members of the Assembly had been long at variance among themselves: But it was more easie to declaim against the Disease, then procure a Remedy: And when the Mischief is incurable, the discovery of the Cause adds little to the Cure of the Distemper. There was also some Discourse in the Synod of Erecting of Schools and Colledges of Divinity in several Places; several Regulations also were under Debate, for the preservation of the Churches, and for bringing them under an exacter Discipline. Nor were they less employ'd about Projects for a Reunion with the Roman Church, with which the Kingdom was fill'd. For they had been very earnest for the publishing several Pieces of that Nature, which were pleasing enough to the Catholics, who were of Opinion, that an Accomodation could not choose but be always to their Advantage. But the *Reformed* were as much scandaliz'd at it, for the same Reason, and look'd upon all those Writings as Prevarications which betray'd the Cause of Truth, and only tended to disguise the Errors of the Roman Church, to render 'em less Odious. Foreign Protestants also were no less Offended at 'em than others, and made their Complaints to the Synod. Which Condemn'd some Books that went under that Character, and Order'd others to be Examin'd, that were no less suspected. But this was all to no purpose; and the Itch of Re-union lasted till the Revocation of the Act; at which time also the Projects for an Accommodation flew about every where.

*Cause of
contenting
themselves
with the
Edict as
it was ob-
tain'd.*

1598.

There was likewise one particular Act that was discours'd of in that Assembly. The Province of *Languedoc* had Rais'd a Fund of 17760 Crowns, which was sent to *Geneva*, there to be put out to Use, and the Revenue to be employ'd for the Maintenance of Resolvers of Cases. *Lesdiguieres*, who minded nothing so much as to take of all sides, seiz'd upon this same Money, under pretence that it had been Rais'd contrary to Law, and without the Kings permission, and that it could not be sent out of the Kingdom; and that he might have some specious Right to detain it, he begg'd it of the King, Who in regard he came so easily by it, made no great difficulty to give it him, without ever troubling himself the to consider what Complaints the Reformed might make, leaving it to *Lesdiguieres* to defend himself against them, as well as he could. And indeed Commissioners were sent to him to recover the Money out of his Hands, who lay'd before him the Injustice of the Act, and put it hard upon his Conscience, as being of the Reformed Religion; but that was not his *sensible Part*; so that after many years and several Importunities they had much ado to get him restore some part. By this it may be judg'd, that 'twas not his Conscience that retain'd him in the Profession of the Reformed Religion; and the next year he did many things which would have clear'd the Suspicion, but that he was aham'd to do 'em publickly. For the Jesuit *Cotton*, so Famous afterwards in *France*, being then at *Grenoble*, *Lesdiguieres* enter'd into a strict Alliance with him; but for fear of rendring himself suspected to the Ministers, he built a Back Gallery, by which the Father might be brought to his Apartment, without being perceiv'd by any but those that were privy to the Secret: By which means the Jesuits and He were frequent in Conferences. *Lesdiguieres's* Daughter, of the same Religion as her Father, had the same kindneses for the Jesuit, and went much farther then her Father. For she Abjur'd the Doctrine of the Reformed, while *Cotton* held her Hands in his, and afterwards privately gave her the Communion; and every year sent her a Priest for the same purpose, till time and her Father should permit her to declare her self. During this Interval, the Jesuit was not so tender Conscienc'd, but that he gave her leave to make outward Profession, and Repair to all the publick Exercises, of the Reformed Religion;

Lesdiguieres's Religion.

Religion ; and perhaps it might be found that the Communicated on both sides, if her Life were more narrowly Examined : Such is the Religion of the Jesuits. For according to their Maxims, Hypocrisie and Prophaness are no Obstacles but that people may be truly Pious and Devout at the same time. As to what remains, in this Synod it was, that the first distribution was made of Mony granted in Lieu of Tithes ; and there was a Division of a hundred and thirty thousand Livres among the Churches.

1598.

Thus the *Reformed* were very diligent to make their Advantage of the Edict, before it was fully brought to perfection, in regard it was not as yet verify'd. For it was agreed at the importunity of the Legat, that they would stay till he was gone before they publish'd it. This delay put back the Business so far, that the *Reformed* were impatient ; and tho' the Marshal de Bouillon took upon him to make all whole again at the Assembly of *Chatelleraud* ; yet he could not be every where to give her Reasons to the mistrustful, nor could his Reputation stop the Mouths of all Men. In the mean time there happen'd one thing which made a great Noise, and which was attended with tedious and unlucky Consequences. *Du Plessis* publish'd a Book in *July*, upon the Eucharist. The Pope was therein very cursorily handled, as being call'd by the Name of *Antichrist* : And the Church of *Rome* had seen very few Books set forth by her Adversaries, where there had been less kindness shew'd to her Errors. *Du Plessis* had put his Name and all his Titles in the first Page, and among the rest, that of Counsellor of State. The Name of the Author, (who was the Man of his time that had the most Learning and Solidity, and wrote the best, tho' his Style favour'd too much of the Latin Phrase) and the Dignity of the Subject, caus'd the Work to be soon perus'd by the Curious. The Noise of it reach'd *Rome*, and the Pope complain'd more especially, because of the Title of Counsellor of State which the Author had taken upon him ; for that it seem'd as if the Affront had Issu'd from the Bosom of the Counsel it self, since it was given by one of the Members of it ; and as if the King had had a share in giving the Injury, since it came from one of his intimate Confidants. The King himself was Offend-

*Treatise of
the Eucha-
rist.*

*Consequen-
ces of the
publishing
of it.*

1598. ed at it, fearing least the Pope, being exasperated by the Affront, should delay the Dissolution of his Marriage, which was then seriously in Agitation. For that Reason he testify'd his Resentment; and it was the beginning of *Dupleffis's* Disgrace, which was attended with Consequences of greater Importance. One would have thought that this dissatisfaction of the King and the Pope, would have Authoriz'd whatever the Zeal of the Catholics should undertake against the Book or the Author. Nevertheless the Jesuits that were settled at *Bourdeaux* having a great desire to have the Book Condemn'd to the Fire, *Dases* the first President Oppos'd, and only bid 'em refuse it, if they thought it convenient. *Boulanger* one of the King's Almoners, having made a critical Censure upon the Preface, and Accus'd the passages to be falsify'd, the Arch bishop of *Bourges* took him up, and reply'd upon him very smartly. Nor did the Legat himself require any Vigorous proceedings against the Book; only desir'd six Copies to carry along with him at his departure out of *France*, and engag'd that *Bellarmino* should Answer him. But they bethought themselves of another way to Mortifie *du Plessis*, the Catholics finding it more easie to disgrace the Author, then destroy the Book. That which happen'd that year and the *Lent* following was this, that the Predicants let loose their Fury against the Book, and Reveng'd the Pope and the Roman Religion, with all manner of Calumnies and Invectives upon *du Plessis*. 'Twas thought also that the Gentleman durst not appear in publick without hazard of his Life during the first Violence of their Rage. He therefore kept his House for some days, till the Tempest was over: And in regard 'twas believ'd that the people were sufficiently Incens'd to have gone and Assaulted him in his own House; *Madam* offer'd to receive him into hers for his better security.

It may be thought, That slight Moderation was Affected to shew, that the Liberty of the *Reformed* was great in pursuance of the Edict, since they had the Freedom to publish such Affronts against the Roman Religion, and yet that the Catholics should be permitted no other means of Revenging themselves than by the Ordinary way of Refutation; or else of mitigating the discontentments of those who did not find the Edict conformable to their

their Hopes, and who were vex'd to see the Verification so long delay'd, and to prevent 'em from augmenting upon the severity which they might have us'd to the first Book of the Reformed Religion that appear'd after the Edict was Decreed. In a Word, there being no way wholly to quell the Bigots, they caus'd *du Plessis's* Book to be Condemn'd to the Fire by some Inferiour Court of Justice, and the Sentence was put in Execution. The Assembly still sitting at *Chatelleraud* was very much offend-ed at it; and considering the thing was done at the very time that the first steps were made toward the Execution of the Edict, they judg'd it to be of too great Consequence to pass it by without complaining. But tho' they were fully determin'd to Testifie their Resentment, they were willing first of all to write to *du Plessis*, as being the principal person concern'd, to know his Opinion what was to be done upon this Occasion. This shews that they did well to prevent the Sovereign Courts from making Decrees of the same Nature against this Work: For as the Affront would have been more Heinous, most certain it is, that the *Reformed* would have made a Louder Noise. But *du Plessis*, who did not think his Book dishonour'd by these Transports of his Adversaries, was not the person that troubled himself most about it. However, he declar'd by his Answer, that the thing seem'd to him to be of Great Importance, in regard that the Doctrine of the *Reformed* being acquitted by the Edict from the Name of *Heresie*, the Books that taught the Reformed Doctrine were not to be Burnt, since only Heretical Books were to be Condemn'd to that Mark of Infamy: Therefore 'twas his Opinion that they should Appeal from the Sentence to the Chamber of the Edict, rather than to the Privy-Council, where the business would be assuredly Stiff'd. Nevertheless that it was a hard matter to apply a Remedy to a past Mischiefe, since they had Executed the Sentence, and what was already done amiss could not be amended. But this Book was attended with Consequences much more Remarkable, which will not permit us to stop at these less weighty Observations.

During these Passages which I have hitherto related, there were three things in Negotiation between the Court of *France*, and that of *Rome*; and which were of Importance sufficient to

1598. put the *Reformed* in Fear, that altho they had obtain'd an Edict, the King would not purchase the prosperous Conclusion of his Affairs at the Expence of his Favours toward them. The first Affair was the Dissolution of the King's Marriage which he ardently desir'd : And for the obtaining of which, 'twas thought he would humble him to any manner of Compliance with the Pope. This Affair was of great Consequence to the State, as also to the Kingdom, in regard the Mischiefs of a dubious Succession might bring extremity of Confusion upon the Kingdom after the King's Death. The *Reformed* also were very urgent for it, not a little fearful that a great part of the New troubles which might Attend the King's Death would fall upon themselves. But the King's obstinate Fondness for his Miss, had a long time retarded that Negotiation. For the Pope was unwilling to favour a Marriage so unsuitable ; and Queen *Margaret* would by no means give place to a Woman that was so much beneath her ; and whose Virtue, it was thought, had surrendered it self to other Suits, besides that of the King. That Mistress being Dead after such a manner as might Raise a suspicion, that *Roni* and some others well understood, that there was a kind of necessity she should dye ; the King embroyl'd himself in New Intrigues, and made a promise of Marriage to the Daughter of the Marquiss *d'Entragues*, to obtain what he desir'd of her. He had also been so weak as to shew this promise to *Roni* to ask his Advice about the Form ; and *Roni* was so bold as to tear it before his Face. But the King, who was not Master of his passion, drew up another with such Clauses, that he thought himself discharg'd of it by the success of the first lying in of his new Mistress. Now in regard it was high time to look after this Affair in good earnest, the King bent all his thoughts upon it ; and the Pope, who knew the Importance of the Business, which could not be concluded without him ; fail'd not to set it at the highest price he could put upon it : Not but that he had his Reasons too, to desire it should be brought to pass ; whether it were that there was a proposal for the King to Marry an *Italian* Princess ; or whither it were that he was afraid, that if the Succession came to be contested, some one of the Competitors might augment the Forces of the *Reformed* to support

support himself, and perhaps Embrace their *Religion*, to fasten 'em to his Interests. Whereas, if the Succession were ascertain'd, he was sure that the King's Successor would be a *Catholic*, and that his Right and Claim being founded upon a Marriage Authoriz'd by the Maxims of the Court of *Rome*, he would maintain it with all his Power, and would rather strive to Lessen, than Exalt the *Reformed* in Strength and Power. But for all this the Pope was Resolv'd to sell his Favour to the King at a dear Rate, according to the Custom of the Court of *Rome*, which always strives to make others purchase those things of which she makes a benefit her self. So that the *Reformed* had all the Reason in the World to fear that they should be made to pay the Expences of this Affair. 1598.

The second Negotiation which might give 'em an Alarum, was the Establishment of the Jesuits, which was prosecuted with extraordinary sedulity. The Pope omitted no Opportunity of talking of it to the Jesuits, and he thought he could not use better precautions against the Mistrusts which he had of the King's Religion, then to set the Jesuits over him, either as Spies or Adversaries. On their parts they were not Idle in *France*; where they had the boldness to settle themselves in some places depending upon the Parliament of *Paris*, maugre the Decree by which they were Banish'd; And this Act of theirs appear'd so insolent, that even at *Rome* it self it was Condemn'd. But they had good Protectors in the Kingdom. For the Cardinal of *Tournon* stoutly supported 'em; and the Parliaments of *Tholouze* and *Bordeaux* upheld 'em within their Jurisdictions; and they who had been of the League had always a great kindness for 'em. The Clergy also encourag'd 'em to Petition for their Restauration; and those Cunning Politicians well acquainted with the Air of the Court, would by no means loose the Opportunity. The King himself sided with 'em, because he was willing they should take his part: And for that well knowing 'em to be in a Capacity to undertake any Attempt against a Prince who had been their Enemy, he thought he should have no Reason to fear 'em, if he gave them occasions of Acknowledgment and Obligation. But all the Religious Orders mortally hated the King, even those that seem'd to have renounced

The Establishment of the Jesuits.

Their boldness and Credit.

The Monks all hate the King.

1598. renounced the World; and not only the *Jacobins*, who had furnish'd the League with a Russian to take away the Life of *Hen. III.* but the *Capuchins* also and the *Chartreux* conspir'd his Ruin. 'Twas too much at one time for him to Guard himself against the Jesuits, besides with whose Genius he was experimentally acquainted, and who never thought any thing sufficiently Sacred to protect the person of an Enemy of what Quality soever from their most bloody Revenge. The pretence of these frequent Conspiracies was, because the Bigots always suspected the sincerity of the King's Conversion, and for that the Spaniards carefully set afoot whatever they could devise to confirm the Suspicion. They laid to his Charge whatever happen'd in *Europe*, where they thought the *Catholic Religion* had not all the Advantages which they desir'd. Wherefore the Duke of *Savoy* having endeavour'd to Reduce his Subjects (the *Vandois*) to the Roman Communion, and for that purpose having sent into their Country a Million of *Capuchins* back'd with some thousands of Soldiers, to accomplish by force what the *Monks* could not obtain by persuasions, the Spaniards fail'd not to make their Advantage of it to the prejudice of the King. They compar'd the King's Indulgence with the Dukes bloody Zeal, who observ'd no *Medium* between the Conversion and Extermination of *Hereticks*. He had Exercis'd the same Rigor in the *Marquisate of Saluces*, which no way belong'd to him, in regard he had Usurped it during the Civil Wars; and he had constrained all the *Reformed Inhabitants* to change their Religion, or quit their Country. And his design in doing so, was to engage the Pope to maintain him in his Usurpation, which indeed was one of the Reasons that the Pope would never do the King Justice in that particular point; fearing least if the King were Master of the *Marquisate*, the *Reformed* would abide there under the shelter of his Edicts. But to render the King's Religion more suspected, the Spaniards accus'd him of having hinder'd the Success of that mixt Mission by private Successors, tho' it were neither Honourable to the Religion it self, nor to the Prince that sent it. 'Tis true there were some miserable Wretches that chang'd their Religion, and that the Spaniards made the best they could of the Conquest. *Buc d'Assis*, tho' a Cardinal, much abated the

Glory

Persecution
in Pied-
mont.

The Duke
of Saluces.

Glory of those Conquests, when he found that the Souldiers had done more than the *Capuchins*. Nevertheless this made an Impression in the minds of the Zealots, and foster'd the pretences for the Conspiracies of the *Monks*, who look'd upon the King but as a hollow *Catholic*. For which Reason, in regard the Jesuits were the most formidable of all, he was willing to secure himself from their Attempts, by doing them some signal favour that might fasten 'em to his person and his service. Such are the Politics of Princes, to Caress those of whom they stand in awe, and to neglect, if not oppress those People whom they have no reason to fear. They partake of Fear with those that are afraid of 'em, and redeem themselves by Favours from the Molestations of those whom they mistrust. This sort of Policy was very rife under this Reign, at what time the *Reformed* complain'd, that Favours and Rewards were far more Charily bestow'd on those that performed faithful Services, than on those who were become formidable to the Disposer.

Reason
why the
King fa-
vour'd the
Jesuits.

This Potent Reason made the King incline to recal the Jesuits; and this design gave great Alarums to the *Reformed*, who well knew what they had to hope for from that same always Perfidious, and always Mutinous Society; who if once they got to be settled in *Paris*, would wriggle themselves into the Court, and there put all things, according to their usual wont, into Confusion. The Parliament of *Paris*, who stood upon their Honour in this Affair, by reason of the redoubl'd Decrees which they had Issu'd forth against this pernicious Institution, oppos'd their Restauration with as much Vigor as the *Reformed*, who on the other side thwarted this Negotiation to the utmost of their Power: But it was chiefly the Authority of the Parliament that render'd this Negotiation so Tedious and Difficult. For Kings had then a great Respect for their Parliaments; and those August Assemblies could distinguish between Subjection and Servitude; so that then they were not acquainted with slavish Obsequiousness to the Sentiments of the Court.

The third Affair was the Marriage of *Madame* the Kings Sister with the Duke of *Ban*, the Duke of *Lorraines* Son, which was consummated toward the beginning of the following Year. The Pope started several Scruples and Difficulties, not so much

3d. Mar-
riage of Ma-
dame.

out

1598. out of a Design to hinder the Match, in regard the Marriage of that Princess with a *Catholic* was one of the secret Conditions of the King's Absolution, as to draw some profit out of it to himself, either in procuring by that means the *Conversion* of the Princess that was to be Marry'd, or to make the King purchase his Consent by some New Compliance with the Court of *Rome*. But the *Reformed* had a perfect Reluctancy against it, which they made appear in the National Synod already mention'd. The Question was there propos'd concerning this Match, to remove the Scruples of the Princess; but she found not her satisfaction there; only it was judg'd that such a Marriage was not lawful. Nevertheless this was no Obstacle, but that it was concluded in the Month of *August*, after the Princess had undergone great Temptations. There had been several Conferences, at which she was present; Several Ministers and Catholic Doctors disputed the Point: And in one of these Conferences it was, that *du Moulin*, whose Name was afterwards so famous, began to approve with great Reputation. The Ministers had the better in all these Disputes, because the Princess stood firm, in so much that soon after a stop was put to these unprofitable Conferences. The *Catholics*, according to their Custom, imputed the breaking off these Conferences to the Ministers, and to Eclipse the Glory of the Princess's Constancy, they Attributed her perseverance to her Obstinacy. They gave it out, that she continu'd stedfast in her Religion, out of her Veneration for Queen *Jane* her Mother, who had bred her up, and had given her in charge, to persevere in the *Reformed* Faith. But tho' they endeavour'd to make her Constancy to be Look'd upon as a Point of Honour, nevertheless it appear'd to be an Effect of her knowledge and surpassing Parts. She was greatly enlightned for a person of her Sex, and she had more Care and more Leisure to inform her self then the King her Brother. Which was the Reason, that she was more steady then He, and she understood how to Answer very pertinently in Reply to the Argument which was urg'd against her from the King's Example, that the *Salic* Law had made between them two, the *Partitition* of Constancy. But this perseverance brought her into some trouble. The King himself, either out of Reason of State, or induc'd

Her Constancy.

induc'd by other Motives, us'd her somewhat severely. Fain 1598.
 he would have oblig'd her to have put away her Domestick
 Servants, under pretence that she too much confided in 'em, *The King's*
 and that they obstructed her *Conversion*. He threaten'd ne- *Severities*
 ver to do any thing for her Advancement, if she persever'd *toward her.*
 in her Obstinacy. But notwithstanding all this Rigour she
 was still unshak'n in her Constancy, and she had a greater
 regard to her Conscience and her Ministers, then to the Im-
 portunities and Pleasure of the King her Brother.

The Pope so vehemently oppos'd this Match, that 'twas
 believ'd they should never obtain the Dispensation from him, *Scruples*
 which the King and the Duke desir'd. Nay more, he wrote *Rais'd by*
 to the Duke of *Lorraine* and the Prince his Son in a very *the Pope.*
 Magisterial and Passionate Stile, to divert 'em from the Al-
 liance. But in regard those Oppositions of the Court of
Rome never frighten any but such as are willing to be afraid
 of 'em, they were no Obstruction, but that the Affair was
 concluded at the beginning of the next year. The Popes Pre-
 tences for this Refusal, were nearness of Blood between both
 Parties, and the Princess's *Religion*. He deem'd it prejudicial *His Rea-*
 to his Dignity to send a Dispensation to a Person that did not *sons.*
 demand it; who neither thought it necessary, nor in his Pow-
 er to give it. But the same Reasons never stumbl'd the Suc-
 cessors of this *Pontiff* in the two Cases of the Marriage of
Charles, Prince of *Wales*, with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, and af-
 terwards with *Henrietta*. The real Motives therefore of the
 Court of *Rome* are her Interests. When she finds her Advan-
 tages in any thing, she never fails of good Reasons to sur-
 mount the most plausible difficulties. Thus one and the same
 Interest caus'd one Pope to refuse the King's Sister a Dispen-
 sation, because a *Huguenot Princess* in a Catholic Country,
 as *Lorraine*, did not agree with the See of *Rome*: And the
 same Interest caus'd his Successors to grant a Dispensation
 for the Marriage of a *Catholic Princess* with the Presump-
 tive Heir of the Crown of *England*, because it was for the
 Benefit of the *Roman Religion*, to have a *Catholic Queen* in
 a Kingdom altogether *Reformed*. Moreover, in regard the
 Princess who was already somewhat in years, had often slipt

1598. the Opportunity of Wedlock, yet was unwilling to dye a Virgin, 'twas thought at *Rome* that she would rather change her Religion, then let this Proposal of Marriage Escape, after which she had but little hopes to meet with an Offer so fairly Advantagious. But the Court of *France* believing it would be more easie to make her Excuses to the Pope, when the thing was done, then to obtain his Consent for doing the thing, thought fit to proceed to the Marriage without staying for the Dispensation. After which New Difficulties were started about giving the Nuptial Benediction. As for the Princess, she would not have scrupl'd to receive it from the hands of a Roman Prelate; but as she was Nice in Point of Decency, she would by no means hear of being Marry'd after that manner, after she had bin given to understand, that such a Condescension would look like a kind of going to seek a Husband, should she have that Deference for him, which he was unwilling to have for her: That it became not the Dignity of so great a Princess, to shew her self more forward then the Prince desir'd; and that she was engag'd in Honour to be as stedfast in rejecting the Proposal of Marrying according to the Mass, as he was firm in Refusing to be Marry'd by a Minister. And the Duke on the other side Protested that he would rather never Marry, then receive the Benediction from a *Heretick*. But the King Reconcil'd the difference by sending for both Parties into his Cabinet where he caus'd 'em to be affianc'd in his presence by the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*. Who tho' he were neither Learned nor Devout, forgot not however to suffer himself to be entreated, before he would perform the Ceremony: And the want of a Dispensation struck so close to his Heart, that if *Roni* had not found the way to droll him into a Compliance, all the Authority of the King would never have been able to have brought him to Reason.

This Expedient put an End to the Difficulties of the Marriage: But the Pope was as inflexible after Consummation as before; and shew'd himself as obstinate in denying the Dispensation, as the Princess had appear'd Resolute in refusing to demand it. He also complain'd of the Kings Precipitancy, for
being

The King
proceeds to
the Marri-
age with-
out staying
for the Dis-
pensation.

being so hasty in an Affair of such Importance. He fill'd the Dukes Conscience with Scruples and Terrors, so that the Prince liv'd a long time with the Duchess his Wife, as if they had never been Marry'd. Which was the reason that the Duchess was solicited more then ever to change her Religion; and that not only Instructions, Promises, and Flatteries were made use of to overcome her, but Artifices and Lies. There could be nothing more Impudent then that same Cozenage of *Commelet* the Jesuit, of which she her self gave *du Plessis* an Account, some Months after she was Marry'd. This Jesuit was so bold as to tell her, that *du Plessis* being accus'd for having inserted several false Quotations in his Book of the Eucharist, had promis'd to go to Mass, if they could but shew him one that was such as they said; that he had been convinc'd before the King; upon which the King loading him with Reproaches, he went out of the way, no body knowing what was become of him. Never was Lye told with more probable Circumstances, nevertheless there was not a Tittle in it but what was found to be meerly Forg'd. The Duchess knew it very well; and *Commelet* gain'd so little upon her, that in a Letter which she wrote to *du Plessis* upon this Subject, she assur'd him, That her Converse with the Jesuit had but the more confirm'd her in her Religion. Seeing therefore they could do no good upon the Princess, the King was very Importunate at *Rome* to incline the Pope to Sentiments more Moderate. *D'Offat* found out Presidents of a Dispensation granted, in the like case, to Persons of Inferiour Quality. The Duke also went himself to *Rome*, under pretence of the Jubilee, to desire Absolution, but the *Pontiff* would by no means yield to any thing. Nevertheless, 'twas believ'd that the Prince had obtain'd a private Absolution, in regard the Pope gave him leave to gain the Jubilee, and to visit the Churches where Indulgences were given out; and for that, upon his return Home, he liv'd wth the Duchess after a more Conjugal manner then he had done before. But the Report being every where spread abroad that she was with Child, the Pope grew much more mild; foreseeing, that if he did not confirm the Marriage, the King would be

1598.

*The issue of
the Negoti-
ation till
the Death
of the Prin-
cess.*

1598. oblig'd to seek without him, for some other way to secure the Title of Legitimate to the Infant that should be Born. Nevertheless, this Attonement of the Popes Wrath signify'd little or nothing, for the Report of the Princess's being with Child prov'd altogether groundless, and the Princess dy'd at the very time that the Pope consented to the Marriage. I have related this Affair in a continu'd Series, to the end I might have no more occasion to return to it again, tho the business was spun out in a Negotiation of three or four Years.

The Advantages which the Reformed got by her Perseverance.

The Reformed look'd upon the Perseverance of the Princess in their Religion to be a great Victory, in regard it secur'd 'em several Advantages which could not be refus'd to her Person, and which made greatly for the Honour of the whole Party: Their Ministers Preach'd at Court while she was there; and that was often done in the same place where Mass had been said but some hours before. When the Princess went, or return'd from *France* into *Lorraine*, or from *Lorraine* into *France*, her Minister who attended her always Lodg'd in the same Abbies where she lay, and in the same Episcopal Palaces upon the Roads, and there she likewise caus'd him to Preach. The *Catholics* receiv'd this Mortification, and the *Reformed* this Satisfaction at least once a Year; for that she never fail'd every Year to Visit the King her Brother. She had also Sermons Preach'd in her own Apartment in *Lorraine*; and it was a kind of Triumph for the *Reformed* to see their Religion introduc'd, by this means, into the same House from whence their most violent Persecutors were gone but just before. *Du Moulin*, who was known to the Princess by reason of the Conferences held upon her account, wherein he had often deliver'd himself, was highly in her favour. The Ministers of the Church of *Paris* were bound to Quarterly Attendance upon her; and generally it fell out so, that the time when she took her Journies happen'd to be in *Du Moulin's* waiting; so that in a little time he acquir'd a great Reputation, which drew upon him the Hatred and Persecution of the *Catholics*.

But at *Paris* they were busie about an Affair of Importance quite different from those already related. The *Catholics* had taken all Advantages of the Delay of the Verification of the Edict. It was attack'd by all the Orders of the Kingdom, both before and after the Legate's departure. That Prelate however, not caring either to have any Reproach put upon him, or to have the Lye given him, never desir'd that the greatest Oppositions should be made against it in his Presence; and there was a great deal of noise upon this occasion, after his departure. The Clergy, the Parliaments, the University, the *Sorbonne*, started all the Difficulties imaginable. The *Sorbonne* refus'd their Consent, till the *Reformed* took their degrees among 'em. The University was for shutting the Gates of the Colledges against 'em; nor would they admit 'em either to be Masters of Arts, or Professors, or to the Regency. The Faculty of Physic was most difficult to be overcome, as if it had been the Grand Concern of the Physicians to Quarrel with *Herésie*; and they always continu'd their Aversion ever since that time.

1598.
Difficulties
about the
Verification
of the Edict.

But the Clergy made the most weighty Opposition: They Assembl'd at *Paris* in *May*; nor did they fail to send their Deputations and Remonstrances to the King according to their usual Custom. But their Deputies in all their Harangues were much less violent then their Predecessors had been; they talk'd no longer of Destruction and Extermination; Their Discourses breath'd nothing but Peace, the sweetness of which Flatter'd all the World; and you should hardly hear 'em so much as mention the word *Herésie*. All their Discourse ran solely upon the Disorders in Ecclesiastical Discipline, and upon the Alienations of the Spiritual Demesnes, the Augmentation of which the Clergy never fail'd to demand under the Name of Restitution. For which reason they were importunately urgent for the Release of Pensions assign'd to the Laity upon Benefices, and to the Payment of which the Incumbents were oblig'd, either by Writ of Nomination, or by some Secret Reservation in the Grand Deeds. The *Reformed* had a share in these favours as well as others.

1598. as also in the Trusts; and it was at them the Clergy aim'd under a pretence that seem'd plausible enough. It seem'd but Just to deprive the Heretics, who were Enemies of the Church of *Rome*, of all the Privileges of enjoying Revenues, to the prejudice of her Altars. But that which was most remarkable in this Prosecution was this, that to the end they might procure a Discharge of Lay-Pensions, the Clergy were not ashamed to say, That the Ecclesiastics had *little enough to live upon*; tho it were notoriously known, that they possess'd the third part of the Revenues of the Kingdom, not comprehending what many enjoy'd moreover in other parts for other Reasons, as by Right of Inheritance or Purchase. The King consented to one part of the Favours which the Deputies demanded, and for the remainder gave them good Words, tending to let them understand that they must have Patience; and which covertly contain'd certain Promises, with which the *Reformed* would have had no reason to be satisfy'd, had they not look'd upon 'em as Words of no consequence, and by which the Court ne'r thought themselves oblig'd to any thing. These Words were so remarkable among others, that they have been repeated by several Historians: *I will act in such a manner*, said the King, *by Gods Assistance, that the Church shall be in as good a Condition as it was a hundred years ago, as well for the Discharge of my Conscience as for your Satisfaction; but Paris was not built in a day*. Some understood it as if these Words were to be Interpreted, that in time he would destroy the pretended *Herésie*, which had put the Clergy to so much trouble for above Fourscore Years together; but the *Reformed* were persuaded that they were only words of course.

*For the Deputies
pointed upon
the Edict.*

Nevertheless, this put the Clergy in hopes of making some Attempts, perhaps not altogether unsuccessful, to alter something in the Edict; for their Intention was not to obstruct the granting an Edict to the *Reformed*, in regard themselves had too much need of Peace to wish the breaking out of a New War; but their business was to reduce the Concessions to such a trivial Invalidity, that had they obtain'd what they aim'd at, the *Reformed* would never have
accepted

accepted 'em. To that purpose their Agents demanded three things at the first dash ; that is to say, That the Ministers should have no other Advantage on this side the *Loire*, but only to be free from the Molestation of Prosecutions ; and that the *Reformed*, in that part of the Kingdom, should content themselves with having the Free Exercise of their Religion, in such places of which they had made themselves Masters by force of Arms: That is to say, That they should be shut out from all the New Possessions in those Provinces, and the *Bailliage* Towns: That the Exercise of the *Roman* Religion should be restor'd in those places where the *Reformed* were most prevalent, even in their strong Holds. Thirdly, That the *Catholics* should be discharg'd from paying towards the Maintenance of the Ministers, in those places that were held by the *Reformed*. They vehemently Labour'd also, that the Ecclesiastics, who had any differences with the *Reformed*, might be exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Chamber, that was to be settl'd at *Paris*, as fearing to Plead against 'em upon equal Terms. They no less vigorously oppos'd the Liberty granted to the *Reformed* to hold *Synods* when they pleas'd, without obliging 'em to any Acknowledgments of Dependency, and without hindring 'em to admit Foreigners, or to send Deputies out of the Kingdom to Assemblies of the same Nature ; and *Bertier*, one of the Clergies Agents, was very hot upon this Point. He maintain'd, in opposition to the Marshal *de Bouillon*, that such a Liberty, without restriction, gave 'em an opportunity to hold Intelligence and Correspondencies abroad and at home, to make Leagues, and enter into Conspiracies, and to betake themselves to their Arms, when they pleas'd themselves, without any possibility of preventing 'em. He gave out, that *Schemberg* and *de Thou*, who had concluded the Edicts, were but a sort of Mungrel *Catholics*; meaning such as were not intoxicated with his Bigotries. Of *Jeannin* he said, That he was no less moderately inclin'd then the other two ; and treated 'em as persons to whom the Mass was as indifferent as Preaching. He was Spurr'd on to these Transports by some Prelates, among whom there were some so hot, that they

1598.

The Trans-
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some Pre-
lates.

1598. they caus'd Prayers to be said in their Diocesses, to implore of God that the Edict might not pass. The Moderation of the *Nuncio*, who staid after the Legate was gone, more plainly discover'd the Fury of this Irregular Zeal, for he desir'd no mote but that care might be taken of the Interests of the *Catholic Church*, and that they would laboriously endeavour to reduce those whom he call'd *Devoyez*, or such as were stray'd from the right way; and upon these General Conditions he put 'em in hopes, that the Pope would bear with all things else. *Bertierys Warmth* was severely rebuk'd by the King; however he would not desist for all that, and at last obtain'd Assurances that the Edict should be amended in several things, according to his Demand.

The *Nuncio's* Moderation.

The Opposition of the Parliament.

The Parliament join'd with the Clergy in several Points. They could not resolve to consent to the setting up the *Chamber* which the King was about to Erect. They oppos'd with all their might, too much freedom of Assemblies, as being derogatory to the Royal Authority, already too much enfeebled by Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; that the Clergy had reason to complain, that greater Prerogatives were granted to the *New Predicants* then to them: However, that the *Reformed* were oblig'd to beg leave exprefsly to assemble together, and to admit Foreigners into their Assemblies; and that they had not forbore to employ farther and more extraordinary Precautions against the Prosecutions of the Clergy, by the Nomination to Benefices which the King had reserv'd to himself, and by Appeals of Temporal Persons from the Ecclesiastical Judges, which they were suffer'd to put in, not in respect of the whole Cause, but for some small or By-Point thereof. The Parliament also reviv'd the Question, among others, Whither the *Reformed* were capable of Offices and Employments; and several Writings were Publish'd on both sides upon this Subject. There was a Necessity of proceeding to repeated *Jussions*, or Commands, to bring the Parliament to Obedience; but in Opposition to all those Commands, the Parliament order'd Remonstrances. The Duke of *Mayenne* was also secretly solicited to oppose the Verification of the Edict, as if they would have rather chosen to see the Civil Wars re-kindl'd, then consent

The Justice of the D. of Mayenne.

sent that the *Reformed* should be in any Tolerable Condition. 1598. But that prudent Prince refus'd to meddle, and declar'd, That he would consent to the Edict; not that he was desirous of the Repose and Quiet of the *Reformed*, but as a necessary Expedient to prevent the breaking out of a New War; and they who had been the most Zealous for the League, follow'd the Example of this Prince. *Jeannin*, in the Council, was all for Lenity and Moderation; and the Counsellors of Parliament, formerly Leaguers, were the most moderate upon the present occasion.

The Members of the General Assembly who staid at *Chastelleraud*, in Expectation of the Verification of the Edict, labour'd on their part to prevent the Mischiefs which those Oppositions might produce, and sent Deputies after Deputies to Court: but these Sedulities afforded no Remedy; there was no mollifying neither the Clergy nor the Parliament. The King was not a little perplex'd at these Obstructions, nor did he know how to get clear of these Difficulties without giving somebody an occasion to complain; not but that he still stood firm, and sometimes expres'd himself with more then ordinary vigour. But in regard he was desirous to bring things to pass with mildness, and, as I may so say, to reconcile both Parties by their own consent, he made use of all his Prudence, and all his Address, to bring 'em to Reason. He protested to the Clergy, That the Edict should turn to their Advantage, provided they would let it pass, and that they did not revive the Ancient Distrusts by starting new Difficulties. He assur'd the Commissioners that brought him the Parlements Remonstrances, That he did nothing but what the Pope Approv'd, as being done upon good Grounds; that the Legate had corresponded with him as to what concern'd Peace at home; and that he had never insisted upon the Discourses that were made him to render the Edict suspected. But sometimes he spoke in a louder tone, when the Parliament disgusted Things with an Air not agreeable to the Kings Honour, and when they were desirous to make private Reservations, not to admit the *Reformed* to Offices of Bayliffs, Criminal Assessors, Kings

1598. Proctors and Advocates, or the like, in Inferiour Courts of Justice, tho the Article which declar'd 'em Capable were verifys'd without any Restriction, the King would never endure such Dishonest foul Play. Upon this Subject of Reservations, by which they would have made the Edict a meer Mockery, it was, that the King utter'd these Noble Expressions, cited by so many Historians, so highly becoming the Majesty of a Great Prince, and so worthy to be preserv'd to Posterity, to teach Sovereigns the Value which they ought to have for Truth of Word. *I do not think it fair, said he, to Intend one thing and Write another; and if there be any who have done it, I will never do the same: Deceit is Odious among all Men; more especially to Princes, whose Word ought always to be Unalterable.*

1599.

The Re-
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icles.

All this however did not conclude the Affair: for after the New Year was begun, the Edict was still Forty days in Debate before it was verifys'd. But the *Reformed in Paris*, and at the Court, put the King out of his Trouble by their Easiness, for at last they suffer'd themselves to be vanquish'd, after they had a long time disputed their Ground; and tho they had very much abated of their General Pretensions, by accepting the Edict, such as it had been given at *Nantes*, they condescended to forgo several other Articles which were highly contested in Opposition to their Demands. *Marshal de Bon-illan* gave his Consent, and *du Plessis* himself enjoyn'd *Beraud*, one of the Deputies which the Assembly at *Chaste'l raid* sent to the Court, to perswade an Accommodation upon the Difficulties in Dispute, for which he propounded Expedients himself; so that at length they obtain'd that there should be no Limitation of the Liberties, in reference to Free Exercise, nor of the Article concerning Offices and Employments. But upon the Demands of the University, the King agreed that the *Reformed* should have no Employment there, by which they should be Authoriz'd to broach New Opinions; only that they should be admitted into Regencies and Professorships in all other Faculties but that of Theology. He refus'd the Clergy only the first of the three Articles which I have mention'd, and promis'd 'em satisfaction upon the other two.

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He limited the Liberty of Synods, and leaving the *Reformed* 1598. Masters of the Time and Place, he obliged 'em only to Address themselves to him for Leave to Assemble; and not to admit Strangers but upon the same Condition. But in *August* following, he granted 'em a *Brevet*, which exempted 'em from the Observation of that Article, and which imported in express Terms, that he gave 'em permission, *notwithstanding the said Article, as to the Assambling and holding the said Consistories, Colloquies and Synods, to use the same Forms and Privileges which they had practis'd formerly, without restraining 'em to any stricter Obligation.* And thus by particular Concessions, he restor'd 'em what he had been as it were forc'd to take from 'em by Public Acts, to keep the *Catholics* Quiet. He alter'd the Form of the *Chamber of the Edict*, which was to sit at *Paris*; and instead of composing it of six *Reformed* Counsellors and ten *Catholics*, as it was decreed at *Nantes*, he fill'd it up with all *Catholics*, except one *Reformed*; and the other five that were to be of the same Religion, were to be distributed into the Courts of Enquests. And to remove all fears from the *Reformed*, that they should not have Justice rightly done 'em, they themselves were permitted to choose the *Catholic* Judges that were to compose that Chamber. The Name also of the *Chamber of the Edict* was confirm'd to it, to the end that the Name might put the Members of which it consisted in perpetual Remembrance, that they were the Guardians and Executors of the Edict, which was particularly to be a Law to 'em in the Administration of Justice. The thing was done according to the Decree, and the Commissioners which the King appointed, form'd the Chamber according to the List of moderate and peaceable *Catholics*, which the *Reformed* presented. Nevertheless the *Reformed* lost one Employment of substitute to the Proctor General of the Parliament of *Paris*, which had been promis'd 'em; but which was deem'd no longer useful to 'em, after the Alteration made in the Establishment of the Chamber.

The Clergy upon this Occasion gave one Mark of their Head-strong Obstinacy, even in things wherein they were little concern'd. They had demanded at the beginning, that

1599. the *Ecclesiasticks* should be exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Chamber, and had obtain'd it; but when there was a Resolution taken to alter the Form of it, and not to admit above one *Reformed*, they would never Renounce the Exemption that had been granted 'em. Wherein they made it evidently appear, that they were afraid, when ever they happen'd to have any differences with the *Reformed*, that they should not have Judges at their Devotion. For all the difference between their New Chamber and the Chambers of the Enquests consisted only in this, that into the one there were no Judges to be admitted, but such as were conspicuous for their Mildness and Moderation; whereas the same Choice was not observ'd in any of the other. The *Reformed* therefore having no more then one Voice, either in the one or the other, there was nothing could make the Clergy prefer one Chamber before another, but that they were assur'd of finding more Favour before Bigotted and Violent Judges, then in a Court where only the most Moderate and Prudent Judges were admitted.

*Chambers
of the Edict
at Rouen.*

The same Course was taken at *Rouen* to Regulate Religion and Justice, after they had once agreed upon the Erecting a New Chamber there, according to the Model of that at *Paris*. The Place for the Exercise of Religion was appointed within three quarters of a League from the City; and the Judges were Elected according to the Roll presented by the *Reformed* to the Commissaries. In this Parliament were Created three Employments of Counsellors, who were distributed into the Chambers, as at *Paris*. This manner of forming the *Chambers of the Edict* lasted several years: And since the Establishment of General Deputies, they who were prefer'd to that Employment, conferr'd every year, with the Chancellor, the first President, and the King's Learned Council, for the Election of the most Moderate *Catholic* Judges. Which Custom while it was duly observ'd, the *Chambers of the Edict* Administer'd Justice very Regularly, and because their Jurisdiction was more Noble and more Profitable then that of other Chambers, all the *Catholics* Affected to be moderate and equitable Judges, for fear of being Excluded from serving

ving in those *Chambers*. But the Affairs of the *Reformed* falling to decay under *Lewis XIII.* these *Chambers* were no longer form'd as they were wont, but Elections were carry'd by under hand Packing and Caballing, wherein the honestest Men had not always the best Success; and at length they were admitted without distinction, and without so much as the Ceremony of Choice: So that the *Reformed* met with no more Justice there then in other Places. 1599.

The Chamber call'd *Mipartie*, half one, half t'other, in *Guien*, was form'd after the Model of that at *Castres*. In the Year 1600 a Provincial Assembly was held at *Sainte Fe*, where Nine persons were Nominated to fill the Employments that were to be Created for the *Reformed*: and all that were preferr'd to those Offices were forc'd to Swear, that when they were willing to lay 'em down, they should resign 'em Gratis to those whom the Churches should appoint; and without exacting any Composition for their own profit. This was renew'd some years after, at a general Assembly held in the same place; but with permission to compound for the Expences the Person should be at to obtain his Patents, So that 'twas easie under that pretence to elude the Institution of the Assembly. But at length after the Establishment of the * *Pau-* * A kind of
lette, those Employments were put to Sale and became Here. a New-
ditary, like the rest. Moreover all that took upon 'em these years Gift
Employments, were oblig'd to Swear to the Union of *Mantes* given for
and to subscribe their Oath: And it was Ordain'd that the the conti-
Oath should be taken by those who had the Nomination of nance in an
Churches, in the Consistory of the particular Church of Office.
which they were Members.

Thus at length the Edict was verifi'd with all these Alterations, and several others of less Importance, which I shall sett down when I come to speak of the Complaints which the *Reformed* made. It was Register'd the 5th of February, a day which fell out to be the same which the *Catholics* call *Ashwednesday*. It pass'd also in the other Parlements much about the same time. Nevertheless there were some places where it was not Register'd but under certain Restrictions, which all the King's Authority could not get off; nor was there

Verificati-
on of the
Edict.

1599. there any Remedy for it during his Life. The particular Articles Address'd to the Parliament of *Paris* were verifi'd in a short time after, but not in the other Parliaments. And this inequality was the Occasion afterwards of a great many Acts of Injustice, in regard advantage was taken of their not being receiv'd in certain Courts, as if that had been a Proof that they were not receiv'd any where else.

Hitherto the Affairs of the Edict had made no Noise at *Rome*. True it is, that the Pope had complain'd to Cardinal *de Joyeuse*, and the Duke of *Luxemburg* toward the end of the preceding year, that the King was about to Grant the *Hetics* a New Edict; but it was but very coldly; for he only told the Cardinal that it would have been more to the King's Advantage, both at home and abroad, if he had proceeded in another manner. But this year he Renewed the same Complaint to the Cardinal upon the same occasion, before the News of the Verification of the Edict arriv'd at *Rome*: To which he added other Complaints that the King had proceeded to the Mariage of *Madame*, without staying for his Dispensation. It cannot be said, That it was his ignorance of what was contain'd in the Edict that caus'd the Pope to talk so Calmly, in regard that the Legate and the *Nuncio*, not to speak of a hunder'd other Spies that he had at Court, had not fail'd exactly to inform him of it; which they might easily do because they had been very far concern'd in the Negotiation. But it was not yet seasonable to make a Noise, as I have observ'd in another place. 'Twas requisite to stay till the Business was brought to such a Head, that whatever Noise was made about it, it would signifie nothing. But then the Pope chang'd his Note, and it is not to be imagin'd what a Clutter he made about a thing which he had dissembl'd for three years together. True it is, that this Fire was soon quench'd, and that after the first time, he spoke no more of it, or at least he return'd to his first indifferency. The Reason of all that heavy sputter which he made, was only because it behov'd him to stop the Mouths of the *Spaniards*, who stunn'd him with continual Reproaches, and to be Reveng'd for the Absolution he had given the King in despite of

The Pope
makes
great Com-
plaints to
stop the
Spaniards
Mouths.

of all their Opposition, turn'd into Crimes all the Kings Actions that were not to their liking. And in regard that all their principal Accusations mov'd upon the Hinges of His Religion, which their main Aim was to render suspected; they forgot not to cry out loudly against the Edict which had been verity'd, as a Testimony of his Inclination to favour the *Reformed*, even to the prejudice and maigre the Opposition of the *Catholics*. The Pope therefore, least he should be look'd upon as a Favourer of *Heretics*, could do no less then exclaim as they did, and Testifie his Resentment against a Thing which he well knew a long time before, could not be hinder'd. To this purpose, upon the 27 of *March* he sent for the Cardinals de *Jovense* and *a'Offat*, whom he had promoted but some few days before, to come to him, and in his Discourse he omitted nothing that might give 'em to understand how highly he was Offended.

He prevented before hand what they might have urg'd upon him, that he had Opportunity to make known his Sentiments of that Affair, before the Business was Decreed: And he told 'em moreover, that he had thought that the Edict had been only promoted to Content the *Huguenots* in shew; and that the King would have been pleas'd at the Opposition of the Clergy and the Parliament; but that the Event had discover'd to him the contrary. That the Edict, the most Cursed that ever was set a foot, permitted Liberty of Conscience to every one, which in his Opinion was the worst thing in the World: Freedom of Exercise every where: Admittance of *Heretics* into Parliament Employments, and to all other Honours and Dignities, to Ruin the *Catholic Religion*, and Advance *Heresie*. That the King had made this Edict during the full enjoyment of Peace both at home and abroad; so that he could not plead, that he was forc'd to it. Upon which he compar'd his Conduct with that of other Kings, who had never Granted such Edicts, but when there were Armies in the Field to constrain 'em; yet because they had been always *Catholics*, they were exempted from any suspicion of Leaning toward the *Heretics*. That the King had shew'd great Zeal, and been very vehement for the passing
of

1599. of the Ediſt: That he had us'd Compulſion to the Clergy and Parlament who oppos'd it; that he had declar'd his Indignation againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *Tours*, who had Order'd Prayers to be ſaid in his Dioceſs, that God would turn the King's Heart, that ſo the Ediſt might not paſs. That the King Acted much more remiſly in Favour of the *Catholics*, and had ſhew'd that he ſtood more in awe of others, and that he had a greater Value for 'em. That he exerted his Authority when he ſpoke to the Parlament to paſs the Ediſt, but never ſpoke a Word to oblige 'em to publiſh the Council of *Trent*. After that he came to ſmart Language, and Taxt the King with breach of Word and Oaths, which he had Sworn to obtain the Abſolution which he gave him. He threaten'd to ſecond his Words with Deeds, if Occaſion requir'd, and declar'd that he took the Ediſt which was made in Deſiance of him, for an Affront, no leſs injurious, then if he had giv'n him a *Slap o're the Face*. But at length, for fear the Cardinals ſhould not apprehend the Reason why he rant'd ſo loud, he cleverly gave 'em a hint where his Intereſt was touch'd, by telling 'em it had done himſelf an Injury, and unhing'd all his Contrivances in thoſe Affairs which he had with the *Spaniards*, about their Uſurpations upon the Jurisdiction of the *Holy See* both in *Naples* and *Milan*: And that when he ſent to complain of thoſe Sacrilegious Attempts, they laid it in his Diſh, that he quarrell'd with them for Trifles; but ſuffer'd Ediſts, that tended to the Ruin of the *Catholick Religion* to come forth, without ſaying a word: And therefore it it was, that he was oblig'd to Teſtifie his Reſentment. After that, he concluded his Diſcourſe more calmly then he began it, telling the two Cardinals that he was unwilling to do any thing without firſt acquainting them with it, and that he deſir'd their Advice. They who never ſo little underſtand the Court of *Rome*, well know the meaning of all this; that the ſuſter bluster of theſe Complaints was only to ſtop the *Spaniards* Mouths, when they Tax'd the Pope with the kind Correſpondence between Him and the King, and that all the Treafort of this Diſcourſe was rather an Effect of Prudence then Choler.

But

But because it was no less necessary that it should appear 1599.
 that the *French* had laid these Complaints seriously to Heart, and
 that it was to the purpose that it should believ'd the Pope had
 made these Complaints in good Earnest; the Cardinals wrote
 to the King after such a manner as might be serviceable to this
 End; and wherein they spoke of the Popes Disgusts in such
 Terms, as might satisfie the *Spaniards*. Nevertheless they
 gave him an Account of the Reasons they had given the Pope,
 to appease him. And they were so well groundd, and so de-
 cisive, that there was no other likelihood, but that the Pope
 who was a shrewd Man, was apprehensive of their Solidity.
 But this was written with so much Circumspection, that if
 the *Spaniards* had grumbl'd against the Popes Conduct, there
 would have needed no more then to have Read that Letter
 to 'em, to have made his Apology. And thus, at the same
 time, the same Reasons justify'd both the Pope and the King;
 since the one could not with Justice carry his Complaints
 too far, and the other had done no more then what the
 public Welfare oblig'd him to do. The Cardinals therefore
 in their Answers to the King, told him, that they began their
 Replies to the Pope, by assuring him, that they labour'd un-
 der the same Sorrows as himself: That they had presuppos'd,
 that such Edicts being evil in themselves, the King had never
 Granted the Edict in Dispute, but with a great deal of Relu-
 ctancy, as being too much concern'd to extinguish that Fa-
 ction, which they look'd upon as too prejudicial to his Autho-
 rity to foment it: That afterwards they laid before him,
 that the Edict was no New thing, but only a renewing of
 that in the year 1577. the most easie to be tolerated of
 of all those that had been Granted for seven and thirty
 years together in Favour of the *Reformed*: That the Trea-
 ties made with the Cheistaines and Cities of the League had
 made several Breaches in that Edict: And that they of the
 contrary Religion being ready to take Arms and Recommence
 the War, there was a necessity of renewing the Edict, and
 supplying it with some new Articles instead of those, of
 which they had been despoyl'd by those Agreements: That
 the Pope believ'd there were some things in the Edict that

*Answers of
 the Cardi-
 nals de
 Joyeuse,
 and d'Os-
 sat.*

1599. were not there ; as for Example, among the Rest, permission to Preach all over the Kingdom, which never was, never had been, nor never would be, in regard that all the preceding Edicts forbid it, and for that the particular Treaty of the City of *Paris* was contrary to it : That what was contain'd in the Edict was look'd upon by the Pope to be greater, and of greater Consequence, then really it was : As for Example, the declaring the *Heretics* capable of Honours and Dignities ; which was also in the former Edicts, and yet the *Heretics* were never advanc'd to the highest Employments in the Kingdom ; in regard it was one thing to be declar'd capable of a Dignity, another thing to be in possession ; Employments never being conferr'd in *France* but according to the King's Pleasure. From thence they pass to explain the meaning of the *Chamber of the Edict*, and the *Miparties*, and to shew the little prejudice which the Counsellors of the *Reformed Religion* could do the *Catholic*, because their Number was so inconsiderable. They added that Peace was more necessary, and would be more Beneficial to the Clergy then to any other Orders in the Kingdom ; that the *Catholic Religion* also would gain great Advantages by it : That it would be admitted into all the Cities where the *Reformed* were most powerful, and from whence it had been a long time exterminated : That the *Ecclesiastics* would be Restor'd to the enjoyment of their Estates : That the King also by means of this Edict, having heal'd up the Jealousies of the *Reformed*, would deprive the Lords of that Party of ability to sustain their Faction, which only serv'd for maintenance of *Heresie*, which loosing once the main support of it, would be more easily destroy'd by the Care which the King would take in conferring of Bishopricks, and his painful endeavours to convert the principal Lords : That he was not to impute the Edict to the King's Intention, of which the *Pontiff* had Reason to be well assur'd, but to necessity and the Conjunction of Time ; which they supported by Examples of other Princes, who had done the same in Cases of the like Nature. And because they knew it would find a Gracious acceptance at *Rome*, they Represented the King as one who was perswaded, that his Authority would
never

never be well secur'd, so long as that Faction continu'd in the Kingdom; from whence they concluded that he would bring it down as low as he could: But that was a Task that requir'd time, and was to be done *by fetching a compass, and winding about*, for that was the expression they us'd, like a Pilot who fails not to reach the Port he aims at, tho' he cannot always steer directly forward. After this, to shew that the Edict was not made in a time of settl'd Peace, they look'd backward as far as the surprize of *Amiens*, and made it out, that it was then, that the King was constrain'd to grant the Edict, to hinder the *Reformed* from taking Arms: That altho' they had not as then betak'n themselves to Force, yet he lay under a sufficient Restraint, in regard he might be justly afraid they would not forbear what they were usually wont to do, when they suspected a Revocation of the Treaties made with 'em; and for that he knew that a War would be no less pernicious to the *Catholics* then to others, as it had been found by experience: The *Huguenots* being both Resolute and Politic; being Masters of so many strong Holds; able to Command Foreign Aid, and sure to be assisted by Numerous Additions of *Catholic* Male-contents, Loose-Livers, and such as sought an *Asylum* for their Crimes, who would be the first to Pillage the Priests, Churches and Monasteries: That the Oppositions of the Clergy, and the delays of the Parlements were accusom'd Artifices, to shew that the Clergy did not consent to War; and that the Parliament were no less unwilling to hearken to that boystrous Remedy; tho' both the one and the other knew it would come to that, at length: That the King had neither constrain'd nor threaten'd 'em, but quite the contrary had graciously receiv'd the Clergy's Petition, and the Remonstrances of the Parliament, and in pursuance of both, had limited and qualify'd many Things; and therefore that they had branded with falsehood a Writing that had appear'd at *Rome*, under the Title of *The King's Answer to his Parliament*. Afterwards, they Discours'd of the difference between the Edict of *Nantes*, and the Council of *Trent*, which they pretended to be such, that there was no Comparison between the one and the other; upon which they made an Explanation at large.

1599. The Rest contain'd only Justifications of the Pope against those who undertook to blame his Conduct. To which they added, by way of giving him that Council which he had demanded of 'em, that it no way behov'd him to show his Resentment against the King, nor to threaten him in the least.

Accommi-
dated to
the Popes
liking.

The Pope, who was not so much offended as he would needs seem to be, as may be easily gather'd from the Observations I have made, was half appeas'd by these Answers; so that his Resentment made only a Noise at *Rome*, where Policy requir'd that he should give some Marks of his Displeasure, to see *Herésie* protected in *France*, from Persecution and the Inquisitors. Only he Resum'd his Discourse from time to time concerning the Council, of which he was greatly desirous that the King would have made Publication, in despite of the Parliament, as he had done of the Edict. Cardinal *Aldobrandini*, whom the two others went to visit, after they had left the Pope, was much better satisfy'd; only he again propos'd the Publication of the Council, as the greatest Consolation which the Pope could Receive: To which he added the Re-establishment of the *Catholic* Religion in *Bearn*. *d'Os-
sat* wrote himself to *Villeroy*, some days after, that all the Popes Wrath would be appeas'd, if there were but once a Publication of the Council; and that it would satisfy all the *Catholics* in the Court of *Rome*, who were unseasonably Scandaliz'd at the Edict. Which shews, that they would have bin content that the King should have Granted greater Favours to the *Heretics*, would he also have allow'd the Pope some considerable Advantage by way of Compensation. Moreover the Cardinals complain'd, that the King had never sent 'em any Order what to say at *Rome* concerning the Edict; so that they were forc'd to return such Answers to the Pope, as came into their Thoughts. By which 'tis easie to be seen, that the King's Intentions and Reasons for granting the Edict, were not to be lookt for in their Replies, in regard the King had never imparted 'em to their Knowledge, but that they had fram'd Answers of their own Heads, such as would be grateful to the Court of *Rome*, and serve the Pope for an excuse to wipe off the Reproaches of the *Spaniards*. The same
Affair

Affair is often variously represented by the Ministers of Princes, and Attributed to divers Motives, on purpose to render it agreeable to the Relish and Interests of the several Courts to which they are to give an Accompt of it. So that neither the Discourses of the said Ministers, nor many times their Instructions are any great Helps to discover the Intentions of their Masters. The King, who did not find things so well prepar'd within his Kingdom for the Publication of the Council, was nevertheless willing to gratifie the Pope upon the Second Article of Consolation which Cardinal *Aldobrandini* had propos'd. Therefore, while he lay at *Fontain Bleau*, he Granted an Edict for *Bearn*, no less favourable to the Catholics of *Bearn*, then the Edict of *Nantes* to all the Reformed throughout the Kingdom. He Re-establish'd two Bishops, one at *Lescar* and the other at *Oleron*; and promis'd the one a Pension of 3000, to the other a Pension of 1800 *Livers*; for the payment of which he undertook himself. He set up the Mass again in Twelve places, and in all places under *Laic Patronage*, the Patron being a Catholic. He admitted the Catholics to Offices and Employments like the Rest, provided they should not exceed the Number of the Reformed. He also by the same Edict confirm'd all the Ecclesiastical Regulations that had bin made either by himself or his Predecessors, from which he declar'd he would never derogate by his Edict; and gave it, as to that of *Nantes*, the Title of perpetual and Irrevocable.

Edict for
the Princi-
pality of
Bearn.

The States of the Country had Refus'd to Obey an Edict, which *Henry*, when he was only King of *Navarr*, had granted at *Paris*, after the Massacre in 1572. asserting that their Prince was not free, and that the Edict had been extorted from him under the Terror of Death. But this they never oppos'd; nor did they murmur at all because it was put in execution without their Consent; tho' the Attempt were directly contrary to their Priviledges. But two things oblig'd 'em to be satisfy'd with this Change. The one was, that the Catholics who demanded the Free and publick Exercise of their Religion, promis'd what as time made appear they had no Intention to stand to, that they would make no more

New.

1599 *New Demands*, if the free Exercise of their Religion might be allow'd 'em. The other was, because the Churches were afraid of a greater Mischief then that which they suffer'd; in regard that nothing was taken from 'em to be bestow'd upon others, and that they left 'em their Regulations and their Priviledges. So that they took a small Mischief for a Favour, because they were afraid of a greater; and for that knowing how earnest the Pope was for the Re-establishment of his Authority in that Province, they thought themselves rid of it at a cheap Rate, by the moderate Course which the King had taken to content all the World.

*Complaints
of the Al-
terations
made in the
Ed. &c.*

But in all other parts of the Kingdom the *Reformed* were not so well satisfy'd; and the Assembly which sat still, tho' not in a full Body at *Chatelleraud*, expecting the Verification of the Edict, had labour'd with great earnestness to hinder the Alterations which the Court was resolv'd to make in that which was Sign'd at *Nantes*. So that it requir'd a great deal of pains to perswade 'em to receive it with a General and Unanimous Consent. It happen'd therefore, that the Assembly drew up Ample Memoirs of those Alterations, which they form'd into Complaints, and sent to the King, demanding Justice. They Mark'd out the Alterations which had been made in a dozen of Articles, where they had blotted out, added and alter'd several words, as also whole Clauses, and Periods. There were some of those Alterations which seem'd too slight to be taken Notice of. Nevertheless the sequel made it appear, that they were of greater Importance then they seem'd to be; in regard they were made use of in our Time, for a Pretence of several considerable Acts of Injustice. The first thing therefore that they excepted against, was an Equivocal Word in the last Line of the Third Article of the Edict, where the Word *Houses* of the Ecclesiastics, wherein the Exercise of the Reformed Religion was forbid'd, might be adjudg'd to comprehend their *Feifs* and *Signiories* in the Prohibition. They also complain'd that the words, *by them Establish'd*, were added in the Ninth Article, as being Words which might give an occasion of Dispute upon the Explanation of the Right and Freedom of Exercise which had been Granted 'em. They could

could not Relish the two Clauses made use of in the Eleventh Article, which excepted out of Places, where the second Place of the Bailliage might be allow'd, Cities Episcopal or Archiepiscopal and Ecclesiastical *Signiories*. They Complain'd, that the Clause forbidding the rebaptizing Infants that might have been Baptiz'd by the Ministers, was raz'd out of the Eighteenth Article. They were not pleas'd with the manner of forbidding people to work, tho their Shops were shut, set down in the Twentieth Article, and permitting Informations against Transgressors of the Inhibition. They demanded that the Words which imported Prohibitions to insert in Grants of Offices the Clause of Catholic Apostolic Religion, which had been taken out of the 27 Article, might be put in again. They pretended, that the Promise to create a Substitute to the Proctor General in the Parlement of *Paris*, ought not to have been par'd off from the the 37 Article. They lookt upon as derogatory from the Jurisdiction of the *Chambers of the Edict*, that part of the 34 Article which forbid'd the bringing Causes thither in Reference to Suits that concern'd Benefices, and which debarr'd 'em of taking Cognizance of Criminal Processes, where Ecclesiastics were Defendants. They Complain'd that the Chambers were not sett'd within Six Months, as was Ordain'd by the 43 Article. The Words which were added to the 35 Article concerning Particulars to oblige the *Reformed* not to assemble their Synods without the King's leave, were left out, which might be of ill Consequence; either by Reason of the Charges of obtaining the King's permission; or because of the danger that would accrue for want of the due exercise of Church Discipline, if the King refus'd his Licence. Lastly, 'twas said, that by the Alteration made in the 45 Article, the *Reformed* were depriv'd of all that was formerly favourably allow'd 'em, in reference to the Enterrment of their Dead. Now to understand the Reason why they complain'd of this Article, 'tis requisite to know, that at first it was couch'd in these Terms. *In case His Majesties Officers provide no commodious Places for those of the said Religion, in the time prefix'd by the Edict, after Request made, and that there should be any delay or remissness in that Respect;*

1529.

Respect ; it shall be lawful for those of the said Religion to bury their Dead in the Church-yards belonging to the Catholics, in Cities and Towns where they are in possession to do it, till due provision be made. The Clergy could not brook this Article ; and therefore caus'd it to be Reform'd in such a manner, that there was not one Word left of what it contain'd before : And whereas it had been drawn up in Terms that had a Reference to the Future, and which put the *Catholics* to an absolute Necessity, either to afford the *Reformed* convenient Burying Places, or permit 'em to enterr their Dead in the Ancient Church-yards ; instead of that, I say, they drew up the *Edict* in Terms that only regarded the time past. These New Terms imported, *That for the Enterrment of those of the said Religion that had been formerly Buried in Catholic Church-yards, in any Place or City whatever, 'tis not His Majesties meaning that there shall be any Inquisition, Innovation or Prosecution, and his Majesties Officers shall be enjoyn'd to stop their Hands,* This debarr'd the *Reformed* from having any Priviledge for the Future to Bury in the same Places, nor did it compel the *Catholics* to allow 'em any other. For which Reason, ever since they began to Treat about the Affair of Burying according to this *Reformed Act*, they always met with Vexations and Cavils about that matter, which were never terminated but by the Revocation of the *Edict*.

Particular
Complaints

Precedency
pretend'd
by the Ca-
tholic Offi-
cers that
compos'd
the Cham-
bres Mi-
parties,
over the
Reformed.

The Assembly also drew up a Paper of Particular Complaints, which they would not intermix with the General. The first had Reference to an Affair which the Parliament of *Tholouse* had Transacted in the Chamber de *Castres*. The President de *Paule* had been sent thither by the Parliament, together with the *Catholic* Counsellors that were to compose the Chamber. This President tho the younger of the two, would needs take place of *Cinaye* the *Reformed* President ; Which having been disputed with him at *Castres*, he return'd to *Tholouse*, and there got a Decree pass'd in his Favour, all the Chambers being Assembl'd. The *Reformed*, not willing to submit to it, complain'd to the King of the matter of Fact as a Breach of Common Right, which adjudges the Precedency, among persons of equal Dignity, to the first Preferr'd. Besides

sides that this Attempt was contrary to the 36 Article of the Generals of the Edict, and to the 48 of the particulars ; of which, the one Ordain'd, that the Presidents and Counsellors of the Chambers should be accounted Members of the Parliament where they were settl'd ; and the other, that the most Ancient President should have the Precedence. The Parliament, on the other side, pretended, that the Presidents Elect-ed out of their Body were to have the Precedence, tho, Junior over those of the Chamber, tho their *Seniors* : And this pretension was become a leading Card for the Degree of Counsellors, who had the same Reasons and the same Interests as the Presidents. They alleag'd therefore, that the Chamber not being incorporated into the Parliament, their Officers were to give place in all things to the Members of Parliament ; more especially because *Tholouse* is one of the most Ancient Parliaments in the Kingdom. That the President of the Chamber of the *Dauphinate*, where the Precedency belong'd to the Eldest, made nothing for the Chamber of *Castres*, because That of the *Dauphinate* was incorporated, and for that the Officers belonging to it, were reputed Members of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, where they had Seats and Suffrages in all Affairs that were handl'd in the Assembl'd Chambers. They added, Cavilling upon the Order of Words, that in the Erection of the Chamber of *Castres*, the King always Nam'd the *Catholic* President the first, and the *Reformed* the second ; as if it had been his Pleasure to distinguish the two Employments by their Degree ; and to declare thereby, that the Office of first President was to be held by a *Catholic*. Upon this Occasion they magnify'd the Pre-eminency and Dignity of the *Catholic* Religion ; and forgot not to alleadge that in regard the *Reformed* President did not wear the Morter Cap, which a President in Parliament wore, as a Badge of his Dignity, that very difference decided the Question, and set the *Catholic* a Degree above the *Reformed*, which oblig'd him to give place and precedence to the other. The same Remonstrance demanded, that the Hostilities committed before 1595. should be comprehended in the *Amnesty* Granted to the Province of *Languedoc*. The third Article concern'd the Inconveniencies which

1599. the *Reformed* suffer'd for want of Burying Places for their Dead, by Reason they were deny'd convenient places for that purpose. The fourth had Reference to a particular matter of Fact that was done in the City of *Pamiers* which was almost all *Reformed*, and which the Parliament of *Tholouse* would enforce to pay a Legacy left to the Jesuits, tho' the Consuls were priviledg'd in the Chamber half Catholic, half *Reformed*. The Deputies who presented these Complaints were enjoynd to demand by Word of Mouth, that the Catholics should forbear the Exercise of their Religion in Churches and Chapels within Gentlemens Houses: Which was of great Importance, because there were few Gentlemens Houses without a Chappel. Which constrain'd the *Reformed* Gentlemen to keep their Houses open, whither they would or no, for the Catholics to come and say Mass in 'em.

Verbal demands concerning Chapels in Gentlemens Houses.

The Papers answer'd.

These Papers were answer'd toward the end of *August*, but the manner of answering 'em was very particular, and Merits to be consider'd, because it may be useful for the understanding of the Edict; and to shew what were the Kings Intentions touching the Execution of it. There were some of the Articles that concern'd the Alterations made in the Edict, upon which the King would not Grant any thing at all, nor would make any New Alteration. Such was the Article about Unbaptizing of Children, the Prohibition of which the King lookt upon as insignificant; the Repeating of Baptism being disapprov'd by the Clergy it self, and there being very few Examples of Priests that ever practiz'd it. Of the same Number was that, touching the Observation of Festivals; that of the Chamber settl'd in the Parliament of *Paris*; That of Creating an Office of substitute to the Proctor General; and lastly, That concerning Burials. All these Articles remain'd in the same Form to which they had reduc'd 'em, on purpose to facilitate their passing in Parliament. 'Tis true that by a *Tacit* Permission the Article about Burying recover'd the Force and Efficacy which it had before. The Commissioners put it in Execution as it had been Decreed at *Nantes*, as I have said in another Place; and in the Printed Copies this Article was couch'd in the first Form, according as it was Granted. And it was above

bove twenty years before the least alteration was made in it; besides that there was so much Justice in a Regulation that left the Catholics Masters of their Church-yards, provided they would allow of others, that no body grumbl'd at the Ordinances of the Commissioners conformable to those allotments. But in the next Government the Scene was quite chang'd. They would needs perswade the *Reformed*, that they had falsify'd the Article, and that during so long a Series of years they had deluded the King, the Council, the Commissioners, the Clergy, and the whole Kingdom, causing that to pass for an Article of the Edict, which was no more then a false and unjust Pretension. The Reader may judge whither such a Delusion were possible. The truth is, that because they would not draw upon themselves the Complaints of the Clergy, they let the Article go in the Clergies Terms, but enjoin'd their Commissioners to Execute it according to the first Regulation. Otherwise, I leave it to any Mans Judgment, whither it be Credible, that in three or four different Deputations, the Catholic Commissioners should have conspir'd for Twenty years together, all over the Kingdom, with the *Reformed*, to Cheat the World, and Violate their Instructions. But there were others wherein the *Reformed* obtain'd their desires as that for the Explanation of the Equivocal Term of *Houses Ecclesiastical*, which was order'd to their Advantage; the signification of the Terms being reduc'd to Buildings design'd for Persons, or Service Ecclesiastical. Also upon the delay of Establishing the Edict, they obtain'd a New Order to settle 'em in three Months, upon pain of Interdicting the Parliaments that refus'd to do it. Upon other Articles they were, referr'd to the Chancellor, to know the Kings Intentions; as upon the inconveniences they were afraid of, if they should be oblig'd to Request the Kings Permission for holding their Colloquies and Synods; or else they were remitted to the Instructions of the Commissioners, to which the *Reformed* had likewise agreed, and according to which the Edict was to be Executed. Such was the Article wherein they complain'd of an Addition of the Equivocal Words, *By them Establish'd*, in the 9th Article of the Edict. From

1599. whence, it appear'd that they were to seek for the Meaning of this Term, in the Manner of the Commissioners or Judges ordering the Confirmation of Right or Priviledge grounded upon this Article; whereas in our days, they would needs derive the Interpretation from the Discipline itself of the *Reformed*; as if it could not be said, that an Exercise had been *Establish'd by them*, if they had fail'd to observe the least Formalities therein. Lastly in others, besides the General Instruction, which was written on the side of the Article Answer'd, there was a secret Reservation, according to which they were to Govern themselves in the Execution of the Thing; and those Reservations were always to the Advantage of the *Reformed*. So that altho the King left the two Clauses complain'd of in the 11th Article, because said he, in his Answer, That the second Place of Bailliage was a favour, which he might have Limited with all the Restrictions which he thought proper to add; Nevertheless there was this Reservation, That if it prov'd more difficult to Establish the second Place of the Bailliage, either because of the Exception of Ecclesiastical Demeans, or for want of some convenient place in the Kings Demesnes, it should be settl'd upon the Feife of some Catholic Lord. Also upon the Exception of Ecclesiastical Causes, which the Chambers are forbid to take Cognizance of, tho the King preserv'd this Priviledge to the Clergy, yet there was this Reservation, That the Leading-men of the Parliament should be treated with, to send back Causes of that Nature to the Chamber of Edict, since there would be but one *Reformed* Counsellor in that Chamber. But the Clergy would never surrender this Point, for fear it should be taken for too express a Mark of their Consent to the Edict, should they own the Jurisdiction of a Chamber that bare the Name of it. As to the Change that was made in the 27th Article, from whence they had taken away the Prohibition to insert the Clause of the Religion Catholic and Apostolic in Grants of Offices, 'twas answer'd that the Prohibition was made in the Chancery; and so that they would make that Prohibition pass for Insignificant, because it had been put in Execution.

Execution. But that Alteration was one of the most Important, and *Lewis XIII.* took his Advantage of it, to debar the *Reformed* from all Offices and Employments. The truth is, that the King supposing always in his Grants and Patents the Religion and Good Manners of the Person who enjoys any Place of Trust, had slid in, after the Word Religion, the Words Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, to exclude from all Employment all those that made Profession of any other Doctrine. But now that the Edict declar'd as well *Reformed*, as *Catholics*, indifferently capable of Employments, it was but just to take away that Mark of Distinction, and to require only Testimonials of the Religion of the Person to be preferr'd, without expressing what Religion, since it was indifferent what Religion the Person admitted Profess'd, whether the one or the other. This was very useful to the *Reformed* for the time it was observ'd; but *Lewis XIII.* thought it the better way to mark the difference of Religions, to the end that the Name of Pretended *Reformed* being inserted in the Grants, might be a signal to give notice to the Jurisdiction where the Parties were to be Presented, to start Scruples upon the Admission of those that were the Bearers of 'em.

The particular Remonstrance was answer'd much after the same manner. The King ordain'd, upon the point of Precedence, that the Articles of the Edict should be observ'd; and there was a private promise that the President *de Paule* should be commanded to return to *Castres*, and obey the Regulations. Thus the *Reformed* gain'd their point; but for the Honour of the Parliament of *Tholouse*, the Matter was privately adjudg'd. The Amnesty of Hostilities committed before 1585, was granted to the Province of *Languedoc*, and promis'd to all the rest that stood in need of it; as also to particular persons who might be put to trouble under that pretence. The Affair of Church-yards and Burying-places was referr'd to the Commissioners; but there was this Reservation, that the Commissioners should order Places for Burying the Dead to be allow'd *Gratis*; or otherwise, that they shou'd order the Corporations to purchase 'em, without putting the *Reformed* to any Charges of Contribution. As to the Process of the Jesuits

*Precedence
prefer'd to
the most
Ancient
President.*

*Article of
Church-
yards.*

1599. Jesuits against the City of *Pamiers*, it was order'd, That the Decrees of Council made in favour of the City should be put in execution, notwithstanding any Decrees of the Parliament of *Tholouse* to the contrary. As to what concern'd the Churches and Chappels in *Reformed* Gentlemens Houses, as it was only propos'd by Word of Mouth, so it was determin'd after the same manner. The King gave leave that particular persons, who were concern'd therein, should appeal to him, and he would treat with the Clergy, in order to perswade 'em to remove into other places, and to rebuild at the Charges of the *Reformed*, in places left to the Bishops choice, Chappels and Churches endow'd, wherein the Catholic Service should be continu'd for the future. But as for places not endow'd, and where the Service was only perform'd at the pleasure of the Proprietor, that the Clergy should agree to leave 'em at the Discretion of those to whom they belong'd. This seem'd to be nothing but Justice then, but the Law being alter'd in these later years, the Clergy is become Master of all the places of this Nature, without any other pretence then that of the Name of Chappel, which those places bore, or some Figure of a Cross, or some other Footsteps of the Roman Worship still remaining.

Mary
Brossiere
feigns her
self possess'd
by the De-
vil.

But while the Assembly, that kept firm at *Chastelleraud*, were busily employ'd in drawing up Papers and getting Answers, the Zealous Catholics were preparing new Devices to disturb their Repose; and not finding the Wiser sort dispos'd to make new Broils, they resolv'd to stir up the Mobile, by means most proper to put 'em in a Ferment. *Martha Brossiere*, the Daughter of a person of mean Extraction, Born at *Romorantin*, having a good Wit, but a very Infirm and Diseas'd Body, and joining *Hypocrisie* to her Infirmities, would needs set up for one possess'd by the Devil. Her Father, being Advis'd by some Bigots, or Flatter'd by the Hopes of Profit, by reason of the Concourse of people to such Sights, and the Alms which they pour forth upon people under such Circumstances, carry'd her up and down from Province to Province, under pretence of getting Relief and Cure for her. But the Bishop of *Orléance*'s Chancellor soon perceiv'd it to be a Cheat, and the Bishop

Bishop of *Angers* convinc'd himself of the Fallacy by a very pleasant Experiment. For 'tis Reported, That while he feign'd to put his Episcopal Crosier in her Hand, which ought always to be very well repeniſh'd with Relicks, he dexterously ſlipp'd into it the Key of his Cheſt, where *Oblivion* tax'd him to keep lockt up ſuch things as never frighten the Devil; but the Daughter deceiv'd by the Coldneſs of the Key, fell a Crucifying and Tormenting her ſelf with the ſame extravagant Poſtures and Contortions of her Body as ſhould have been the effects of the real Relicks, according to the Opinion of the Catholics: Which cauſing the Prelate to ſmile, as it did all the people who were preſent, he refus'd to have any more to do with her. But in regard this was not ſufficient to diſabuse the people, the pretended Female Demoniac was to be carry'd to *Paris*, where by Men of Prudence the thing was lookt upon to be a meer Trifle, and it was adjudg'd to be an Artifice that only tended to the reviving of New Troubles. Now the Diſtemper'd Patient in her Raving Fits talk'd of nothing but the *Reformed* and the Edict, and of the Toleration of Countenanc'd Hereſie; threatning withal, the Wrath of Heav'n againſt them that were the Authors of it. 'Twas eaſily underſtood by that, that this Comedy was the Contrivance of ſome Cabal; nor did they deal by this pretended Demoniac as one that ſtood in need of Eccleſiaſtical Remedies, but as one that was ſeiz'd with a Diſtemper of which others endeavour'd to make an ill uſe. Nevertheleſs the Party that favour'd the Impoſture, either out of Malice or Suſpicion was ſo great, that they durſt not take thoſe due Courſes with the Counterfeit as ſhe deſerv'd. The *Capuchins*, whoſe Credit is grounded upon an Affectation of outward Mortification, and who for the moſt part are Ignorant and Zealous to the loweſt and meaneſt degree of ſilly Bigotry, were the firſt that made themſelves Maſters of this Unfortunate Wretch, and ſpent a World of Exorcifms upon her, as if ſhe had been really poſſeſs'd. The Biſhop of *Paris* ſtood upon his Guard, unwilling to hazard the High Opinion which People had of his Judgment and his Religion, by taking her part too ſoon; and therefore cauſ'd her to be viſited and obſerv'd by ſeveral Phyſicians.

*The Sequel
of this Co-
medy with-
in and
without
the King-
dom.*

1599 Physicians. Among these, there was one whose Name was *Duret*, famous in the Faculty, who alone by himself maintain'd that she was possess'd; and his single Suffrage prevail'd so far, tho' contradicted by three Opinions directly contrary, which would hardly allow her to be troubl'd with so much as the slighter Distempers of the Spleen and Hypochondryac Melancholly; as also by a fourth, who would neither give his Opinion *Pro* nor *Con*, till he had had a Trial of three Months; This single Suffrage, I say, prevail'd so far, that it encourag'd, and in some measure Authoriz'd the Exorcists to send for other Physicians, who, to the Eternal Ignominy of their Profession, Voted all of 'em, that the Hypocrisie and Vapours of the Patient were the effects of a Supernatural Distemper. Upon this, there was a necessity, that to silence the noise which this Business made, the Parliament should interpose their Authority, and appoint other Physicians to examine the matter. Those Physicians agreed unanimously, that there was nothing of Supernatural in the Maid's Distemper; thereupon the Parliament, who had a long time ago banish'd from their Considerations the frivolous Stories of Witchcrafts, and Diabolical Possessions, put her in Prison, to the end they might be the better enabl'd to distinguish, whither it were a Distemper or an Imposture. A little after they discharg'd her, and return'd her to her Father, commanding him to keep her at home, and to have such a strict hand over her, that she should not wander from Province to Province as she had done before.

But it was not so easie to impose silence upon the Predicants, who loudly declaim'd against those who still'd that Voice which they call'd Miraculous, and which they would have to be an Oracle very proper to convince the Heretics. Time did more then all the Authority and Remonstrances of the most Sage and Prudent, and by degrees asswag'd this Tempest; but it had like to have broken out again in a more dangerous manner. An Abbot of *St. Martin*, whose Name was *Roche Foucaut*, Brother of the Bishop of *Chermont*, and of the Family of *Randan*, which had been strictly devoted to the League, and which had put the King to a great deal of trouble in the Province where it had an Interest, got this Maid
into

1599.

into his Custody, and undertook to make something of her Impostures; but the Cheat was so known, and so cry'd down in France, that the Abbot was constrain'd to seek for Credulous Supporters out of the Kingdom. He thought that he should find Protectors anow at Rome, but he was deceiv'd; for D'Offat being advertis'd of the Business, forestall'd the Pope, and the Pope was not so much offended at the Publication of the Edict, as to make use of this Ridiculous pretence to uphold his Exclamations. The poor Abbot therefore found himself abandon'd by all the World; Nay the very Jesuits, unwilling to offend the King, with whom there was some discourse of a Reconciliation, would not so much as meddle with this Intreague, tho' since their Re-establishment it had been seen, that for several Years together they had always had some Demoniac or other at their Devotion, to Rave according to their Instructions for the support of their Interests. At length the Maid was shut up in a certain Nunnery, and her Patron was constrain'd to have more Wit, because that all the Measures of his Project were quite broken.

In the mean time all Endeavours were us'd in earnest to Dissolve the Kings Marriage with Queen Margaret, that he might be free to Marry another; and the Kings Mistress being Dead, as I have already said, the Queen shew'd her self to be less scrupulous then she had been any time before. 'Twas requisite that she should prefer a Petition her self, that she might be Degraded; and she agreed to every thing that the King desir'd. The greatest difficulty was to find pretences sufficiently plausible for the Dissolution of this Marriage; Nine were produc'd, which were thought prevalent enough to do the Turn; but which, to speak sincerely, were at the bottom of so little Validity, that had it been the case of a private Person, they would not have been so much as listen'd to. D'Offat also frequently wrote, that there was but one that could be thought to strike home, and that at Rome they would make but little reckoning of all the rest. That which he thought would be of greatest weight, was a pretended Violence which Queen Margaret alledg'd had been offer'd to her, for which proofs were produc'd more proper to excite

*Dissolution
of the
Kings Mar-
riage.*

1599. Laughter then procure Belief. Nevertheless the Witnesses were carefully Instructed, and some had their Depositions ready drawn to their hands. The Pope was willing to prepossess himself, and tho he were to be a Judge of the Affair, he could not forbear, in some measure, to come in himself for a Witness of the Constraint of which the Queen complain'd, by repeating the Words that were spoken by *Charles IX.* to Cardinal *Aldobrandini*, whose Domestic Servant he was. So that in shewing he had particular Reasons for giving Credit to the proofs of the Violence which that Princess had sustain'd, he prepar'd Mens Minds to lay aside all Doubts, that he would make it a point of Conscience to ordain the Dissolution of the Marriage. For at the bottom, if the proofs that appear'd were not solid, he had Reasons which he reserv'd in his Breast, which render'd the Divore Lawful even in the Judgment of the *Reformed*; and it behov'd him to be satisfy'd with what he could find, for fear that if better Reasons were alledg'd, it might chance to cost the Queen her Life. Every one had his particular prospect in this Affair, besides Reasons of State and Conscience. The *Reformed* were in hopes of being firmly settled under an Heir bred up by a King who was belov'd by 'em, and who was beholding to 'em; and the Pope saw well the Advantage that would redound to Him, that there would be a King in *France* one day, that could never question the Authority of the Holy See, without putting in doubt at the same time his Right to the Crown.

A Decree of
the Parla-
ment of
Bretagne,
touching
the Oath
sworn by
the Reform-
ed to a Ca-
tholic.

I might here pass over in silence a particular Affair that happen'd this Year in the Parliament of *Bretagne*, did I not think it useful to shew how the Parliament were inclin'd at that time toward the *Reformed*. The Chamber that was to be Erected at *Paris* was not yet ready; for which reason they could not make use of the Priviledge of removing Causes where the Suit was proper, out of the Jurisdiction of the Parliament of *Bretagne*. Now a *Reformed* pleading there against a *Catholic*, in a Cause about something that depended upon Honesty and Sincerity, declar'd that he would be concluded by the *Catholic's* Oath, provided he would take it upon the Sacrament, which was the most Sacred Thing in his Religion.

BUT

But the *Catholic* being willing to avoid the Oath, or else to take it only according to the usual Forms, the Parliament adjudg'd the proposal of the *Reformed* not admissible, because he had not the same Veneration for the Sacrament as the *Catholic*. Casuists, much more equitable then the Judges of that Parliament, might have blam'd the *Reformed* perhaps, because he requir'd his Adversary to Swear by that which he did not believe was the Object of Worship; but would have dispenc'd with the *Catholics* taking it, because the Oath taken under a certain Name Dishonours not the Object there Nam'd, but on the contrary, has a great Veneration paid it by him that Swears. At least the Primitive Churches were much of this Opinion; they would have condemn'd a Christian, who should have requir'd a Pagan to Swear by the Name of one of his Deities; but they would have pronounc'd those Judges Unjust that should have dispenc'd with a Pagan for taking such an Oath, under pretence that the Christian abominated Idols. For in truth, the Religion of an Oath is grounded upon this, That he who takes the Oath is always presum'd to Swear by those things which he esteems most Amiable and most Sacred. The *Catholics* who now Trade among those whom they call Infidels or Heretics, would think it strange that those people should not be permitted to Swear by what they believe most Venerable, under pretence that the *Catholics* have not the same Veneration for the same Things.

Toward the latter end of this Year, the King in favour of *La Trimouille*, added the Dignity of Peer to that of Duke, which he had already, and he took his Oath at the beginning of *December*; which favour proceeded not so much from the Kings Affection, as from the Fear and Awe that he stood in of the Duke's Wit and Courage. The Court was full of Malecontents, but the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *Trimouille* were not the least formidable, either by the Puissant Alliances of their Families, or their Reputation among the *Reformed*; therefore to prevent their joining with others, they endeavour'd to gratifie 'em with some particular Favours. And the *Peerage*, which had not as yet been conferr'd upon all sorts of people, was esteem'd an Honour that might satisfy the most Ambitious.

1599. rious. However the Duke was not rais'd to that Dignity, without murmuring at it. But Marshal de Bouillon already enjoy'd the same Honour, and by consequence it was no Novelty, since there was already a President for it; nevertheless, the Spaniards made a great noise about it, at Rome, and the Pope complain'd of it. They had put it into the Popes Head, that together with the Dignity of Peerage, he was to enjoy the Office of High Admiral, the Authority of which, as he thought, extended to Command in all the Sea Towns. But d'Offat appeas'd him, by making it out to him, that the Edict being Granted, the Granting some Honours to those that were declar'd Capable could not be avoided; more especially, when they were persons of that Merit and Quality as the Duke; that the Title was an Honour without profit, and which Invested the Duke neither with any more Power, nor any more Revenue then he had before; but which engag'd him to greater Expences, without affording him wherewithal to defray 'em; that neither Offices nor Governments were annex'd to it; that in bestowing such sort of Favours the King had always a regard to the Good of the Catholic Religion, and by kindnesses of that Nature sought to gain the principal Heads of the Heretics to his Party. The Pope relish'd these Reasons, and so the Noise spread no farther. They were yet more tractable at Rome, in reference to the Business of *Lesdigueres* and *Roni*, whose Religion they well knew, would never transport 'em so far as to displease the Pope. There appear'd some discontent that *Roni* had obtain'd the Superintendency of the *Finances*, which the King had conferr'd upon him about the time that the Edict was concluded. But in all probability, this discontent was rais'd by a Cabal of the Council, of which *Villeroy* was the Chief, who not being able to waste the Kings Treasure, by reason of *Roni*'s severe Management, would fain have had that Employment in the hands of a Courtier more remiss; for which reason, d'Offat, a Creature of *Villeroy*'s, engag'd himself too far in this Intreague for his Profit, for that having written those things to the King, which tended indirectly to the taking away the *Finances* from *Roni*, the Cunning Treasurer made him suffer for it, by reducing

Roni's Advancement not much wonder'd at.

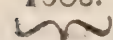
ducing him almost to Beggery, for want of his Pensions duly paid. Nor was this any obstruction, but that within a little time after, *Roni*, without quitting the Administration of the *Finances*, was made Master of the Ordnance, Duke and Peer, Governour of the *Bastile* and a Province, no body opposing this great Preferment of a *Heretic*. 'Tis very true, that when he wrote to the Pope, he gave him the Title of *His Holiness*, as a Catholic would have done.

The Obstructions of the Edict had lasted almost till the beginning of this Year, tho they had begun to put it in Execution in several places, and that the King had appointed two Commissioners in every Province, to act in such a manner as to content both Parties. One of these two was a *Catholic*, the other a *Reformed*; but the *Catholic* was Elected also with the Approbation of the *Reformed*, because they were their fears of being depriv'd by the Cavils of a Bigotted Commissary, of what was Granted 'em by the most Solemn Edict that ever was Granted by a Prince, in favour of his Subjects that were to be hear'd. Now, tho their Power were equal, nevertheless, to the end the Catholics might have the Advantage in every thing, the Catholic Commissioner had the Upper hand almost every where, and bore the greatest Sway. They were Impower'd to receive all manner of Petitions and Complaints, touching the Execution of the Edict, and to decide all Differences that might arise upon that occasion. Their Orders were as good as a Law, especially in things that were not Contested, and where both Parties Consented; nor is there any President, that I know of any Appeal to the King, upon any Decree of that Nature; but when any Dispute arose, they were to give an Account of their Sentence to the King; and their Decree was only made with a Proviso, till the King had pronounc'd his Judgment. And indeed, to speak properly, their Commission was no more then the Act it self explain'd, and limited by particular Articles, and the King by Word of Mouth reduc'd their Instructions to two Heads; The one was to Re-establish the Exercise of the *Roman* Religion in all places where it had been disturb'd; and the other was to settle Peace over all the Kingdom by a due Observation of the Edict.

Commissioners for the Execution of the Edict and their Power.

Thus

1660.



Thus hitherto I have given an Account of the Negotiations and Treaties that preceded the Edict of *Nantes*, and which prepar'd the Matter, and form'd the Articles; And I have set down the principal Obstructions that so long hinder'd either the Conclusion, or the Verification of it. Henceforward I am to speak of the Observation of it, or of the Breaches and Violations of it, till our very days. But in regard that this is in some measure a New Subject, my Opinion is, that I can no where better insert then here, some General Considerations upon this Edict, to shew the Force and Nature of it, that so the Reader, coming to see the Recital of Matters of Fact, upon which I intend to build my Reflections, and not being oblig'd to go far to seek for the Heads from whence I shall derive my Consequences, may the more easily apprehend and observe the Truth of 'em. To which purpose I shall speak of three Things. First, I shall give a brief Account of the Reproaches, at that time, cast upon the *Reformed* by the Catholics, and afterwards so many times reviv'd. Secondly, I shall set down in few Words the Replies of the *Reformed* in their own Defence. Lastly, I shall make more ample Reflections upon the Justice, Benefit, and Importance of the Edict; from thence to conclude, that of it self, and in its own Nature, it was Irrevocable, tho it had never been so stil'd; and withal, I shall Reply to some Objections, which were the first occasion of all the Clergies Enterprises to destroy it, I shall handle this Matter by the way of Historical Remarks, leaving the Lawyers to explain 'em by Observations agreeable to their Principles.

General Ob-
servations
upon the
Edict.

From the time then that the Edict was set forth, there were several Discourses and Writings concerning it, to and fro. The *Reformed* were assail'd with many Reproaches, and they set forth several Apologies in defence of themselves. The Zealous Catholics, who were mad to see a Party, which they Mortally hated, Establish'd in such a manner that they could not be stirr'd, reveng'd themselves by Invectives; and the *Reformed*, secur'd by the Edict, sought no further then to Ward off their Calumnies with Words. But the main Reason which induc'd the Catholics to frame these several Accusations,

Accusations, was, Because the Edict seem'd to perpetuate, to 1600.
 their lasting shame, the remembrance of the League, contriv'd
 among 'em to Exclude their Lawful Prince from the Throne,
 under the pretence of Religion. 'Tis true, the Edict forbid
 the Reviving the Memory of Things past, but we know that
 these sort of Prohibitions can never hinder Posterity from com-
 ing to the Knowledge of such things as others would fain
 obliterate by such precautions; Amnesties do but keep up the
 Remembrance of those Crimes which they pardon. In a word
 the Measures that are taken to stifle those events of which the
 Memory is odious, may put a stop to the Inquiries and Pur-
 suits that may be made after 'em, without such Inhibitions, by
 Prosecutions and Indictments at Law. But such proceedings are
 so far from razing such Events out of the Memory of Men,
 that they Engrave more deeply in their Minds such an In-
 scription as will never permit their being Bury'd in Oblivion.
 The Edict therefore, by forbidding to revive things past,
 ceas'd not however to be a kind of Monument to preserve
 'em always in their Thoughts. It appear'd by the Edict that
 there had been Hostilities, Mortal hatred of each other, Op-
 pressions and Ravages; and altho the *Reformed* should have
 forbore to upbraid the Catholics with 'em, who had been the
 Authors of the greatest part of those Mischiefs, and the occa-
 sion of the rest by their Cruelties and Violations of so many
 Treaties, it seem'd that the Edict alone cast a Reproach upon
 'em so much the more uneasy to be endur'd, because it is per-
 petual; 'tis a Voice that always repeats as loud the Inhuma-
 nities, the Massakers, and the Treasons of Time past, as that
 of the Law which prohibits their Contrivance.

The *Catholics* then, who began to blush at things past, and
 knew well they could never be Interpreted to their Advan-
 tage, endeavour'd to pick out something that was equally lia-
 ble to Reproach in the Conduct of the *Reformed*; to the end
 that by way of Compensation, both the one and the other
 might appear equally Guilty or Innocent. To which purpose,
 they were about to turn the Edict to the Dishonour of the
Reformed, and to raise up against 'em a perpetual Character
 of Criminal Behaviour. They sought for pretences that
 might

*Reproacher
 of the Ca-
 tholics
 thrown up-
 on the Re-
 formed.*

1600. might be serviceable to 'em, in the Time and Manner of obtaining so favourable an Edict. They forgot not that the *Reformed* had taken the opportunity of the Siege of *Amiens* to put a value upon themselves, and to draw from the King more Advantagious Conditions, through the Necessity of his Affairs. They lookt upon it as if the *Reformed* has lost all the Honour of their former Services, by their coldness and indifferency at that time, and that that same kind of Desertion was as Criminal as all the Attempts of the League; but it may be seen, that the *Reformed* very well defended themselves from that Accusation, as I have made appear in its due place. They were upbraided also with this, That it was a piece of Felony to transact with their King concerning Peace; That what they obtain'd by force of Arms was an Eternal Monument of their Rebellion, how advantagious soever it otherwise appear'd; That a King could not make Peace with his Subjects, but it must appear that he had made War against him; Nor Pardon 'em, but that it must be evident they were Criminals. That the *Reformed* at first Assembl'd without Arms, and strove with Emulation to pray to God for those whom they call'd Persecutors; so far were they from repelling Violence by Violence; but that at length, they had taken Arms to render themselves Formidable. That after the first War they were contented to take the Royal Word for a Pledge and Security of the Peace; but that afterwards they would have strong Towns, Garisons, Chambers half one, half t'other, and a hundred other Securities. From whence they branch'd out another Calumny, that their Religion was degenerated into Faction; that their aim was to set up another State in a State, and that they aspir'd to get themselves loose of the General Laws, by the help of particular Concessions.

The most part of these Objections were no more then a Reviving of those that had appear'd in the Reign of *Charles* the Ninth, and which had since that time been solidly refuted. But there had happen'd, after that, so many Novelties, that had augmented the Rights of the *Reformed*, and given new Demonstrations of the Justice of their Complaints, that 'twas easie to judge, the *Catholics* did not revive those Idle Calumnies,

nies, but only because they knew not where to find any other 1600.
fit for their turn.

The *Reformed* confess'd a great part of what their Ene- *Answers.*
mies laid to their Charge, not without some Aggravations
of their own; but either they made it out that there was
no Harm in what they had done, because they had done
nothing but what was grounded upon the Law of Nature
it self; or if they had done amiss, that the Guilt lay not
at their Door, but that the real Authors were to beblam'd.
That when there is a Necessity of endangering the Life of
an Enemy, the Reproach ought not to fall upon him that
stands upon his Defence, but it is to be charg'd upon the
Violence of the Aggressor; That the insisting upon Cau-
tions and Securities was not to be imputed to those that
demand 'em, but to those whose breach of Faith re-
duc'd the others to require 'em. That Negotiations of
Peace between Subjects and their Kings might be Stil'd
Felonious Acts, had the Kings been always the Fathers of
their Subjects, and the Just Conservators of the Rights and
Priviledges, which by Nature, or by Birth, belong'd to
'em; for that being presuppos'd, there can be no pretence
for the taking up of Arms. But in regard that Self-defence
was the only occasion of the War on their side, when the
Princes had lent out their Names and their Authority to Pa-
tronize the Cruelties, Treacheries, and Perjuries of Persecu-
tors; when they had given 'em the Command of Armies to Ex-
tirpate the pretended *Heretics*; when they were the declar'd
Heads of that Destroying Party; when they had Sworn the
Ruin of their own Subjects without Pity or Compassion;
when they had engag'd to Sacrifice the Blood and Lives of
those Unfortunate Wretches to the Interests of Foreign
Power, which had no other reason to bear an Antipathy to
the pretended *Heretics*, but because they detested the Tyranny
it aspir'd to; and went about to free the Neck of their
Kings from the Yoke which it strove to impose upon their
Necks; when they had Sworn never to keep their Oaths
with their Subjects, unless they were forc'd to it; nor to ob-
serve

1600. serve any Treaties of Peace, but when they could no longer make War upon 'em with Advantage; that then they might Lawfully betake themselves to their Arms, and by consequence were not bound to lay 'em down, till after a Treaty of Peace concluded, by which the Partys oppress'd might find themselves sufficiently secur'd. That the *Reformed* had never sought Relief by Force of Arms, while they were under the Protection of any Form of Justice, by leaving 'em the means to be answerable for their Faith, and to unfold their Doctrine against the Accusations of their Adversaries: That they had patiently suffer'd all the Mischievous Injuries that had been done 'em, for Thirty Years together, by Bloody Edicts, that stirr'd up all sorts of persons against 'em, and depriv'd 'em of all manner of shelter and Sanctuary; that they had with the same Constancy endur'd their being hal'd from Jurisdiction to Jurisdiction, when their Enemies were both Parties and their Judges; that is to say, The Ecclesiastics, whose hatred they had only Merited, by revealing the Corruption of their Doctrine, their Discipline and their Manners; and when they had also Erected New Tribunals to their Ruin, and had deliver'd 'em over to the Inquisition. That they were still Masters of their Patience, when the Clergy put Thousands to Death, by Decrees drawn up in form indeed, tho both Cruel and Unjust; when there were no less then Eight Thousand Sentences of Death Recorded in the Public Registers, not to speak of Imprisonments, Confi'cations, Banishments, and several other Vexations and Oppressions which they were forc'd to undergo. That they never took Arms, till after the first Edict for Liberty of Conscience had been Violated by the Court in several Branches, and after several Manners; but that they had laid 'em down agen, both upon that, and sundry other Occasions, upon the first Offers of Peace. In reference to which, they forgot not the Maxim of *Kathern de Medicis*, who never made it a Matter of Conscience to break her Word with 'em, because if she did not find her Perfidiousness stood her

her.

her in any stead, she had always a sure way to Disarm 'em, 1600. by giving 'em, to use her own Expression, *Their Belly full of Preaching.*

They made it out that the first Edict was Granted before the War began ; and that it was obtain'd by Petitions and Conferences only ; that the Enterprize of *Amboise* was only a Politic Affair, wherein Religion had never been concern'd, but because the Heads of both Parties profess'd a different Religion ; That the Treacheries, the Cruelties, and more especially the Horrid Massacre of 1572, had made it evident that the Royal Word was made a May-game, and a Snare, to surprize the Innocence and Credulity of the *Reformed* ; that after they had caus'd 'em, by Fraud and fair Promises, to lose the opportunity of obtaining an Advantagious Peace, while the King and the Catholics themselves stood in need of their Assistance, they had amus'd 'em by a Thousand delays, provok'd 'em by a Thousand contempts, and a Thousand injurious flouts, for having so little Prudence and Policy ; of which however the Catholics had all the reason in the World to Repent, when at the Siege of *Amiens* they saw how Necessary the Union of the *Reformed*, with the rest of the Kingdom, was for the preservation of it. After this, to load the *Reformed* with Accusations, because they would not Surrender themselves, without bargaining for their Security, to the Discretion of their Old Enemies, was to imitate the Justice of Highway-Men, that should go about to bring their Actions against Travellers, because they refus'd to confide in their Words ; or else, because they rather chose to make 'em run the half of the Danger, by putting themselves upon the Defensive part, then to suffer their Throats to be Cut without Resistance. That as for the pretence of a State in a State, it was a meer Chimera ; that the strong Holds which were left in their Hands belong'd to the King as well as the rest in the Kingdom ; Possess'd by him ; Paid with his Money ; Kept in his Name ; and that the Trust of 'em was not Perpetual,

1600. tual, since they were to be no longer in their hands, then
till the Catholics should be at leifure to Accustom them-
selves to live at Peace and Unity with 'em ; and there-
fore, if they desir'd they should be Surrender'd, without
any Trouble, at the end of the Term prefix'd, that the
Catholics had no more to do, but to observe more faith-
fully the New Edict then they had done all the rest.

The End of the Sixth Book.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
E d i c t of N A N T S.

B O O K VII.

The Epitome of the 7th. Book.

Questions upon the Nature of the Edict. The Benefit of it. The State of the Kingdom before and after the Edict. Wars about Religion are the most Cruel. What diversity of Religious Policy ought not to suffer in a Kingdom. What is the Nature of the Reformed Religion. The Justice of the Edict which restor'd Humanity and Sincerity. Services done to Kings by the Reformed. The Justice of Rewards after Service done. What Recompence is. The Edict grants nothing

1600. to the Reformed which distinguishes 'em from the rest of the French, in the Quality of Subjects. For that reason the Concessions in it are so much the more just. What the Edict grants the Reformed do no body any prejudice. The Catholic Religion has been a great Gainer by the Edict. The Edict ought to be Irrevocable. A Consideration upon the Word and the Thing. Rights of Conscience. The Force of Edicts that maintain the Liberty of it ; and those that are Granted for the Preservation of Societies. The Preservation of their Subjects the Chief Obligation of Sovereigns. There is Naturally an Express or Tacit Treaty between the Sovereign and the Subjects ; as also between Master and Servant. The Force of Treaties. The Edict of Nantes is a Treaty, which the Form of an Edict renders more Venerable. Two Considerations of a Treaty in the Edict. 1. Between the King and the Reformed. 2. Between the Reformed and the Catholics. The Reformed Treat with the King. 1. About Reward for their Services. 2. About Security against their Enemies. Places of Security. Kings may Treat with their Subjects. Proofs. The Reformed were in a Condition to Treat with the King. Six Considerations that make it out. Other Reflections. Considerations upon which the King Treats. The King Arbitrator between himself and his Subjects, to Grant the Edict with the Consent of the Catholics. A Maxim of the Clergy in the Questions of the Regale. The King Security for his own Edict. Successors bound to observe the Treaties made by their Predecessors. That the Parlements, the Clergy, the Pope himself, have as much share in the Edict as was necessary to remove all pretence of Complaint. A Resuming the Series of the History. Commotion of Mens Minds upon the Publishing the Book of the Eucharist. Divers Writers attack it. The King is willing to satisfy the Pope, and content du Plessis. Du Plessis tax'd for false Quotations stands upon his Honour. He Challenges his Accusers, and his Challenge accepted by Perron. A Conference Granted. Difficulties started by the Clergy as to the Matter and Thing. Others, by du Plessis's Friends. Degrees of Foul Play. 1. Perron has Notice, but not du Plessis. 2. Perron is Dispos'd with from giving in Writing the Number of the Passages which he promis'd. 3. The Order and Choice of the Passages

Passages is left to him. The Conference almost broken off is continu'd upon unequal Conditions. 5. Perron prescribes the Laws for it. 6. Threescore and one Passages deliver'd to du Plessis to justify in eight Hours. 7. They deprive him of his Rest in the Night. 8. The King appoints the Commissioners. 9. Gives the plurality of Vices to the Catholics. 10. Changes two that were first appointed for two others more suspected. 11. Makes choice of two tottering Reformed : Characters of du Fresne Canaye and Casaubon. 12. Forbid making use of the Terms of False and Falstiy. Reciprocal Protestations. Perron's Milice. Form of the Conference. Du Plessis condemn'd in Nine Passages. General and particular Reflexions. Du Plessis falls Sick, and the Conference breaks off. The Catholics insult and Triumph. Consequences of the Conference. The Assembly remov'd from Chastelleraud to Saumur ; where it breaks up.

BUT there are other considerations to be made upon this Subject, which are no less important. 'Tis fit to be enquir'd, whether, supposing that the means, by which they obtain'd the Edict, were Innocent, it was beneficial to Grant it : Whither it were one of those Edicts that become Essential Laws of the Kingdom, in Respect of the Nature of the things which they decide, or the manner of Ordaining 'em, or rather one of those which being Granted only to serve the present Occasion, may be revok'd upon the change of Affairs.

The Question concerning the Benefit of the Edict may be determin'd in few Words. There needs no more then to consider the vast number of Mischiefs that render'd it necessary ; and which it has successfully repair'd, and the Great Advantages which it procur'd to France, while it was observ'd with any appearance of Fidelity. There needs no more then to compare what France was, before the Edict had laid the more solid Foundation of Peace, and what it arriv'd to in a few years after the publick Tranquility was establish'd. I shall say nothing of the Terrors of a Civil War consider'd in it self : They are well known to all the World. There is no Body but Trembles when he calls to mind, that the Members of one

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which had interrupted almost all the Functions of the Judges, must have ensu'd by setting up Prescriptions, Bickerings about Jurisdictions, with incertainties of Possession, had not a stop been put to the Progress of these Irregularities, by a happy Revolution. Several faults had been made upon the Royal Authority, during those long divisions, as tho' it had been no more then an Airy Title, which was neither of any Efficacy, or Power to support it self: And the Kingdom, which for so many Ages had kept up so high a Degree and Reputation in *Europe*, was become the Scorn or Pity of Foreigners, according as they had a kindness, or diskindness for *France*. That Kingdom which had been for so long time the Sanctuary, and Refuge of the Oppressed, was now no other then the Stage of Oppression, and the *Theatre* where the strongest side Acted the most bloody Tragedies.

However, no sooner was the Edict set forth, but *France* recover'd Peace; in so much, that in twenty four hours, as a Man may say, there was a Reformation of Forty Years Disorders. Plenty and Prosperity re-enter'd by degrees into Families; and Order and Property took place again. The Country began to be Till'd: And the hopes of a lasting Tranquility encourag'd all people to repair the Ruins of their Inheritances. Every Body took Possession of their Estates; and the Courts of Law were open to Legal Suits and Demands. Nor did the Ecclesiastics gain less than any of the Rest. But the King got more then any Body. Splendor and Majesty Re-adorn'd his Palace: He resum'd his Authority over his People; and Foreigners once more began to look upon the Flourishing Kingdom either with Respect or Dread. The repose of *France* ballanc'd all *Europe*: The King jealous of his word, was soon confided in by his Allies; and in regard he had no other Ambition then to Reign for the good of all the World, without any desire of Usurping what belong'd to others, without Cruelty, without Devices and Tricks, so soon as they saw him at Quiet, he became the Love of his Subjects, an Umpire among the Christian Princes, and the Admiration of his Enemies. The Politicians dreaded his Power, and for fear it should grow too great, they thought it convenient to

1600. rid themselves of him by an execrable Assassination. The Rapidness of this happy Re-establishment may be easily conjectur'd at, by the small time they suffer'd him to live, after he had restor'd Peace to his People. Hardly ten Years were expir'd, after the settlement of Peace at home, before they posted on to this dismal extremity : And if he liv'd so long, 'twas not for want of sooner Attempts upon his Life, by cruel Conspiracies. Now in regard there is no greater Proof of the Benefit of a thing then by the Effects of it ; it may be judg'd by the consequences of the Edict, that never any Prince conferr'd upon his Subjects a more wholesome and comfortable Law. And therefore the principal Reasons that were made use of to satisfy those, to whom there was some excuse to be made for the Edict, were generally drawn from the benefit of it : And there was no other way then that, to stop the Mouths of those who had the most desire or Interest to hinder the encrease of the *Reformed*. They acknowledg'd that the Kingdom stood in greater need of a Peace at home then abroad ; and that having been so near Destruction by their long Divisions, they could never recover themselves but by Concord.

Wars against Religion the most Cruel.

And this was so much the more necessary, in regard that the Dispute being about Religion, those Wars that are made under that pretence, are always the most Cruel ; because the Hatred is more implacable, and becomes more violent every day then the other, through the Zeal that kindles and incenses it. The Cruelty of the most Savage, may sometimes be Govern'd by Reason ; but a Devout Cruelty will heark'n to no Counsels that are able to confine the violence of it. For people of that Character make a Duty of their Cruelty ; and easily perswade themselves, that the more Outragious the more Religious it is. So that if the Edict had not put a Period to Wars of this Nature, the Kingdom could never have escap'd a General Dissolution ; in regard the weakest Party was strong enough to reduce to Extremity those who would have undertak'n their Ruin ; and so the one half of the Kingdom that would have exterminated the other, would have no longer after that, been able to support it self.

All that can be said to the contrary is this, that a Kingdom is disfigur'd by variety of Religions; that this difference of Sentiments fosters a secret Alienation in the Breasts of Men, which consumes the Kingdom by degrees like a Hætic Distemper; and that it always keeps a Door open for the Renewing Civil War, because it cherishes in the Kingdom the Immortal Seeds of Faction. I confess it were to be wish'd that Christianity were more Uniform; but in regard it is not my Province to handle this Matter like a Divine; I shall only say, that there is a sort of Variety, which Policy may Condemn; that is to say, such a one as is attended with Evil Consequences, and which gives one Party an opportunity to oppress an other. But where there is a Variety, the bad Effects of which are prevented by good Laws, it is not to be condemn'd. It would have been pernicious to the Kingdom to suffer two Religions, and permit 'em always to be at odds, and in a continual struggle to advance the one by the Opposition of the other. But there is no reason for that Kingdom to be afraid of any thing, that engages different Parties to a mutual Toleration. There is a variety of Religions, as of several Professions. If people that follow several ways of living should be permitted to make War one upon another; for Example, should the Lawyers be suffer'd by open Force to destroy the Merchants and Husband Men, the Damage to the Kingdom would be visible; but by Uniting 'em together in Peace, the Kingdom looses nothing; and they are useful one to the other. In like manner, when a Kingdom is reduc'd to Tolerate various Religions, 'tis impossible but that it must be a great disadvantage to the State, should both Parties be left to themselves to destroy one another. This is that which creates Factions and Parties; while the Conspiracies of the one engage the other under a necessity of Uniting to defend themselves. But when they are restrain'd by Laws that are Just and Moderate, there needs no more then to have a watchful Eye upon 'em, to prevent the Mischief arising from variety of Sentiments. Subjects are in a Kingdom, as Children and Servants in a Family; and the variety of Sentiments is like the Diversity of Tempers and

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Hence it comes to pass, that in Countries, where there is a Free Toleration, and perhaps too Universal, that the Tranquility of the Subject is nere the less; and that the difference of Religion, even in *France* it self, has not hinder'd the Kingdom from enjoying a Prosperity of Fifty years together, and to mount to that Degree of Power that has subdu'd a great part of *Europe*. Now to speak like a Politician, that which never disturbs the Tranquility of a Kingdom, that which never interrupts the Happiness of it, that which never suppresses the growing Grandeur of it, never disfigures or deforms it. There is nothing that Offends, or Disgraces the Ornament of a Government but that which is pernicious. Every thing is lovely, every thing is profitable, at least every thing is fit to be tolerated from whence no Mischief proceeds, This cannot be contradicted in those things that never ranverse Divine Right, nor Moral Equity and Honesty. Consequently this is true in Toleration. It does not in the least disfigure a Kingdom, when it extends not to Sects that sap the very Foundations of Piety. Rather it ought to be taken for an Ornament, because it garnishes the Motions and Intercourse of the People with an Air of Peace and Charity, which is one of the most Glorious Characters of Mankind. Now the Religion of the *Reformed*, granting it came short of that Purity which is Attributed to it, is at least one of those Religions, that cannot be accus'd of overturning the least Foundation of Piety. Neither can the Morality of it, without Detraction, be call'd Corrupted, nor the Doctrine of it be said to be impious, nor the Discipline of it Seditious. If it be true that it has any Defect; 'tis a scrupulous Delicacy which will

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will not suffer it to believe and practise what it is perswaded that God never commands nor approves, a Niceness to be endur'd, if ever any were; since there is nothing against which the Conscience ought to keep a stricter Guard, then against the Doctrines or Worshipships which are introduc'd under the Name of Religion, to the prejudice of Gods Commands. Consequently it may be tolerated, and yet the Liberty allow'd it be no disfigurement to the Government which permits it.

If the Benefit of the Edict were so great, the Justice of it is no less. It is just, not to be Cruel; or if some times Men have prov'd Cruel either through prejudice, blind Zeal, or Transports of Passion, 'tis but Justice not to be so always. It is also more just, to be neither perfidious nor treacherous; or if sometimes our Reason goes so far astray, as to permit us to become so, 'tis a necessary piece of Justice, as soon as may be, to return home to sincerity. Cruelty and Perfidiousness are the Disgrace and Ignominy of Human Nature; Compassion and Fidelity the most solid Blessings of Society. If they have been Wrested from it by Fraud and Barbarism that have assum'd their Room, there is nothing more just then to restore 'em to it again, by re-establishing, as soon as may be, the Rights of Honesty and Humanity. Now it was a long time since, that both the one and the other were Renounc'd, in Respect of the Catholics, and that neither Pity nor Sincerity, was to be found in their Breasts. For above Fifty years together, the unfortunate *Reformed* were destroy'd and havock made of 'em by all manner of Torments: Above thirty years together, the Catholics made War upon 'em, without giving Quarter; and only Granted 'em a little breathing time of Peace, to take better measures and sitter Opportunities to exterminate 'em. However, this same Zeal of the Catholics, tho it had been just and rational, ought to have surceas'd, after so many vain Effects. Tho there had been something of Religious and Evangelic in those Cruelties, the Catholics had done enough to discharge their Consciences. It was but just at length to return to means more Mild and Gentle. 'Twas time to mitigate those Rigours, that did but augment

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1600. ment the Number of the *Reformed*. They had in vain attempted the Reducing these pretended Wanderers, by all the means both Lawful and Unlawful, that Invention could Devise; even to the bringing the most flourishing Kingdom of *Christendom*, within a Fingers breadth of Desolation. Allurements, Promises, Favours, Writings, Pulpit-Harangues, Conferences, Threats, Torments, Massakers, Acts of Injustice, Fraud, Treachery, all the Artifices of a Deceitful Peace, all the Violences of a Merciless War had been made use of to no purpose. They had Banish'd, Re-call'd; Dispoil'd of all, Restor'd; Prosecuted in all the Ecclesiastical and Secular Courts, even by the Cruelty of the Inquisitors, whatever carry'd the Name of *Reformed*. They had had Edicts of Peace and War so often Granted, so many times Revok'd, that it was impossible any longer to Play a Game so pernicious to Human Society. It was not Just that Religion should serve any longer as a pretence for so much Confusion; it was therefore but Just that Sincerity and Humanity should resume their Station in the World, and that Wandering Consciences should be permitted to Govern themselves according to their own Illuminations, after their Enemies had so long labour'd to subdue 'em to the Judgments of others.

Moreover, these pretended Wanderers, who had done the Kingdom no other harm, then only taken Arms to defend themselves from unjust Oppressors, had done the same Kingdom both long and faithful Services, attested by all the Records of Time that preserve the Memory of 'em, confess'd by all Impartial Historians, contradicted only by Missionaries, whose Impudence is a Shame and Scandal to all Men of Honour. Now there is a reason deriv'd from Natural Right and Equity, which binds Reward to Service, and which looks upon as an Act of Injustice, the Persecuting, Oppressing, and Exterminating, with an Ourragious Fury, those from whom they have receiv'd both advantagious Succour, and kind Offices of Defence and Preservation. The *Reformed*, who had all the *French* Catholics for Testimonies of their Fidelity, some because they had gain'd by their Assistance, others because they had felt the smart of it, talk'd
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loudly of their long and important Services; and of these ^{1600.} two sorts of Catholics, there were some who were not ashamed to acknowledge 'em. When *Henry III.* put the Duke and Cardinal of *Guise* to Death, the Catholic Rebels were infinitely much stronger then they who continu'd in their Allegiance; but when the *Rformed* join'd the Kings Party, the Face of Affairs chang'd, and the Honest Party were soon in a Condition to overwhelm the other. And there needs but a little Partiality and Equity, for any Man to see what share they had in the Preservation of the Kingdom, when joining with the King, they not only ballanc'd Affairs, but turn'd the Scale on the Kings side. It might be said, without doing any body wrong, that they alone preserv'd the State, since they preserv'd the Catholics who jointly labour'd with 'em afterwards in the same performance. However I shall say no more, but that they lent a helping hand to the preservation of it; that they shar'd with the faithful Catholics the Honour of supporting the Crown, and fixing it upon the Head of him to whom it Lawfully appertain'd; that after they had fasten'd it upon the Head of *Henry III.* they assisted his Successor to recover it again, and to defend his Claim against the fury of the League, and the Conspiracies of *Spain* and *Italy*. It was but just then that they should share in the Reward, after they had undergon their part of the Toils and Hazards of the War; that they should partake of the Repose and Pleasures also of the Peace. Now this is all that the Edict of *Nantes* has done for 'em. Nevertheless, there is something more to be said. When we speak of Recompence, there is something to be understood, which distinguishes one Man from another; which confers upon the one, by reason of his Merit and Services, somewhat which is not bestow'd upon another, because there is not the same reason for the preference. Between the Prince and Subject, Recompence gives to the Receiver something more then is owing to him from the Prince under the Quality of a Subject, and distinguishes him from that Equality wherein others remain. If it be Just then, and grounded upon the most evident Principles of Natural Understanding, that Faithful Subjects should have Rewards conferr'd upon 'em, that signalize

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1600. and distinguish 'em, how much more Equitable is it, to Grant 'em for their Recompence, that which does no more then equal 'em with others, and put 'em into the 'ame Condition? Now the Favours and Privileges of the Edict are no more then Recompences of the last Order. The Edict Grants nothing to the *Reformed* that distinguishes 'em from others under the Quality of Subjects, or which may be taken to be any Mark of Preference before another. It grants 'em nothing but the Security of their Persons, their Estates and their Lives, the Liberty of their Consciences, free Privilege to Worship God, and procure the Salvation of their Souls, according to their own Opinions and Judgments, to share alike with others the Protection of the Laws, and the Benefit of Justice; to have the same Liberty of Preferment to Employments and Offices, by their Merit; to Professions, by their Sufficiency; to Trades, by their Capacity: To have power to Assemble and Confer together, and Mutually to Assist each other in the Performances of Religion and Piety; to enjoy equally with the Catholics the Right which Nature gives to Fathers over their Children, to Masters over their Hir'd Servants; to participate of the Mutual Succours of Society during Life, and the Duties of Enterrment after Death. In a word, there is nothing in the Edict that grants any thing more to the *Reformed* then what all other Subjects enjoy. On the other side, the greatest part of these Common Rights are granted the *Reformed* with certain Limitations, which clearly show'd that all the Sway and Dominion was in the hands of the Catholics, and that the *Reformed* were only Associated to these Advantages by a Treaty of Mutual Toleration. The Securities also are a sufficient Proof that the Equality was not perfect, and that the *Reformed* had neither Power nor Credit. Securities are never taken but from those that are the stronger, or the most suspected; and they that require 'em, acknowledge at the same time a kind of Superiority in those that Grant 'em.

The Concessions for this reason so much the more Just.

This not being to be question'd in the least, it was but a piece of Justice to Grant the *Reformed* for their Services, those Favours that did no more then equal 'em with others. This was

was indeed to grant 'em just nothing ; it was no more then a Restitution of what belong'd to 'em, to maintain 'em in their Rights of Nature, and in those which they had by Birth, like others that breath'd the same Air, and obey'd the same Prince. There is nothing can be call'd Just, if the Preservation of Common Right may not deserve that Name ; more especially in favour of those, who have perform'd for the good of their Country, the same Duties and Services with the rest of their Fellow Country-men. Let us suppose, for a moment, that these Advantages were refus'd the *Reformed* after their good Services ; or rather, without supposing any thing, let us look upon 'em, as they were before the Edict was Granted, and what they are since it was revok'd. We shall see Catholics and *Reformed*, at least under the same Obedience ; prefer'd to the same Offices ; sharing in the same Exigencies of State ; embracing the same Opportunities to serve their Prince ; having the same Civil Laws, the same Obligations, the same Interests, the same Enemies. So much Equality in all these things, requires that it should be the same in all the rest ; but we shall find it cease, so soon as we shall but turn our Eyes upon the *Reformed*, depriv'd of the Favours of the Edict. We shall find 'em abus'd in their Persons ; ruin'd in their Estates ; excluded from all Employments either of Honour or Profit ; banish'd their Country ; depriv'd of all the Priviledges of Conscience and Nature ; and notwithstanding their Merits or Abilities, bereav'd of all Equality with others, no better Subjects then themselves ; so far from obtaining distinguishing Rewards. Certainly, there cannot be imagin'd the least Idea of Justice in such a prodigious disproportion ; in such a violent separation of Merit and Recompence, that they who might justly reckon upon their Deserts, instead of obtaining favours equal to those which are granted to others under the same Circumstances, can hardly find Subsistence and Security, for all their Pains and Labour. How is it possible that Justice should brook, that that part of the Kingdom, which, to say no more, so strenuously contributed with the other to preserve it, should be Oppress'd, Destroy'd, and Prosecuted, with Fire and Sword, by the other that could not have been

1600. preserv'd without it. 'Tis the same thing, as if a Prince that had won great Conquests by the Assistance and Valour of his Souldiers, should order the one half of his Army to cut the other in pieces, to Reward 'em for their good Service.

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I confess, that after all these Reflections, one difficulty would still remain behind, were it so that others were to be depriv'd of those Favours, before they could be bestow'd upon the Reformed. Justice does not require that one should be disposl'd to enrich another, seeing that the Principal Duty of it, is to secure to every Body his own Right; but the Peace Granted to the *Reformed* took nothing from the Catholics. The Rights of Nature and of Birth, are Blessings which every individual Man possesses; in the Enjoyment of which, the Advantages of the one part never injure the other. The Liberty of one Man, let it be never so far extended, never confines the Liberty of his Equal within ere a jot the narrower Bounds. While one is allur'd by the Right of aspiring to Rewards and Dignities by Merit and Services, there is a Door left open for others to ascend by the same Steps. A Father loses nothing of his Lawful Authority over his Children and his Family, tho all other Fathers enjoy the same Power. The Conscience of a Catholic is ne'r the less free, tho the Conscience of a *Reformed* Person be not put upon the Rack. In a word, all these Advantages are such, that the one may gain by 'em, and the other never lose; as the Privilege of Burgeship is no Dis-membring of his Freedom from another. In like manner the Liberty which Nature gives to every Man to breath the same Air, and enjoy the same Sun-shine, is no hindrance, but that every Man has the same share both of the Air and the Light. Moreover, the Catholics have taken all the Caution imaginable, not to be losers themselves. They have restor'd their Religion to every thing which the War had taken from it. Time has made it out that they have been great Gainers by the Edict. Their Religion wanted much of that Splendor and Pomp which afterwards it attain'd to; which is no small matter, since Worldly Lustre is one of the Principal Objects of the Politicks of that Religion. Besides, it is by the Edicts that she preserves her Superiority, her Churches, her Houses, her Revenues,

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Revenues, her Church-yards, and her Ceremonies; and far from seeing her Priviledges lessen'd, she has acquir'd new ones. So that the Concessions of the Edict being ground'd upon the Nature of the Things, and the Civil Rights that every Man is Born to; and moreover, depriving no body of that which they secur'd to so many Lawful Members of the Kingdom, it was an apparent Act of Justice that the *Reformed* should enjoy it. There was no room here for the Exception of another Mans Right, which the Kings of *France* formerly excepted in all their Letters, and which ought to be Naturally understood in all Acts, intending Sincerity, and publish'd by Authority, wherein it is not express'd. And as the Favours done the *Reformed* are things which Create no Loss or Dammage to others, there is no body that can, or ought in Justice to find fault with, or oppose'em.

From these two good Qualities of the Edict thus join'd together, arises a third of *Perpetual* and *Irrevocable*, which agrees with nothing more Naturally then with Laws and Treaties, the Justice and Benefit of which ought never to be disputed. 'Tis not my design to insist upon these two Words, in regard they are made use of in the Edict it self. I know very well, it would be a thing that would produce extraordinary Consequences, were it sufficient to give'em the Name of such, to render Laws Eternal and Unalterable. Altho that Vows and Oaths are the strongest Obligations with which a Man can burthen his Conscience, yet there are some that carry in themselves a Character of Nullity, that breaks the Bond of their Assurance. Such are those by which a Man is oblig'd to things Unjust or Impossible. The Epithites of *Rash* and *Inconsiderate* will always cleave to'em, but they cannot be thought Irrevocable, tho it were so express'd in the Draught with all the Words that imported such a meaning. There are also Laws that carry in themselves the Marks of their being fit to be revok'd; tho he that made'em obliges himself in never so express Words, never to revoke'em. Such are those Laws that oblige to Injustice or Cruelty. Such are those Treaties also that oblige the Ratifiers to violate Humanity and Honesty. Such is the Edict by which *Lewis XIV.* revok'd the Edict of

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ought to be
Irrevocable.*

1600. *Nantes*; which is nothing in the Main but a Solemn Promise never to do Justice to a great Number of his Subjects. Let 'em call these Acts Irrevocable as long as they please, they cease not however to be liable to Revocation, because they are void in themselves; and for that the Maxim touching Oaths may be justly apply'd to 'em, that they ought not to be observ'd in things that are Dishonest and Ignominious. Nevertheless, it is not to be imagin'd that these Terms are Illusory, like certain Clauses that are never inserted into Contracts, but meerly for Formalities sake; but which neither add to their perfection nor their firmness. 'Tis not to be thought, that those words, the meaning of which is so well known, lose it as soon as they are put into an Edict; as if they only would infer, that the thing shall remain in force no longer then the good pleasure of the strongest side. This would be to break all the Bonds of Civil Society, and to ranverse all the Foundations of Honesty and Sincere Dealing, should Men go about to change the most express Words into Delusions, which are made use of to deceive those that take 'em according to their Natural Idea's. It must be confess'd at least, that in Things which include nothing of Unjust, nothing Inhuman, nor Dishonest, whatever is promis'd as Irrevocable, ought unalterably to be observ'd. These Terms then are of great weight, and give a great force to those Laws wherein they are inserted; more especially when those Laws proceeded from the pure and sole Free-will and Inclination of the Legislator, without being admonish'd, requir'd or solicited to make 'em. It might be said, that when a Prince Promulgates a Law meerly because it is his Pleasure so to do, the Benefit which he Grants his Subjects depending clearly upon himself, may be confin'd to his Pleasure, and endure no longer then he thinks it convenient. But when those Laws have been sought for, su'd for, solicited, and obtain'd, after long and mature Considerations, after the Negotiations and Conferences of several Years; if they have been Proclaim'd with the Title of Irrevocable, they ought to be such effectually, because 'tis certain they were Requested and Granted under that Qualification. Otherwise there would be nothing stable in the Concessions of Sovereigns, nothing

assur'd

Considerations upon the Word.

assur'd in the Condition of Subjects. And in regard there are always several Families whose settlements are founded upon these Concessions, they would be always in fear of approaching Ruin, if they could not rely upon the Title of Irrecoverable which the Prince has stamp'd upon 'em. All this ought also to be still more evident, when the Concessions are just and profitable; when they make for the Welfare and Advantage of any one, without doing any Body an Injury: When they are likewise in some measure due and necessary; either, because they who have obtain'd 'em have deserv'd 'em; or for that without 'em they could not be assur'd either of their Repose, or of their Lives.

But not to insist upon Words, I have some other Reflexions upon the things themselves. I say then, that the Nature of the thing requires that Edicts should be irrevocable, either when the matter which they contain is just in it self, or when they supply the place, and have the Force of a Sincere and Honest Treaty. Both the one and the other is to be met with in the Edict of *Nantes*. The matter which it ordains is a natural piece of Justice, as I can make out by Reflexions different from those which I have already made. All that it contains may be reduc'd to two Heads; that is to say, Liberty of Conscience, and securing the *Reformed* in their Natural and Civil Rights. Liberty of Conscience is a Piece of Justice so evident, that in the very Bosom of the Roman Church it self, which looks upon it as a part of her Duty to persecute others, there are Doctors who do not hold it proper to make use of Extremities to constrain it. At least it is certain that it ought not to be forc'd because it cannot be compell'd. Whatever Violence may be offer'd to Men, 'tis impossible to force 'em not to think what they think, or not to judge things Good or Evil, according as they are represented by their Understanding and Knowledge. The Conscience was made to depend upon God alone; to whom all the Motions and Inclinations of it have a kind of Resemblance in the Nature and Constitution of it: And is as it were a kind of substitute under the Eternal Justice to give an Account to God of the Heart of Man; but never gives it to any but God himself.

1600.

And upon the things.

Rights of Conscience.

1600. himself. So that at the same time, that you extort from a Man by Violence an outward Approbation of things which the Conscience condemns, it protests in secret against what the Lips are forc'd to utter; and even during the Torment it self, or in the rude Hands of Armed Souldiers, preserves the Liberty both of seeing and judging that a Man is compell'd to Sin, when he is made to do that which his Conscience cannot approve. Now therefore, 'tis the highest Piece of Injustice to go about to bereave a Man of that which constraint it self and utmost violence cannot force from him; neither can such a Compulsion produce any other then one of these two Effects: Either he must be made Guilty of abominable Hypocrisie, by compelling him to declare a Veneration for what he abhors; or else he must be condemn'd to Tortures and Cruelties, of which there is to be no end, but with his vanquish'd Constancy or his Life. There are some things so Sacred in the Rights of Conscience, that God himself, to whom alone it is only subject, would never assume to violate; and therefore he so wisely manages the Operations and Victories of his Grace, in the Conversion of Souls, that he never Offers Violence to that Liberty. Whence it follows, that Men who have no Jurisdiction over it, cannot go about to force it, but they must commit a most Apparent Act of Injustice. But there arises from hence a second consequence, that since it is so unjust a thing to compel the Conscience; 'tis but justice on the other side to allow it all the Priviledges that belong to it. If then the Concessions ground'd upon this Justice are to be Eternal and Unalterable, like that Justice which gives 'em their Authority, there can be never any Edicts that more deserve to be exempt from Revocation, then those that secure the Conscience that Liberty which Nature gives it, and which discharges it from all constraint.

*The Force of
Edicts that
maintain
Liberty.*

*And of those
that are
granted for
the preser-
vation of
the Socie-
ties.*

'Tis the very same thing with Edicts that are Granted for the Preservation of Subjects, and which secure their persons, their Fortunes and their Rights. Certainly, never any people, when they first embody under certain Forms of Government, pretended either to give, or suffer others to assume an Authority to destroy 'em. Surely they never renounc'd that

that Independency wherein they are Born, every one singly in respect of others, but only because they found more safety in their Uniting for the common defence, or in the Protection of the Stranger. Nothing can recompence 'em for that Subjection which takes from 'em one part of their Liberty, but their Assurance of preserving by that petty damage all the rest of their Priviledges. 'Tis therefore the Natural Duty of Sovereigns to secure 'em alike to all to whom they belong; because they are advanc'd to Sovereign Power to be their Conservators, and for that the Preservation of their Subjects is the principal Obligation of their Crown. Their Authority is the Image of Providence that Governs only to preserve. There is nothing but our Rebellion, either as God's Creatures, that causes us to forfeit the preserving Aid of Providence; or as Subjects, that deprives 'em of their share of the Publick protection. But as for Subjects Peaceable, Obedient, Faithful, and the most recommendable by their Merits and their Services, it cannot be imagin'd, why leave should be given to bereave 'em of the Priviledges that preserve 'em; or that a Sovereign who is oblig'd by his Character to uphold 'em, could ever revoke Edicts that were so necessary for their Defence. Either they must take from those that live under the benefit of the Edicts, the Quality of Subjects, with which they were born, and of which they carry the Essential Mark in their Obedience; or else they ought to have left 'em as well as others, whatever appertains to 'em in the same Quality. But how can they take from 'em the Quality of Subjects? They are neither Forreigners nor Enemies. They are not Forreigners, because they were born in the same Air, as the rest were, as also under the same Authority, and under the same Laws. They are not Enemies, because they pay Homage and Allegiance. Being then Subjects, 'tis impossible that those Edicts which maintain 'em in the Priviledges of their condition, should be thought liable to Revocation; unless they thought at the same time that a Prince might lawfully destroy a State that was Obedient to his Government; or that among Members of one and the same Dominion, one party should have leave to oppress the other, without any regard to Justice or Humanity.

1600.
The preservation of Subjects the chief Obligation of Sovereigns.

1600.

*An Express
or Tacit
Treaty nat-
urally be-
tween So-
vereign
and Sub-
ject.*

But if such Edicts are irrevocable, in respect of the Nature of the things themselves, they ought to be yet far more unalterable, by reason of the Treaty which they include. In general it may be said, that all the Edicts of Protection which a Sovereign Grants his Subjects are equivalent to Treaties; because they are no more then a Renewing the Original and Fundamental Treaty, upon which all Societies are establish'd. Let 'em use all the shifts they can, 'tis never to be deny'd without a voluntary blindness, but that the Power of Sovereigns Springs from an Express or tacit Treaty, by which their Subjects submit their Persons and Estates to their Dominion, upon condition of doing 'em Justice at home, and protecting 'em abroad. In Conquests also the weakest Treats with the strongest, upon conditions of Surrender; and they who yield to the Discretion of the Victor, make him only Master of the conditions of Preservation which they expect. So soon as the Articles are agreed on, on both sides, the Laws prescrib'd the Conquer'd are chang'd into a Treaty, by which the Conquerour is oblig'd to leave 'em either their Estates, their Lives, or their Liberty, upon Condition that they perform those Duties which necessity imposes upon 'em. Otherwise it is not to be conceiv'd, that Men would submit themselves to be destroy'd at the pleasure of the strongest, without reserving some Assurance of being able to preserve themselves by a profound Obedience. Servitude is contrary to Nature, and according to the sentiment of several Lawyers, 'tis not in the Power of a Man, to submit his Life, without any Condition, to the fancies and Capricio's of a Master. But I am desirous to consider it here, under a less Odious Character, as a Degree of extream subjection; as the most strict engagement, to which a Man may be reduc'd, in respect of another. In this case, I say, that it includes something of Reciprocal, and the Slave does not yield his Master the Power of Life and Death over him, but to make use of it in case of Revolt and Rebellion; but supposing Obedience and Fidelity, Slavery it self has those privileges, which the Master is ty'd to Observe. A Slave does not Sacrifice his Liberty, but for the preservation of his Life. So that he resumes the Rights of his Liberty, if his Master persecutes

*Also be-
tween Mas-
ter and
Slave.*

secutes him, and assails his Life, while he perseveres in his Duty. Liberty is priviled'd. As it is one of the most Natural Blessings of Mankind, and the most inseparable from him, so he recovers and re-establishes his Rights, so soon as he to whom they are submitted abuses 'em to the Destruction of those that are subjected to his Power. If there are Examples in the World of any contrary Usage, that ne're proceeds from Right, which can never Authorize Tyranny; but from the Violence of the stronger Party, which through Terror stupifies and silences the Voice of Nature and Innocence. Besides, it is not to be found, but among People, where Barbarism has Usurp'd the place of Nature; and where Force never listens to the Maxims of Justice. According to this Principle then, wherever the Lessons of Justice and Nature are listen'd to, the Relations of Sovereignty and Subjection are grounded upon a Primitive Condition, which sets up all Authority on the one side, on purpose to be employ'd for Common preservation; and gives all Obedience on the other side, upon Condition of the Recompence of Protection. Which being a Treaty, either Tacit or Express, the Articles of which are vary'd in several manners. according to the different Constitutions of States, all Edicts, by which this Protection is promis'd, or which are necessary to give assurance of it, are only Renovations of that Fundamental Obligation, which is the Natural Duty of Sovereignty. These are therefore Treaties, because they are in Truth but Ratifications of the Former; and they are no more to be Revok'd, then the Fundamental Condition of Supreme Power.

But not to have recourse to general Considerations, I say particularly, that never any person question'd the stability of Treaties, where the most Essential Things have been observ'd, which have been concluded between Parties of sufficient Power, by persons of Capacity fully inform'd of their business, after mature Deliberation, without Fraud or Violence. If all this were to be found in the Edict of *Nantes*, it cannot be deny'd, but that it ought to be as irrevocable, as the most Solemn Treaty that ever was mention'd in Story. The Appellation of *Treaty* has been likewise given it by the most

*The Force of
Treaties.*

*The Edict of
Nantes is
Treaty.*

1600. sionate Catholics, even by the Jesuits themselves, who of late years having labour'd to annihilate it, acknowledg'd before it was Granted, *That the Negotiation and the Treaty held on for several whole years together.* In a Word History most evidently demonstrates it. There you shall Observe Parties having different Pretensions, who Depute, Confer, Contest, and agree. Four Years were spent in these Negotiations, if we begin from the Assembly of *St. Foy*, where the first Foundation of this Work was laid. Two Years at least were spun out; if we begin to reckon from the time that the King promis'd to send Commissioners, with Instructions and Plenary Power. Never Treaty between a King and a King, or between a State and a State, had more Marks, or more Circumstances to make it a real Treaty. 'Tis true, that when it was Publish'd, they did not give it the Name of a Treaty, but of an Edict. However the Name did not change the Thing; and if the Title made any difference in the Outward Form of an Edict, or a Contract, nevertheless such an Edict, and such a Treaty vary nothing in substance. Treaties also that are made with Foreigners, sometimes assume the Form of an Edict, when they are Publish'd in the Kingdom. Thus in the first Civil Wars, after a Treaty concluded at the Head of the Armies, there was an Edict Compos'd, which the *Reformed* reap'd as the Harvest of the War. Besides, that the Form of the Edict, in such a Case, serves only to give it new strength, since it adds the Majesty of a Law to the firmness of a Decree. Whence I conclude, that an Edict where these two Characters concur, as in that of *Nantes*, is so much the more irrevocable, in regard that at the same time 'tis both a Law just, wisely Ordain'd, Venerable, and a sincere Treaty.

The Form
of the E-
dict renders
it more Ve-
nerable.

Two things relating
to a Treaty in the Edict.
1. Between the King and
the Reformed. 2. Be-
tween the Catholics and
the Reformed.

But to make this matter yet more clearly out, I shall consider this Treaty two ways: Either as made between the King and his Reformed Subjects, or between the *Reformed* and the *Catholics*, under a kind of Comyrmise, or mutual Reference to the King, who by Vertue of that Character is the Sovereign Judge, and Born Umpire of all diforms that arises between his Subjects. I say that these two Relations are no way

way contradictory, but may naturally be included in the same Act. The Edict then is at the same time a Treaty where both King and the Reformed oblige themselves to certain conditions; and where the *Catholics* and *Reformed* are regulated and moderated, as to their Differences, by the King's Decisions, the only lawful Arbitrator of their Reciprocal Pretensions. The thing is of that Importance as Merits to be Examined upon these two Respects. Considering it then, as a Treaty between the King and the *Reformed*, I say that the King, when he came to the Crown, found 'em Arm'd, upon two Accounts. First they had been constantly exposing their Lives and Estates for near twenty years together, to defend the King himself against those, who went about to Ravish from him his lawful Right. And moreover they were in Arms for their own Preservation, against people that had prosecuted 'em for near Thirty Years together, with all the Rigorous ways of Injustice and Cruelty. So that the Treaty which they made with him, was a Treaty touching Reward for their Services, and on the other side a Treaty of Precaution against their implacable Enemies, upon the assurance of which they might lay down their Arms. Whence it follow'd, that whatever is contain'd in the Edict is nothing else, but either Concessions to satisfy 'em upon their Demands, or securities Equivalent to those which they might have obtain'd by their Arms and their Courage. By that means they in some measure resign'd their Arms into the King's Hands, who reciprocally took upon him to Defend and Protect 'em. So that they sincerely and faithfully commit themselves to the Care of his Protection, and he on the other side engages to preserve 'em by his Authority from the Artifices and Violences of those, who for so many years together had labour'd their Destruction. He could not therefore depart from his promis'd Protection, without violating his Word and Faith, which is the Soul of all Societies, and the only Bond of their subsistence.

Should it be Objected that 'tis not true, that they resign'd their Arms into the King's Hands, since they held so many strong Places and well provided Garrisons; which in reality

The Reformed Treats with the King. 1. For Recompence for their Services. 2. Touching their being secur'd against their Enemies.

1600.
 Places of
 Security.

was to remain in Arms, when all the rest of *France* had laid down theirs; this a difficulty not hard to be unfolded. First, the *Reformed* saw their Enemies Masters of a great Number of strong Holds, where the King was no otherwise Obey'd then as it pleas'd those that Commanded 'em. Moreover, altho the Royal Authority began to resume some Life and Vigour, yet it was but in a Tottering Condition. The King was rather Besieg'd, then serv'd by the *Catholics* of his Court, and chiefly by a Great Number of those who had been Leaguers. His was at their Devotion, rather then they at his. Experience of what had past was a fair warning to the *Reformed*, what Factious and Discontented Persons might cause the King to do, when his Person was in their Hands. They were afraid and that justly too, least he might be constrain'd to Sacrifice their Lives to their Enemies, for Fear least their Enemies should make some Attempt upon his. Besides that the Custody of those Places was but a Depositum or Trust, which was to be Surrender'd up so soon as the Term was expir'd: And if they intended that the *Reformed* should not require a longer time, 'twas the best Course the *Catholics* could take to live in brotherly Union with 'em, and to Observe the Edicts more Faithfully then they were wont to do. Which being well consider'd, shews that the keeping those Places, was but a Pledge, which the weaker Party took to assure themselves of the Fidelity of the others, and no way hinder'd the Treaty on the side of the *Reformed* from being Real and Sincere. For Pledges given for the Performance of a Contract between Private Men, no way lessen the Sincerity of the Treaty, nor weaken the Strength and Virtue of it.

Kings may
 Treat with
 their Sub-
 jects.

There is nothing to be said against all this; but only that it is not with Treaties between a King and his Subjects as with those that are made between private persons; as well because the Obligation of Kings towards their Subjects, depends only upon their good Will and Pleasure; as for that the Inequality between Subjects and Princes renders 'em incapable of making such Treaties whose Obligation may be equal on both sides. But neither the one nor the other of these two Assertions is True. These Maxims are only proper for those

those who desire to convert all Political Authority into Tyranny. But since it is the greatest Glory of Sovereigns to be the Image of God, 'tis ill done of Flattery to persuade 'em, that 'tis beneath 'em to deal with their Subjects, as God deals by all mankind. Now God is not so jealous of his Majesty, but that he condescends to Treat and Contract with Men, to engage himself to 'em, and bind them to him by Reciprocal Conditions. Nor does he ever alleadge the Pretence of his Grandeur, or of the Inferior subjection of his Creatures to elude the Force of those Treaties which he has made with 'em; and yet he has Priviledges much more absolute over Men, than Sovereigns over their Subjects; nor is there any Government in the World, how Arbitrary and Despotic soever, that can equal the Power of God over the Universe: Whither we consider his Infinite Perfections, or the being which he has given to the Grand Structure of Heaven and Earth. 'Tis not therefore to be imagin'd, that the Exaltation of a King above his Subjects should invalidate the Obligation of a Treaty, since the Superiority of God above his Creatures does not do it. For which Reason it is, that the Clergy make no Question but that such Contracts may be made between the one and the other. And to say nothing now of such as are enter'd into, between Princes and the Clergy every day, whereby they draw from 'em certain Concessions, upon condition of certain Assurances, which they might have requir'd from him without a Treaty, like their other Subjects; I say, not to mention these daily Contracts, the Clergy have chang'd into Treaties the Concessions which they have obtain'd at several times, through the easiness of the Princes. The Lawyers who have Written in Defence of their Interests, have made this Observation in Favour of 'em, not questioning but that their Priviledges became more certain and lasting, and by consequence that Princes and Subjects might lawfully and effectually Treat together. Whence it came to pass, that to renew the Reciprocal Obligations of these Treaties, the Kings at their Coronation Swear to maintain the Clergy in their Priviledges; and that every one of those who enjoy Benefices by the King's Nomination, Swear Fealty to him, before they take

1600.
Proofs.

1600. take Possession, The Kings of France also make no doubt of the validity of these Treaties, which appear'd from the Politics of Lewis XIII. of which in due place, during the Wars about Religion, which lasted about ten years under his Reign, he always avoided the Name of a Treaty, as well in the Articles of Cities that surrender'd to him, as in his Edicts, with which he amus'd the Credulity of the people, because he would be Master of the Advantages which he Granted the Reformed, to the end, *said he*, That all the Liberties which he left 'em to enjoy, should depend meerly upon his Pleasure and his Word. From whence 'twas evident, that when he consented to any thing by a Treaty, he thought himself no longer Master of it: Consequently, that he was convinc'd that Treaties between Kings and their Subjects are as binding, as those between other Men, and their Equals; and that when there are any such Treaties between 'em, the Prince has no more Right to Violate 'em, then the Subjects themselves.

Which is grounded upon this, that altho the Inequality be very great between the Sovereign and the Subject; yet there remains a certain Equality, which the difference between Empire and Subjection cannot destroy: That is to say, an equal Obligation to be Just, Equitable and Sincere; without which 'tis impossible that they should mutually render to each other what is mutually their due. Now this equality is sufficient for Treaties, in regard that upon these Foundation it is, that all their Efficacy is establish'd. If it be pretended, that at least generally and according to Order, Subjects are to Treat by way of Petition and Remonstrance, and wait for the Determination of their Prince, without Negotiation, and demanding it by Treaties; I will suppose this to be generally True, and in Affairs that follow the Regular Course of Government.

The Reformed were in a Condition to Treat with the King.

But there are doubtless some Cases, that admit of another way of proceeding, wherein the Subjects may demand a Treaty, and look upon whatever they gain by it, as obtain'd by a Treaty. This is evident in Civil Wars, where Rebels themselves, whose taking Arms is Unjust, do not always surrender at Discretion, but return to their Obedience upon Conditions agreed on with their Prince. Now it would be a

most

most Palpable Absurdity, that Rebellion should give Subjects a Liberty to treat with their Sovereigns, and that never any thing should be able to render Authentic the Treaties of Faithful Subjects. This would be an Invitation of the Subjects to revolt, every time they would be assur'd of their Priviledges, to pretend they could never obtain a Confirmation of 'em by Treaties, unless they were Rebels. If ever then there were any Occasions upon which Subjects might be allow'd to Treat with their Princes, the Treaty upon which the Edict of *Nantes* was grounded most certainly, was one.

First, one Part of the Kingdom had declar'd against the other, and had persecuted it by all the Ways that a most mortal and inveterate Hatred could Devise: And this Persecution had lasted till the Time of the Edict for above Fifty years. They were not content with Vexations and Cavils to perplex and Harass the Oppress'd Party; but they were come to the last Extremities; nothing would serve 'em but Extermination; and they had shed the Blood of the pretended Heretics in all parts, by all manner of Butcheries.

Secondly, These Violences had Oblig'd the Persecuted to Unite together, in Defence of their Lives, and to Repel by Force of Arms the Fury of their Enemies: Which being grounded upon the Law of Nature it self, cannot be lookt upon as unlawful but by those, who believe that Innocent people forfeit their Innocency, when they will not suffer their Throats to be Cut, without defending themselves.

3. By this means, there were two Parties form'd; of which the one was the Aggressor, the other stood upon the Defensive Part; and which having Interests as different as Destruction and Preservation; and Forces that were not so unequal that the one could exterminate the other without exposing themselves to half the Danger, either the Kingdom would have been laid desolate by continual War; or both Parties must Treat together for the common Tranquility.

4. The King's had taken sides in these Quarrels; not only because it was in their Name, that so many poor people were Condemn'd to terrible Torments; but because they were the persons themselves, who had rais'd Armies to destroy.

Six considerations that demonstrate it.

1600. to destroy 'em ; who had brok'n Treaties ; revok'd Edicts of Peace ; and who had Order'd and put in execution several Massakers.

5. *Henry III.* went farther then all this : He had Sworn to destroy all the *Reformed*, Root and Branch, and never to be at Peace with 'em. He had declar'd himself Head of the League, which was made under a Solemn pretence to exterminate 'em, as a Wise Man observ'd of the King, *That he was become Head of a Party, and of a Common Father, an Enemy of one Part of his Subjects.* And then it was, that those Persecuted Subjects who could not have pretended to any such Right before, were Authoriz'd to Form a Party that might lawfully Defend 'em, since their Prince had declar'd a merciless War against 'em, and had Devoted 'em as Victims to the Fury of their Ancient Enemies. Their Arms could then no longer be lookt upon as taken up against the King's Authority, but against the Violence of a Destroyer : Against an Enemy, in whom they could no longer confide ; since he had Sworn never to observe any Treaties of Peace, that ever he made with 'em, but till he found a fit Opportunity to break 'em.

6. The Change which happen'd by the Death of the *Guises*, and afterwards by that of the King, had not Cancell'd that Distinction of Parties, seeing that the Catholics who were United before, to make War upon the *Reformed*, being then divided into two, the *Reformed* were actually in War with those who follow'd the Duke of *Main*, and with the other liv'd in a kind of secret Enmity, conceal'd under the Name of a Truce. On the one side, the War still continu'd ; on the other it was still suspended. At that time there was a Right which render'd 'em capable of Treating one with another, to terminate their Divisions by a Peace. *Hen. IV.* also having relinquish'd the Catholics, and set himself at the Head of the Catholics, whose Religion he had embrac'd, the *Reformed* were under the same condition, as they were under his Predecessor ; that is to say, in the Condition of Enemies to the rest of his Subjects, whose security depended upon the Sincerity of a Truce.

He was willing 'tis true, to have re-assum'd the Title of Common Father ; but that could not be done, but by quite surceasing the Causes of the Animosity ; or by re-settling Concord by a Treaty, which might procure Confidence and Assurance. I say this moreover. The *Reformed* were if possible, more capable of Treating in his Reign, then under ~~the~~ Reign of *Hen. III.* 1600.

1. Because he had given 'em Authority to embody, had exhorted 'em to Unite together in their own Defence, permitted 'em to Erect Councils and Assemblies, which he had, as it were Legitimated by his Letters Patents, supposing they had not been Legitimate without it. He had been the first Author of their Union, when he put himself at their Head, to defend 'em against *Hen. III.* and by consequence, as much as their Union was just under the Reign of that Prince, as just it was under the following Reign, when they had the same Differences to dispute with *Hen. IV.* as they had with his Predecessor.

2. He had acknowledg'd those Assemblies capable of Treating with him, by sending his Commissioners to Treat with 'em according to their Commissions and Instructions ; and by permitting the Proposals on both sides to be Debated, Argu'd, Explain'd, Decreed, as is usual in all Treaties.

Now the King could not enter into a Treaty but in these two Respects : The one, as Chief of the *Catholics*, upon which he very much Valu'd himself, and whose consent he had, as will presently appear, to conclude a Peace that should for ever extinguish all Animosities and Discords : The other as King, to whom the Kingdom belong'd, and to whom it belong'd to preserve in Union all the Members of which it was compos'd. In the First Respect, that which was Negotiated between his Commissioners and the Deputies of the *Reformed*, can never be taken for any other, then a means to reconcile the Opposite Pretensions of the *Reformed* and *Catholics*, and to regulate the seperate Conditions under which they were to live : Forming out of these Agreements a New right, which was to serve as the perpetual Law of their Union in Civil Society ; so that the contrary Interests of both Parties, being manag'd

*Respects
upon which
the King
Treats.*

1600. in such a manner in this Negotiation, that there was nothing on the one side which might turn to any remarkable Prejudice of the other, but which made a Compensation, within a little Matter equal for their Advantages and Inconveniences, it cannot be deny'd, but that whatever is comprehended in a Treaty is comprehended in this, as in all the Acts that have born the Name of it. Now it is so evident, by what I have said of the Condition wherein the King found the Kingdom after the Death of *Hen. III.* that he Treated with the *Reformed*, as Head of the Catholic Party, both as he was Successor to a Prince, who had Solemnly tak'n upon him that Quality, as for that he had also put himself at the Head of that Party, by his reconbiliation with the Church of *Rome*, that I need not make any longer stay upon it.

I pass then to the second Consideration; and I say, that he Treated in the the Quality of a King, in whose Power it was, to give his Subjects all the Assurances of the Protection which he ow'd 'em, and whatsoever else is call'd by the Name of Favour, Liberties or Priviledges. Now certain it is, that the Quality of King includes within it that of Common Father, who when Quarrels arise among his Subjects, keeps the Balance equal between 'em, and by his Paternal Justice, limits and Bounds the Enterprizes of the one upon the other. Which being done with a true knowledge of the Cause, becomes the Decision of an Arbitrator, whose decision is the Warrant of what he has judg'd Convenient. This is that which made me say before, that the Edict ought to be consider'd as a Treaty between the Catholics and the *Reformed*, under the Authority of the King, as their their Natural Arbitrator, whose Majesty stood bound to Warrant the Edict, against all Breaches that might be made on either side. This very Warranty was clearly express'd by the Clauses of the Edict, which imported that the Violations of it should be Prosecuted in the Kings Name, by his Proctors General. In regard it is Natural, that Treaties being Warranted by a Power which is suppos'd to be sufficient to enforce Observance, the people always apply themselves, in case of Breaches, to those that Warrant 'em, and require their Protector to reduce the Violators to more exactness of performance.

I say then, that the Catholics, and the *Reformed* are the Parties between which the King, as their lawful Sovereign, their Arbitrator born, procures and Warrants the Peace by his Edict; well understanding the Cause, upon a due examination of the Pretences and Replies, and having obtain'd the consent of the Parties interested as far as is necessary. It appear'd, that the Catholics and Reformed were parties in this Treaty, because they were the persons that reap'd the benefit of it; that is to say, the Concord and Peace which it procur'd 'em; and for that the Differences and Contests between 'em surceas'd, so soon as the Edict came to be put in Execution. It appears, that the King determin'd 'em, because 'tis he that speaks in the Edict, and from whom all the Decisions flow, in reference to the matters in Dispute. It appears, that what he did, was done with a true knowledge of the Cause: Since he was inform'd of the Demands of the Protestants by their Papers, their Requests, and their Deputations; and of the Pretensions of the Catholics, by their Contradictions and their Oppositions. Lastly, it appears, that there were sufficient Marks of consent on both sides, by several Reasons which are easily drawn from History.

The Consent of the *Reformed* is express and plain from their long endeavours and pursuits to obtain those things which were Granted 'em by the King's Commissioners; and the Consent of the Catholics was Apparent, by what I am going to relate, after I have first observ'd that their Oppositions no way destroy their consent. By the usual Method of Proceeding, 'tis certain, that the Disputes and Contests before an Arbitrator are no Obstruction to hinder those that raise 'em from submitting to the Award of the Arbitrator: Those Contests only serving to clear the Matters, and to instruct the Person who takes Cognizance of the Difference. In like manner the Oppositions of the Catholics were no more than a Contest in Form of Law touching such Matters, of which the King was to be Judge, which however did not hinder 'em from consenting to stand by the King's Decisions. I say then, that there are several Marks of the Catholic's consent to the Edict which the King was about to Grant the *Reformed*.

1600. First, the Truce between the two Kings is a good Proof, that the Catholics that follow'd the Kings party were no way averſe to Peace. There is no great Diſtance between the one and the other. They that can make a Truce with their Enemies, ſo as to live together in the ſame place, and joyn their Arms for the common Intereſt, are in a fair way to be Friends. They that conſent to a Truce, which is but a Proviſional peace, ſhew plainly that they have no Reluctancy to a Deciſive Peace. Which is more eſpecially true in this Caſe, where the Truce made in behalf of the two parties by their Chieftains was an *Interim*, in expectance of the peace in Order to which the Truce was made. In the ſecond place, the Act paſs'd between the Catholics of the Army and Court and *Hen. IV.* after the Death of *Hen. III.* by which they oblige the New King to no more then the preſervation of the Catholic Religion, without demanding the Extirpation of the *Reformed*; and that he ſhould permit himſelf to be inſtructed in the Roman Doctrine, without forcing the Reſt of his Subjects; this Act I ſay, is a proof of the ſame thing. Of the ſame Nature alſo, in the third place, is the Writing Sign'd by the Catholics Lords and Princes at *Mantes*, before the Conference of *Surene*, wherein they not only conſented that the King ſhould preſerve the *Reformed*, but they promiſe that no prejudice ſhall be done 'em by the Treaty they were about to enter into with the Leaguers. All this together makes up, a kind of Compromiſe, or mutual Conſent, by which it is evident, that the Catholics of the King's party agreed, that he ſhould Judge of the Civil Differences in the Kingdom upon the ſcore of Religion.

But the Marks of the Leaguers Conſent, are yet more clear and more Authentic. There is not one one of the Treaties concluded with them, where there is not one Article for the Religion. But never did that Article demand more then two things; that is to ſay, the Re-eſtabliſhing the Roman Religion in certain Places, and the reducing the Exercise of the *Reformed Religion* to certain Limits. The clear meaning of which is this, that upon thoſe two Conditions, they who Treat conſent, that the King ſhould tolerate the *Reformed*.

'Tis a Law notoriously known, and a General practice, that all Restrictions confirm the Law in Cases to which that Restriction is not extended, and that the Exception of a particular Clause, is a ratification of the General Decree. We see then here the *Catholics*, even those who have been more conspicuously and more vehemently Zealous than any Others, closing with the King in reference to the means of procuring Peace between them and the *Reformed*; and excepting in two conditions wherein they include themselves, leaving his Authority at Liberty to Act as he shall see convenient. And after the passing of all these Acts it is, that the King has given a Definitive Sentence in this Great Contest, and that having call'd together both Parties upon the Heads of their Disputes, as well by the Negotiations of the Deputies, as by the Decisions which he pronounc'd in favour of the one and the other, in things wherein they could not agree among themselves, he Form'd between 'em the Irrevocable Treaty which is contain'd in the Articles of his Edict. And here we may very aptly apply the Grand Maxim of the Clergy of *France*, which carried 'em so far in the Affairs of the Regale. After the Parliament of *Paris* had began that process toward the beginning of this Century, the Clergy set all Engines at work, to hinder the Cause from resting in the hands of those Judges, who held several Ecclesiastical Priviledges for Usurpations. And they obtain'd so far, that the King summon'd the Cause before himself; and after his Council had left it undetermin'd for above Sixty years, at length the Clergy lost their Cause some years ago, and the King adjudg'd the Regale to himself throughout all the Kingdom. The Grand Reason which one part of the Clergy has made use of to perswade the other to submission is this; the Parliament was not a competent Judge of that Affair. They only judge of Causes between Man and Man, not of those that altogether concern either one of the States, or the first Estate of the Kingdom. The King alone is the only Judge of those great Questions. He has taken the business into his own Cognizance by the Citation which the Clergy demanded. They had a Right to dispute the matter till then: But now the thing

1600.

Maxim of
the Clergy
in the Que-
stion about
the Regale.

1600. thing is at an End. The Sovereign Arbitrator has pronounc'd Sentence ; the Oracle has spoke ; and there is no more to be said.

Thus likewise in the Affair of the Edict , there was no competent Judge but the King. 'Twas not the Business of one of the Estates, but of the Three Estates who were Interested in the Affair of Religion. The King was possess'd of the Business, by the Petitions of the One, and by the Oppositions or Acts of consent of the other. The thing was delay'd and spun out in his Hands for several years ; during which the whole Business was sufficiently sifted and discuss'd to give a true understanding of the Cause. At length he pronounc'd Sentence ; he made a Law ; he made an Agreement between the parties upon conditions that were prescrib'd 'em. And thus there was a Final End of this Business ; nothing more to be said or done in it. The consequence is so much the more necessary, in regard that between the Cause of the Regale and the Edict, there is a difference advantagious to the Latter, not to speak of others that may be observ'd there. The Clergy holds for Decreed what the King, as Sovereign Arbitrator, has judg'd in his own cause : But in the Edict, the King Judges under the same Character, without suspicion of partiality in the cause of his Subjects ; where he has no personal part, where he interests himself no otherwise, then as a common Arbitrator, and Father of his Country.

*The King
Warranted
his own E-
dict.*

Now in an Affair of this Importance, the Decision of which United all the disordering Members of the State, and by a happy Peace put an end to their long Fatal Divisions , 'tis evident that the King became security for the Concord which the Treaty re-establish'd among his Subjects, as being the person whose Authority had cimented it together. 'Tis the Priviledge of Supream Authority to Warrant, and put a Value upon things where it intervenes. 'Tis because the Vertue and Force of particular Contracts are founded upon it, that the King's Name and Seal are affix'd to 'em ; that he Judges Parties by their consent ; that as the Protector of the Rights of every one of his Subjects, he sets up those Acts which his Power Authorises, and which are drawn up in his Name, in

in favour of Sincerity and Innocence against the Cavils of 1600.
 Fraud and Injustice. If then in those Acts, where the King is
 not presum'd to Judge, but because his Name appears there,
 his Quality of Sovereign Arbitrator in all the Causes of his
 Subjects, obliges 'em to a Tacit Warranty that they shall be
 firm and inviolable, how much more evidently ought it to
 be present in a Treaty, which Unites the differing Parties of
 a State after a long War; and wherein the King himself pro-
 nounc'd the Articles with his own Lips. This Treaty ought
 to be inviolable to the Parties, whom it behoves to be con-
 tent, after the Oracle has once spoke: Nay, inviolable to the
 King himself, since he is naturally as well the security for his
 Subjects Observation of their mutual Contracts, as the Su-
 pream Arbitrator of their Differences. Now it is not readily
 to be imagin'd that a Prince should be Legally the first Viola-
 tor of Treaties who is entrusted with the Warranty for their
 Observation, and tho Treaties grounded upon Principles of
 Honour and Fidelity can never be violated without Infamy,
 'twould be less Ignominious for him to make a Breach, than
 were only concern'd as a simple Party in the Treaty, then for
 him that stands security for the Publick and Common Faith,
 and who is oblig'd by that Character, to cause others to ob-
 serve the Treaty. It follows then, that the King being on the
 one side, as Head of the *Catholics*, a Party with the *Reformed* in
 the Treaty upon which the *Edict of Nantes* was Granted,
 and on the other, being security for the Observation of it be-
 tween the *Catholics* and *Reformed*, by his Quality of King and
 Common Father, 'tis impossible, that either as Party or Secu-
 rity, he should ever Ordain, or permit the Revocation of the
Edict, as being the Structure of his Paternal Love, his Pru-
 dence, his Justice, and his Royal Authority.

If it be Objected, that this indeed might properly concern
Hen. IV. the Author of the *Edict*; but that the Case is not
 the same with the King's Successors, who have met with many
 Alterations in the Kingdom; and for whom it was lawful to
 take New measures, according to the alter'd condition of
 Affairs; I answer that this Objection will be more proper for
 another place, where I shall have some Reflexions to make
 upon.

1600. upon the Revocation of the Edict. I shall only say by the way, that when Successors ratify what has been done by their Predecessors, they engage themselves in all their Obligations; and that they ought to imagine any Alterations of things, when the same Reasons of Justice and Humanity still continue; when the Benefit is the same; when the Parties Interested are still in Being, nor become unworthy of the same Grants and Privileges. Here the Children supply the Room of their Parents; and this is the Reason, that certain Immunities remain perpetual in Families. Because 'tis presuppos'd, that he who has obtain'd 'em never dyes, so long as he leaves behind him a Posterity that renews his Life. Now it is so easie to apply these Verities to the Edict, that it would be needless to enlarge my Digression that must be other where Repeated.

*Successors
bound to
observe the
Treaties of
their Pre-
decessors.*

I come then to the last Thing which I propos'd, and which I shall conclude in a few Words. It relates to the Objections that are made against the Edict, which are almost all grounded upon one Principle, which is deriv'd from hence, that it is an imperfect Treaty, to which the principal Catholics never were call'd; that the Edict was drawn up without hearing the Parliaments; without giving Opportunity to the Clergy to represent, or defend their own Interests; and without having the Popes Approbation, or at least his Consent, which is necessary to Legitimate the Consent of the Catholics, in things that concern their Religion. But this Objection is the most infirm, and the falsest of all the Rest; the most infirm, because, that tho it were True, 'twould stand the Raisers of it in no stead; the falsest, in regard there was an Assembly of all the Parties, as Public and as formal as could have been desir'd. I say that tho this Objection were true, it would be of little or no Use, because it would have been only a Defect of Formality, which in things of that importance, which the Edict Treats of, ought not to be taken into Consideration to the Prejudice of the things themselves, when they are both Just and Necessary. In Civil Affairs, between Man and Man, such a Default might bereave the Person that falls into it of certain Advantages which might have accru'd to him, had he been more exact in his

his proceedings; but it does not deprive him of his Rights. 1600. Where the Lives of Men lye at Stake, 'twould be yet more strange, that an Unfortunate Person should be inforc'd to loose his Life for the bare Omission of a Formality: And Nature would murmur to see any one Perish, whose Innocence should in all things else appear well prov'd, had not his Condemnation been grounded only upon a Mistake of that sort. How much more strange would it be, that in an Affair which concern'd the Lives and Welfare of so many Thousands of Stout and Faithful Subjects, and constant in the Service of their Prince, and who have no other Crime, which their Enemies can Tax 'em with, but that they bear a Conscience too delicate to submit to the Authority of another; how much more strange I say, would it be, that in such an affair, Men should not think themselves oblig'd to observe their Promises to these poor people, under pretence that they had not Summon'd their Adversary's, in Form, to appear in Court, for the Regulation of the Differences between 'em? But tho there were nothing more in it, the thing was Public. 'Twas impossible that either the Clergy or the Parlements should be Ignorant, that there was a Treaty on foot with the *Reform-ed*. They saw their Assemblies, their Deputations, their Writings; the going and coming of the Kings Commissioners. 'Twas the Discourse of all the Kingdom; and it was Transacted in the Sight of all *Europe*. In an affair that made so loud a Noise, 'twas the Fault of those that were concern'd therein, if they neglected being present at the places of Debate; so that if they were not there, it must be attributed either to an affected Carelessness, or a sly and over-reaching pretend-ed Ignorance.

But in the Second Place, this Objection is False: The Parties that were to be Summon'd were present, not after the business was concluded, and the thing past all Recovery, but before the Edict was verifi'd; that is to say, by consequence, before the Edict was ratify'd and pass'd in a determin'd matter. This is so true, that upon their Interposing, many things were alter'd which had been agreed upon at *Nantes*. I shall not here so much as take Notice, that one of the King's Commissioners

That the Parlements had a share in Edict. That it was necessary not to give 'em the least occasion of Complaint.

1600. missioners was a Member of that Parliament: But give me leave to say, that the Interposition of this Senate is sufficiently known by the several Deputations they made to the King, after the Edict had been sent him to be Registred. They heard his Remonstrances; they consider'd his Objections; they suffer'd him to speak more then once, before they made a positive Order for Registring the Edict; they Granted him some of his Demands, and for other matters they gave him their Reasons. Infomuch, that the Command which succeed-ed that, can pass for no other then a sort of a Contradictory Decree, after both Parties had been heard, and their Pretensions and Defences duly weigh'd.

The Clergy. The Clergy also were present there, and they made their Remonstrances and Objections, as the Parliament had done with some Solemnity and Deliberation. They met a little after the Conclusion of the Edict, the Legat being still in France. They Address'd themselves to the King by their Deputies, and presented him with Cases and Petitions; but he did nothing without Consulting the Legat, and after his Departure without the advice of the Nuncio. The General Agents went farther likewise in their Oppositions then this Prelate, and behav'd themselves with so little Respect, that they were even Guilty of Undecent Language. Their Remonstrances however, had partly their desir'd Effect. They obtain'd Immunities and Favours for the Clergy; and caus'd some of the Articles of the Edict to be Alter'd. Infomuch, that afterwards no Man, with any Confidence, could say he was not heard. If the King did not Consent to every thing the Clergy desir'd, and made 'em quit some part of their Pretensions: yet it cannot be denied, but that he heard 'em, and Judg'd of the Dispute, with a perfect knowledge of the Cause. The Murmurs of the Clergy, after the matter was ended, wou'd not allow them to Complain, that they were not heard, no more then a Man has Reason to say after Sentence has pass'd against him, that the Judges did not perfectly know his Case. To which we may add, That the Clergy reap'd greater Benefit by the Edict in many things, then the Reformed themselves. So that, tho they had been totally excluded

cluded from having any Negotiation in the Edict, yet they 1600. cou'd have had no reason to complain, that Affairs were not manag'd to their Advantage, without giving 'em the trouble of attending 'em. ~~~~~

In short, The Pope himself had given his Consent as far as ^{The Pope} cou'd be desir'd of him. He was made sensible from the time ^{himself.} that the Treaty of a Reconciliation between the King and him was on foot; and that the King wou'd not be oblig'd to *Destroy the Reformed*. In the very Articles to which his Council agreed, they made use of General Clauses, that imply'd a Consent to the Edict which was to be made for *Liberty of Conscience*. At least those Proctors did positively assure His Majesty, that it was clearly the sense of those ambiguous Terms with which they must be satisfy'd, because the Pope neither cou'd nor ought to suffer others; which is as much as to say, That the Church of *Rome* esteeming it a point of Duty and Honor, to Massacre, Burn, and by all manner of means to Extirpate those whom they call *Heretics*, the Pope cou'd not think it look'd well for him to Consent in express Terms, that he shou'd suffer 'em to live in Peace, and that of course he was oblig'd to express himself in obscure Significations. The Testimony of the King to the Parliament that the Pope had approv'd of all he had done, is a Demonstration in this case, and what happen'd some time after the verification of the Edict confirms the same. The Pope vigorously press'd the Publication of the Council of *Trent*, and to obtain it, insisted upon the promise which was made him upon his demand in the Kings Name, before he gave him Absolution. Among other things, the Chancellor answer'd to these Instances, *That this Article cou'd oblige the King no farther than the welfare of the Kingdom wou'd allow of*. This Answer being carry'd to the Pope, by such as had a mind to Exasperate him against *France*, was expounded in such a manner that it gave him no small displeasure. But d'Ossat, who was desirous to remove all occasions of disquiet from him, told him, That the Chancellor intended no more by these words than what *du Perron* and he had said to His Holiness himself, when they Treated with him about the Absolution of the King, to wit, *That by the Publication of the Council the Edicts of Pacification shou'd not* be

1600. *be Abrogated; That the Heretics shou'd not be compell'd to observe 'em; And that the King shou'd not be oblig'd to renew a War with 'em; That for the same reason* *de Perron* and he had refus'd to pass the Clause which was design'd to have been Inserted in the Formulary of the Profession of Faith, to wit, *That he who did it, shou'd be engag'd to cause it to be done to all his Subjects.* The Pope reply'd, *That he well enough remembred, that what was meant by the welfare of the Kingdom was so Explain'd to him; and if this Chancellor meant so, there was no great hurt in it.* These words do sufficiently evince that he agreed to observe the Edicts, and that he gave many marks of it as his Dignity cou'd conveniently permit.

We may add to this what I have said elsewhere, which shews, That he was well enough acquainted with the whole proceedings of the Edict; That he had at that time a Legat in *France*; That his Legat was inform'd of all that pass'd there; That there were people who gave him occasion to suspect the Conduct of the Kings Commissioners; That the *President de Thou* was oblig'd to give him an Account of his own particular Conduct; That this Prelate having understood it, seem'd well enough pleas'd with him, and with the proceedings, and left the management to the discretion of the Commissioners. I said also, That the presence of the Legat was the cause of delaying the verification of the Edict. He made likewise such pressing demands, that they durst not refuse him, tho we cou'd have wish'd, without this obstruction, that the Publication had been made, whilst those of the League were stunn'd, as it were, by the Kings Successes, lest Time shou'd force 'em to take measures to cross this design. When the Legat left *France*, a Nuncio supply'd his Room, without whom the Clergy would not proceed one step; and who was also much more moderate than the General Agents, and some Prelates of the Kingdom; in regard that, without any scruple, he promis'd the Pope's support, provided they took care of the Catholic Religion. So that, if after that, the Pope shew'd some Signs of dissatisfaction, it was only, as I have observ'd, by way of Comedy, which the Politicians know well enough how to play when they have any prospect of saving themselves.

themselves. 'Twas necessary, as he himself said, complaining of the Edict, to stop the mouths of the *Spaniards*, who having some concerns with him, sought all occasions of blaming his Conduct. This was the reason, why after the first clash, he never desir'd the Repeal of the Edict; and all he did was to press the Publication of the Council, and the Re-establishment of the Jesuits, in recompense of those favours which the *Heretics* had receiv'd. These were as great marks of his Consent as cou'd well have been desir'd, in an Affair where his Religion and Dignity wou'd not suffer him to write Briefs and Bulls of Approbation.

This is sufficient in a business whose Nature chiefly requires that it shou'd be manag'd with Justice, to shew that nothing was wanting which was Necessary to Authorize the Decision of it. A Treaty maturely deliberated where the Sovereign himself is a Party; Parties that agree in many things by the Negotiation, and between whom a Sovereign, Born their Arbitrator, decides those Matters which were still in dispute; A Reformation of several Articles upon the Oppositions of Parties Intervening, A General Compliance on one side, divers marks of Consent on the other; All this makes a certain degree of Surety which ought to render these Decisions Eternal and Unalterable, by how much the more it was impossible to revoke 'em without a downright Abuse of Justice it self, and the same Duty which caus'd 'em to be made. But 'tis now time to return to the Series of the History.

All necessary Preparations were made throughout the whole Kingdom for the Execution of the Edict; and the Commissioners, who were appointed to procure it, began to set it afoot this year, and made many Decrees upon the Contests that arose. But before they cou'd almost make one step in their Business, we began to be sensible of the principal Advantage of the Edict, namely, A *Universal Tranquillity*, the sweetness of which gave us good hopes of the rest. However there happen'd one thing very Remarkable, which made the Catholics Triumph, as if they had procur'd an utter Extirpation of the *Reformed Religion*, tho in effect they had gain'd nothing

*A Return
to the
History.*

1600. thing but the Honour of knowing how to lay a Snare better than the Wifest of the *Reformed* knew how to escape it. The Book of *Du Plessis* concerning the *Eucharist*, of which I have already spoken, was the occasion of this matter.

I have observ'd already, that the Catholics made a great noise about it. I know not how many Writers endeavour'd to refute it. *Fronton du Duc*, a Famous Jesuit, undertook it, after *Dafis* sent away such as propos'd to him the burning of the Book, and bid 'em rather to write a formal Answer to it. But there were many Authors of less Note, who engag'd themselves in this Dispute, and who pester'd the Public with whole Loads of little foolish Pamphlets, which were rather Invectives against the Author, than Answers to his Work. The Doctors of the Faculty at *Paris* Condemn'd it by Public Censure. Several particular Persons publish'd Inventories of falsify'd Passages, Catalogues of Omissions of necessary Words, and many other little Trifles of the same Nature. The Reason of this great Fermentation amongst 'em, besides the Importance of the Matter, the Merit of the Author, the slender respect he had observ'd in his Book for the Mysteries of the *Romish Religion*, and the manner of bringing it to light, was also his Method of handling the Subject. *Du Plessis* did not confine himself, as others till then had done, within the bounds of *Scripture*; he Sallied forth out into the vast Field of *Tradition*, and had Quoted in his Book above Four Thousand passages of the School-Men, or of those who were call'd Fathers. This was (as it were) a bringing the War into the very Bowels of the Church of *Rome*; Attacking her in her strongest Entrenchments, and violently wresting her very last Weapons out of her hands. There had been nothing left for her Defence, if after having taken away the Scripture from her, which the *Reformed* accus'd her for having in a manner forsaken, she shou'd suffer the Fathers to be ravish'd from her too, and the Fountains of Tradition, wherein she places her last Refuge. But all the noise both of the Preachers and Writers serv'd only to make the Book sell, and to advance the Glory of its Author. They Attack'd it so weakly, that, most certainly, it had been better for the *Romish Church* to have let it alone.


I'th' mean while the Refutations promis'd from *Rome* came 1600. not at all; and the Pope was vex'd at the heart to see himself Treated in so sharp a manner, and that too by a Person so considerable and great as *Du Pleſſis*. It caus'd the Pope to suspect the Sincerity of the Kings Conversion, and that he was not hearty in the Profession of the Catholic Religion. There was then at *Rome* a certain *German*, who boasted that he had learnt this secret from a Protestant of *Ausbourg*, who said, That *Bongars*, the Kings Envoy to the Protestants in *Germany*, assur'd 'em he had not chang'd his Religion in his heart: And *D'Oſſat*, who thought it convenient for the Kings Reputation to stop the course of such Reports, wou'd fain have search'd to the bottom, to see if he cou'd find out from whence these Rumors arose. Wherefore toward the latter end of this year, he acquainted the King with what he had Learnt of their Original; for these Rumors were not new; and since the Kings Conversion they were daily reviv'd; Insomuch that the Pope had opportunity enough to make his best advantage of it; whether this *German*s Discourse came to his Ears long before the Cardinal writ to him of it, or whether he had receiv'd any Intelligence of it from the Spies which he has in every Princes Court. The King was concern'd in Interest that these Reports shou'd not make any Impression on the Minds of the Catholics, however they were advantageous to him, serving to gain him Credit with the *Protestants*, whose Alliance his Politics oblig'd him to preserve at any Rate whatsoever. But as the good will of *Rome* was necessary for him in his present Affairs, so he was desirous to satisfy the Pope, and to mortifie *du Pleſſis* and the *R*formed by some Signal Action, which might make *Rome* believe that they had lost his favour. *Du Pleſſis*'s Book furnish'd him with a colourable Pretence; And he offer'd such an Indignity to this Gentleman by little Artifices, beneath the Grandeur of a King, that one may safely say, That that Action was none of the best of all his Life. Observe now how the matter went. Almost all those who wrote against *Du Pleſſis*, how different otherwise soever they were in the Style and Method of their Writings, yet agreed in this, To charge him with false Quotations: And as such Accusations are hard to be Explain'd,

The King willing to satisfy the Pope, and to mortifie du Pleſſis.

1600. plain'd, to those who are not capable of thoroughly Examining Matters and Authors, they were made use of as the only proper Argument to seduce those whom they wou'd pervert to their Religion. Thus people are apt to be misled in such Affairs as are beyond the reach of their Capacity; Difficulties are rais'd, of which they are not competent Judges, and they are told sometimes that 'tis impossible to solve 'em, because they are not capable enough to do it themselves. This Cheat has been used in *France* among the Controvertists all along from first to last. As often as any Book of worth has come forth, the Missionaries to be sure have found out a Trick to accuse the Author of some fault or other, with which they have broke the Peoples Brains; as if every thing that they were not able to understand or refute was a sign of the falsity of his Religion: And the Credulous and Wavering people many times mistake those Reproaches, which if they were allowable, wou'd only affect the Reputation of the Author, for Reasons prejudicial to his Doctrine. Yet these Deceits and Frauds serv'd chiefly to lay those flat who were already staggering, and who were only seeking for a plausible pretence to Change. Of this Number at that time, was *St. Marie du Mont*, a Gentleman, who was resolv'd to part with his Religion, and only delay'd the Formalities of Renunciation, till *du Plessis* had been ill treated at *Fontainebleau*, suffer'd himself to be perswaded by *du Perron*, and others, that *du Plessis* had falsly quoted, a great many passages; and being with him in *Paris* at the Princess of *Orange's*, he justify'd to his face that he had found many passages of this Nature in his Book. This Gentleman was one of those, whose Learning, being very mean and shallow, gives them however a great share of Confidence; and being fully resolv'd, as I said, to turn Catholic, he was willing to think all those reasons very good with which they had inspir'd him. But *du Plessis*, who had stood firm as a Rock against all the Storms which his Book had rais'd against him, cou'd not support the Calumny of being thought a *Falsifier*, and therefore reckon'd his Honour was concern'd to make good the Sincerity of his Quotations. So toward the end of *March* he publish'd a Writing, wherein he invites his Accusers

The Scandal of false Quotations reflects hard upon the Honor of du Plessis. The Challenge that he makes to his Accusers accepted by Perron.

to

to join with him in presenting a Petition to His Majesty to appoint Commissioners, before whom he might justify the passages from Line to Line. Some few days after *du Perron* receiv'd one of these Writings, and Answer'd it in accepting the Challenge, and Offering to shew Five hundred enormous falsities in *du Plessis's* Book, in down-right Number and without Hyperbole; and at the same time Writ to the King to desire the Conference. *Du Plessis* would not let this Bravado pass without a Reply: But for Fear this multiplicity of Writing to and fro should break off the design of the Conference, *Villeroy* hinder'd the Bishop from Answering this. In the mean time *du Plessis* Writ to the King, and caus'd the Marshal *de Buisson* to present his Petition to him. The King being desirous of this Conference, readily comply'd with it; and at the very beginning of *April*, gave Order to the Chancellour to endeavour to procure it. 1600. 

But at first great Difficulties arose about it, which held the thing long in suspense. The Nuncio oppos'd it, for as they were to appoint Commissioners in a matter of Religion, he alledg'd it was a Prerogative of the Ecclesiastical Authority, which the King would violate, if he took upon him the Nomination of them; besides he thought it might give occasion for people to suspect, that the King had still some doubts about the Truth of the *Romish* Doctrine. The Arch Bishop of *Bourges* likewise Remonstrated the consequences of it to the King. *Benoit*, Nominated for the Bishoprick of *Troyes*, but to whom the Pope would never Grant his Bulls, because he was too good a *French man*, and too little respectful to *Rome*, represented in like manner his scruples about the same thing. Cardinal *de Gondi*, Bishop of *Paris*, was strangely surpriz'd to hear say, that this Conference was like to be held in his Diocess. Others likewise made their trivial Objections: But the King satisfy'd 'em all; assuring 'em, that matters of Doctrine should not be touch'd upon; that the Commissioners should not be Judges of any thing relating to Religion; that they shou'd only be meerly Spectators, Witnesses, and Vouches of the verity of the Acts; that they shou'd only give their Opinions of the Sense of the Words, not meddling

Difficulties in the thing and about the place rais'd by the Clergy.

Oooo

any

1600. any farther then in this particular relating to *du Pleſſis*,
 to know whether his Quotations were Falſe or not. And
 he promis'd beſides, that ſuch care ſhou'd be taken, that
 the *Romiſh* Religion ſhou'd loſe nothing by it. On the other
 hand, there were ſeveral Perſons, who advis'd *du Pleſſis* not
 to carry on the thing too far ; telling him, that they had left him
 paſſages enough, the Truth of which was unqueſtionable, to
 ſave his Honour, tho he ſhould concede the o thers to them. But
 he could by no means endure the Word *Falſe* ; and he was
 ſo well aſſur'd of his own exaſtneſs, that he did not believe,
 that all the Biſhops Craft could do him any Injury. Herely'd
 chiefly on the King's Juſtice ; and tho he believ'd him ſelf not a
 little diſpleas'd with the Publication of his Book, yet he hop'd
 that the Memory of his Services, the Fear of too much pro-
 voking the *Reformed*, and of leſſening the Royal Maſteſty, by
 a proceeding that deviated from Juſtice, would oblige that
 Prince to ſee that he had not the leaſt Foul Play.

Others of
du Pleſſis's
Friends and
Party.

On both ſides people long'd for the Conference, every one
 expecting the Triumph of his Party, and even before the
 Combat, rejoycing at the Deſeat of his Adverſary. Inſo-
 much, that on either ſide, there were people enough to inva-
 lidate the Reaſons of thoſe who deſir'd to hinder the Diſ-
 pute. It was therefore Reſolv'd upon, and *du Pleſſis* found
 himſelf too far engag'd to Retreat. But on the King's part,
 ſuch wary meaſures were taken, that 'twas impoſſible that *du*
Pleſſis ſhould come off with Honour. For if he ſhould break off
 the Conference, then they would have Charg'd him with de-
 clining the Combat, for fear of being confounded ; and if he
 ſhou'd maintain it ; then they had laid the Snare ſo cun-
 ningly, that he could not avoid it. 'Tis very hard to know
 whether the King's deſign was in good Earneſt, rather to break
 off this Conference, or to procure it. But it is certain how-
 ever, that *du Pleſſis* was oblig'd to keep it up, and that on
 ſuch very hard Terms, as 'tis likely they would not have pro-
 pos'd 'em to him, but to engage him to quit his Reſolution ; for
 they would rather have Triumph'd in his Flight, then have
 undertook a Conference in good Earneſt, with a perſon
 whom they knew ſo well ſkill'd in the Art of defending
 himſelf

himself; which will easily appear by the particulars of the principal Circumstances. 1600.

After those Difficulties were remov'd which the Chief of the Clergy had suggested, and that it was found more expedient to hold the Conference at *Fontainebleau* then at *Paris*; whether it were to satisfy the Bishop of that place; or to hinder the Commonalty from intermeddling in this Dispute; or whether it were to deprive *du Plessis* of those helps which he might have had from the Libraries, and the Learned Men who were so Numerous there, the Chancellour Writ to *du Perron* to come to Court; but *du Plessis* had no Notice sent him for his coming there, tho the King had commanded that he should. Of which the Chancellour clear'd himself, by telling the King, when he ask'd him the Reason of it, that he did not imagine his Majesty had any such Intention. But as the Terms wherein such a Command is given, cannot be ambiguous; especially in a business where it is a Natural Right, that the persons concern'd should have equally Notice, 'tis plain enough that this was a Trick of the Chancellors, to make *du Plessis's* not appearing at a day prefix'd, to seem as if he had a mind to shun the Dispute, after he had so much desir'd it; which would have made people believe that he doubted his Cause: Whereas the Bishop appearing first at the place assign'd, seem'd likewise by his diligence more assur'd of his Conquest. But *du Plessis* follow'd his Adversary the Bishop so close, that he had nothing wherewith to charge him about it: One arriv'd there the 27th of the Month, and t'other the next day. *Du Plessis* was immediately for Regulating the manner of the Conference, for which he made his Application to the King. He entreated that the passages of his Book might be Examin'd in Order, that so those which were not Tax'd with false Citations, might be look'd on as verifi'd: And on t'other side, he thought it but reasonable, that the Bishop should give him the five hundred passages charg'd with Falsehood, in a paper Sign'd under his hand. The Bishop had more Wit then to comply with his first demand. But the Reasons he gave for it, were very Weak and Childish. He said, he had shewn Reasons for this refusal in the Answer he made to the first

*The Steps
of their
foul Play.*

*Du Perron has
Notice, but
du Plessis
has not.*

2 Du Perron is dispens'd with from giving the five hundred passages under his hand, which he had promised.

1600. Challenge that *Du Plessis* had Publish'd : Besides, That *du Plessis* having Summon'd him to appear, without refuting his Reasons, or Offering any thing in his own Defence, he had quitted that pretension by a tacit compliance : Whence he concluded, that he ought not to be permitted to renew it. These Reasons of his Answer oblig'd him to spend a great deal of time in Transcribing all those passages, with the Bishops Reflexions; as if length of time ought to be consider'd, when things of greater Moment were in Agitation. This Evasion; which at Court would have been Hiss'd at in a matter of less consequence, pass'd however for current in this Affair : Tho if they had design'd things fairly and honestly, they would have scorn'd such little Formalities. 'Tis true, that to support this mean way of cavilling, *Du Perron* added, that the Business at that time was not to examin the Book, from one end to t'other ; and that after the first business was decided, he offer'd to stay Six Months, without stirring, to make this Examination. This specious offer engag'd him to just nothing at all; for the King could not so long attend a Conference of this Nature, nor suffer it but in his Presence : And they well knew, that it would break off before they came to the substance of the Book. But as for *du Plessis's* second pretension, the Bishop offer'd to leave the five hundred Passages in the King's Hands, from whence he would every day take fifty as he thought fit to examine 'em. The design of this Artifice was apparent enough; for if the passages had been given to *du Plessis*, he might have been assisted by those to whom he should have Communicated 'em, and so have come better prepar'd to the Conference. On the other Hand, the Bishop having every day of the Conference, his choice of the Passages, he might hold *du Plessis* in perpetual uncertainty on which side he meant to Attack him; so that he should never have had any longer time to prepare himself, then what his Adversary should please to allow him. In short, among the five hundred passages which he had to peruse, the Bishop might pick out such as had carried the likeliest appearance of being quoted Wrong; so to prepossess on the minds of Men by this Artifice, and to insinuate to 'em, that
the

; The Order and Choice of the Passages is left to him.

the Rest were all of the same nature. Thus is the World for the most part prepossess'd : The first Impressions are generally the deepest, and the suspicious we suddenly entertain of any Man's Honesty, can hardly be effac'd by all the other Proofs of his Integrity. 1600.

Du Plessis perceiving the Snare that was laid for him by this Wile, would not be satisfy'd with these Offers of the Bishop ; but desir'd notwithstanding in a New Address, that the Passages might be left in the Hands of two of the Commissioners whom the King had Nominated. But *du Perron* wou'd not consent to it. *Du Plessis* remain'd still Resolute for some time, and urg'd as a Reason for this his Resolution ; that he plainly saw, that after they had made an effort upon five or six Passages, they would find out a way to break off the Conference, so to fix in Men's minds a like Opinion of the Rest : To which he added what the King's Religion, what the Religion of the Nobility, and of the Greatest part of those who were to be present at the Conference, gave him just Cause to fear. The Chancellour reply'd very faintly to these Objections : But they desir'd *du Perron* to take some Course, that might remove *du Plessis's* Jealousie of this foul Play. *4 But du Plessis sees through the Artifice of it.*

The Bishop propos'd to Examine fifty passages presently, whose Falsties he would engage to lay open in two Hours time, and the other four hundred and fifty in nine days after ; Offering not to stir from *Fontainebleau* till the matter was ended. *Du Plessis* did not find that this Proposal remov'd his Scruples. And for some time refuses these Conditions.

But the Chancellour, together with four of the Commissioners whom the King had appointed, and *Roni*, who at this Consultation sat in the place of *Calignon*, who should have been the Fifth, and the only unsuspected person, adjudg'd, that *du Perron* offer'd him Fair. *Du Plessis* would not submit to this Judgment, the Partiality of which was but too visible. But the Chancellour being very willing to perswade him to be satisfy'd with it, told him, that the King was resolv'd to know the Truth of this matter ; that whether *du Plessis* were present or absent, it must be Examin'd ; that it would be more advantageous to him, if it were done in his presence ; that his going away would be look'd upon as a Flight ; that it would turn to his disgrace

They Terrify him by threatening to Examine the Passages in his Absence.

1600. Disgrace which way soever it was taken; either because he would be suspected of having spoken Falsities in Holy matters, or else they would blame him for deserting the Cause of his Religion in things that he maintain'd for Truths. 'Twas the King himself who had order'd the Chancellour to tell him, that his Absence should not any way prejudice him, but that he would cause the Citations to be rightly judg'd of, which they had charg'd him with having wrongfully Quoted. Inſomuch, that they did in a manner compel this Gentleman, either to lay himself at the discretion of his Adversary, or to expose him to the disadvantageous Censures they might pass upon his Book, if it were Examin'd when no body was present to defend it. But as he very well knew, that no Men of worth would look upon his Prudence, not to throw himself Headlong into a manifest Snare, as any thing like a flight he was not at all shaken by the Chancellour's Discourse. However, he again consulted *Roni* and *Casaubon*, who did not advise him to alter his Opinion. *Roni*, who was not sorry that *du Pleſſis* had receiv'd some kind of Mortification that would lessen his Reputation, and absolutely remove him from business, was in that respect nothing the honestest Man then the Rest of 'em, and did what he could to lead this poor Gentlman to a precipice. And from thence it happen'd, that to give the greater Reputation to the pretended defeat of *du Pleſſis*, he boasts in his Memoirs, according to the report of those who collected 'em, that he was the occasion of breaking off the Conference; that *du Perron* was contented to speak no more of it; and that *du Pleſſis* was an Obstinate person, and would never agree to it. All this past, till the third of May in the Morning; when the King seeing the Constancy of *du Pleſſis*, commanded, that the Examination of the passages should not be put off any longer, then till three a Clock in the Afternoon. But under some pretence or other, they were deferr'd till seven a Clock next Morning. Mean while, the King kept the Bishop with him all day; consulting how he should carry himself in this matter. On the other side, the breaking off the Conference made the Reformed Court Party very uneasie, whether they were of a Cabal with *Roni*, or whether they were intoxicated with Conferences, as there

there are but few people who are not, we know not. But 1600. *Castelnau, Chambret, Beaupre* and some others, undertook to renew it; and so manag'd *du Plessis*, that they made him consent to it upon very unjust Terms. At the same time *du Perron* should have sent to *du Plessis* fifty or sixty Passages, upon Condition that he Answer'd 'em all by seven a Clock the next Morning; and in the same Order that *du Perron* had plac'd 'em; he was to have been furnish'd with what Books he desir'd; and they to be of the Edition of *Geneva*, of *Heidelberg*, or of *Bale*.

This Negotiation continuing till Nine at Night, *du Plessis* could neither have the Books nor the Passages till Eleven; insomuch. that instead of taking his Rest, he was forc'd to spend the Night in Examining his Citations. To make him amends for this foul Play, *du Perron* sent him Sixty one Passages, instead of Sixty which he had promis'd. The Morning came, *du Plessis* declar'd he could not Examine above nineteen of the Passages which were sent him. But that he would maintain the truth of those Citations with the Hazard of his Life. *Du Perron* complain'd loudly, that all the Passages were not Examin'd; as if it were Just or Reasonable to expect, that a Man shou'd compare Sixty Passages with the Authors from whence he had taken 'em, and that he should Examine the Contexts, that is to say, what preceded and what follow'd, in time almost, then it would take up to Read 'em. Moreover the Bishop wou'd fain have begun with other passages, then those which *du Plessis* had compar'd, as thinking he should the more easily prove their Falsity. Only he shew'd himself Coy, because he would be intreated, and that he might have an opportunity to say, after the Examination of the first, that there were yet others whose Falsities were more Notorious. And thus with much ado, he submitted at last, and the Entering into the Conference was put off till one a Clock in the Afternoon.

The King had Nam'd for Commissioners, who should determine this Matter, three Catholics, and two of the Reformed; to the End that *du Perron* might be assur'd of the Plurality of Voices. *Thou.*

The Conference almost broken off, is renewed on unfair conditions.

5. *Du Perron prescribes the Laws for it.*

6. *Du Plessis Robb'd of his Nights Rest.*

7. *Sixty one Passages are given him to justify in Eight Hours time.*

8. *The King by his Authority Names Commissioners.*

9. *And gives the plurality of Voices to the Catholics.*

Pithou,

1600. *Pithou*, and *le Fevre* the Prince of *Conde's* Tutor, were the the three *Catholics*; and the *Reformed* were *Calignon* and *Casaubon*. But the King chang'd two of those he had Deputed, and Substituted *Martin*, one of his Physicians, in the Room of *le Fevre*, and instead of *Calignon*, *du Frene Canaye* who arriv'd at Court just as the Conference was ready to begin. It had been much more Just and Equitable, that the Parties themselves should have chosen their Arbitrators; but the chief Reason why the King had the Nomination of them was, That the *Reformed* might not appear too Resolute and Confident. 'Twas for

10. He changes two of the first Nominated, for two more suspected.

11. He choses two of the wavering Reformed.

The Character of du Frene Canaye.

this Cause that *Calignon* was excluded from it, and *du Frene Canaye* put in, who came Post to Court on purpose to change his Religion, which he did in a little time after. For thence forward he industriously endeavour'd the Ruin of the *Reform'd*; as it appear'd by the proposition he made to the King; to destroy 'em, in bringing over all the Nobility of that Par-

ty: Which he engag'd to do, upon condition, that a Sum of Money, of less Value then his own Estate, should be put into third hands that should still remain as a pledge for the security of this Sum. 'Tis said, that the King being Wiser then he, would not hearken to him, but told him, that if there were no Nobility among the *Reformed*, it behov'd him to send some thither, because he had always found their Gentlemen very serviceable to him. *Casaubon* was a Man of a Weak and Wavering Temper, whom *du Perron* had gain'd by his Artifices. He had promis'd to change his Religion: But he was so narrowly watched, and he knew so well how to make his Advantage of the King of *England's* Offer, who invited him over to *England*, that he seem'd at least, to be settl'd. 'Tis certain, that before he went over into *England*, he told *du Perron*, that he cou'd be more serviceable to him in gaining that Prince, if he continu'd in the Profession of the *Reform'd* Religion, then after he had quitted it. Insomuch, that it is not known, whether his perseverance were Sincere or no. However, it is sure, that Religion was not a matter of very great importance to that Family; for a little after his Death, his only Son turn'd *Catholic*. Such were those in whose Hands

And of Casaubon.


du Plessis was constrain'd to hazard his Honour. There was 1600.
more Honesty to be hop'd for from *Thou* and *Pithou*, then
from those very people who being of his Religion, pretend-
ed to be most favourable to him.

At the time appointed, they came to the place where the
Conference was to be held, and every one being duly plac'd, the
Books were laid on the Table, to which they might have recourse
in the process of the Examination. I will not Justifie what
is said by some, that *du Perron* having already put one Cheat
upon *du Plessis*, in causing the first Leaf of the Edition of
Bale or *Geneva* to be plac'd at the the beginning of Books
Printed elsewhere, play'd him another Trick worse then
that, to confound him absolutely, by Ordering other
Books to be laid on the Table, then those he had made use of
all the Night before. There was no need perhaps of this great
Abuse, to perplex a Man that was almost quite tir'd out al-
ready, with Watching all Night long, and who besides had
spent all the Forenoon in matters of great importance. But
they set another Trap for him more craftily, under colour of
avoiding such Words as might di oblige, when the King Or-
der'd, that in their Discourse, they should forbear the Terms
of *Fals* and *Falsity*. And thus there was a Large Feild open'd
for *du Perron*, who cou'd turn the Conference as he pleas'd.
It had been indeed propos'd before upon a Charge of *Falfe-*
hood; and *du Perron* was oblig'd to convict *du Plessis* of *Enor-*
mous, or *Irregular* Falsities. And yet, neverthelels he was dis-
pens'd with from proving the Falsity; and he could extricate
himself from those matters, by charging on *du Plessis* quite a
nother thing, then that of having falsely quoted the passages
in debate; as if he had ill understood 'em, ill translated 'em,
ill apply'd 'em, &c. Which might be call'd *mistakes*, but could
not be looked on as Falsifications. *Du Plessis* on the other
hand found himself so much the less able to defend himself,
as that under this pretext, of shunning Undecent and Offen-
sive Expressions, they might raise a thousand Objections against
him, which he ne're expected. And so instead of being clear'd,
as he believ'd, by shewing beyond all denial, that the Au-
thors had said what he had taken out of 'em, they might

12. Ano-
ther Arti-
fice made
use of, by
forbidding
the Terms of
False and
Falsity to
be mention-
ed.

1600. turn the Question and ask him, whether he perfectly understood what their meaning was.

The Chancellor who in this Affair was to preside above the King, declar'd that no matter of Right or Doctrine was concern'd in this Dispute, but of Fact and Citations; which the King confirm'd with his own Mouth, and in the same Terms. *Du Perron* highly extoll'd the King, that he would not lay his hand upon the Censor, nor meddle with Matters of Faith, which he ought not to do. And after wards protested he extreamly Honour'd *du Plessis*, and did not design to cast on him the blame of those Falsifications which were in his Book, but only charg'd them upon those who had furnish'd him with the Memoirs; That is to say, in acquitting *du Plessis* from an Accusation of being a Deceiver, he ridicul'd him by another, which tax'd him for an Inconsiderate Person; that made use of the Citations of other people without ever inquiring into the Truth of 'em; and fill'd his Books with the Testimonies of Authors which he had never taken the pains to Read. Besides that the Accusation became by that more malicious, because it overspread and affected all the Learned of the Party, by whom he suppos'd *du Plessis* was supply'd with his passages. As if the *Reformed*, the better to Assail the *Roman Church*, had made a kind of Combination to Quote the Ancient Authors false. *Du Plessis* protested, That what was done was but a particular Act, which concern'd him only, and that what shou'd happen shou'd neither prejudice the Churches nor their Doctrine. That being over, they began the Conference. And the Order they observ'd was, That after *du Perron* had propos'd his Objections, and *du Plessis* his Reasons, the Chancellor should withdraw with the Commissioners; and after a short Consultation, should return to deliver their Opinions, which was ever declar'd Uniform. The whole management of it was as peaceable as an Affair of that Nature could permit; there happen'd but one Interruption, which was of no consequence. A Minister that had got in among the Assistants could not forbear speaking upon the occasion of a passage in *St. Chrysostom*; after which he went his way; and the King, without being disturbed

sturbed, was pleas'd to deal with him like a Harquebusier, 1600.
that wheels off so soon as he has discharg'd his Carbine. 

'Tis said *du Plessis* made but an ill Defence ; which may not be improbable, considering that he had weakned his Spirits by his Watching and Study ; that the Marks of the Kings displeasure might astonish him ; that the Disposition of the Assistants, among whom there were but a few that would do him Justice, might a little distract his Brains ; that it had been much fitter for him to have consider'd, and deliberately to have prepar'd a Paper, then to have spoken (as it were) *extempore* in a Scholastic manner, on the Cavils of Criticism. But on the contrary, *du Perron*, besides the King's and the Assistants Favor, had time enoug to consult what he had to say ; and his Grave Deportment, the Cadence of his Voice, which was at once, both very agreeable and Majestic, the freeness of his Action, and the facility of his Expressions did in some manner impose on his Hearers, and gain'd 'em over to his party, even before they understood his Reasons. However it was, the Judges condemn'd *du Plessis* in Nine Passages that were Examin'd : But upon which they durst not perhaps have declar'd that the Citations were False, had they kept themselves to the strictness of the Challenge. In two Passages, one of which was taken out of *Scotus*, and the other out of *Durandus* concerning Transubstantiation ; they said that the Objection was taken for the Solution. In two other, out of *St. Chrysostom*, and a third out of *St. Jerome* ; they judg'd that some Words were left out, which it had been necessary for him to have inserted : Another, taken from *St. Cyril*, was judg'd not to be found there. The Seventh indeed, was just so as *du Plessis* had cited it from *Crinitus* : But because *Crinitus* was mistaken in citing it from the Code, they said *du Plessis* ought not to have alleadg'd it upon the Credit of a Modern Writer, and one likewise who was of no very great Authority. They took occasion to condemn him upon the Eight, for that he had not divided, by some Mark, two passages of *St. Bernard*, which seem'd but one as he had cited 'em. The Ninth, which was taken from *Theodore*, gave 'em an Occasion to Dispute about the difference be-

*Du Plessis
Condemn'd
in Nine pas-
sages.*

1600. tween *Inage* and *Idol*: And they declared that that Father spoke of Pagan Idols, and not of Christian Images.

General
Reflections.

I should transgress the limits of my design, if I should go about to excuse *du Pléssis* upon these Nine passages; I do not write his Apology, 'tis the History of the Edict, where that of this Conference ought not to intervene, but only as an incident that is somewhat remarkable. But I owe so much to Truth as to say in general, That they prevaricated in this Affair, for they did not find any thing which might justly be termed *Enormous Falshood*; no, not so much as *Real Falshood*; And the way of citing in those times was much more free than it has been since; it was then sufficient to point out the passages, without Copying 'em word for word all at length; they very rarely set down any words but what they deem'd Essential: And this way of Citations was never call'd Falsity, because they only referred to an Author where the passage might be found more at large; because the Disputants having been often hard-put to it to refute the passages to the purpose, stepp'd by little and little to the Circumstances, and began to Quibble upon the manner of Quoting, of Translating, and of Copying the passages; and for that, to avoid these digressions which caus'd 'em to lose sight of the principal thing in Dispute, the whole Body of the Book must have been fill'd with long Quotations, and the Margins with the Original Texts; and the Disputes must have been Immortaliz'd through the opportunity that those long passages would have given to many litigious Cavils.

and Particulars

In particular, a Man may sometimes Quote the Objection of an Author which he refutes, without committing a Falsity; whether it be to shew that these difficulties were known at the time the Doctor Quoted, or to discover the propensity he had himself to a certain Opinion; altho some more Superior Authority had made him determin on the contrary. This chiefly takes place amongst the School-men, who would sometimes receive Opinions opposite to those of their Church, if the dread of her *Anathemas* did not force 'em to a blind acquiescence in her Decisions. A man might also often repeat but one Series of Words, without making any long Extracts of the whole, when the parts of an omitted passage are not Essential: And this

This was undoubtedly the case of *du Plessis*, which he has demonstrated at large, in a Book which he publish'd two Years after the Conference. Where likewise he says, that what he had Quoted out of *St. Cyril* were not his proper Terms, but a brief Extract of his Opinion; and that, therefore it was no matter to him, if this passage were not deliver'd in so many Words; that having only alledg'd *Crinitus*, his Citation ought not to have been judg'd but by *Crinitus*, who having been a Catholic Priest, could not be suspected to have falsify'd this passage; That he ought not to have been Charg'd with the omission of an, &c. among so many several passages of *St. Bernard*, since what was between those two, related nothing to the Subject; and that elsewhere he had alledg'd out of the same Author, passages of much greater force, for the Opinion which it was pretended he would have hidden by this omission. That, in fine, the difference was so little between the Idols of the Pagans, and the Images of the Catholics, that that might be apply'd to the one, which *Theodoret* and other Doctors of his time say of the other. By which it may be Judg'd, that in the time of these Fathers, the Worship of Images was so great a stranger to the Practice of Christians, that they could not have spoken of it but by the Spirit of Prophecie.

But tho the matter was thus, *du Plessis* was so sensibly touch'd with the manner of their playing upon him in this Affair, that he left *Fontainebleau* the next day, without so much as taking his leave. In the mean while the King having what he desir'd, as well as *du Perron*, who thought he had sufficiently exploded the Book of *du Plessis* by this foul play, they took occasion from the Sickness of *du Plessis* to break up the Conference. And without so much as staying till his departure, the Commissioners were discharg'd that Night, to the end that, though *du Plessis* had Recover'd, they might have had an Excuse ready not to renew it. *Du Plessis* could not with-hold his Complaints; and his Son, a young Gentleman of great hopes, spoke louder then he. Indeed they spoke too much Truth to please. And it was so visible that the King had Sacrific'd *du Plessis* with a desire to satisfy the Pope, that it was impossible that the Reproaching him with this Injustice.

Du Plessis falls Sick, and the Conference is broken off.

1600. justice should not offend him. The Chancellor made Remonstrances to *du Plessis*; but that did not hinder him from speaking yet louder, when once retir'd to a place where he had no more occasion to fear any thing. In the mean time the King vaunted his Triumph upon this occasion as high as he could raise it; and it was observ'd, that, tho he did not love the Duke *Espernon*, yet he was pleas'd to give him an Account of this success in rejoycing Terms, and in such as he might have written to one of his most familiar Friends. *Roni*, like the rest, Insulted o'r the unhappy Gentleman, and vented his Railleries upon him with the King himself. They boasted highly at *Rome* of this advantage, where things that succeed well are ever counted Lawful by what means soever they are brought about. They found by this a dangerous Heretic remov'd from the Kings Favour and Trust; his Credit lost, and his Reputation obscur'd; more especially they saw the King quite alienated from the *Reformed*, since he could prevail with himself to give 'em so great an occasion of Discontent, at a time when they seem'd to have the greatest hopes of his Favour.

The Triumphs and
Insults of
the Catholics.

The sequel
of the Conference.

But altho the Conference was broken off, yet the Noise of the Dispute continu'd for a long while. The Parties Interests'd writ against one another upon this Subject. *Du Perron* Publish'd the Acts of the Conference, and that he might not want a considerable Witness, he got the Chancellor to Write a Letter to him, containing a Relation of the whole matter; and wherein he made great Protestations of his Sincerity. *Du Plessis* on his part forgot not to make his Apology, and to take notice of all the Cheats and Injuries that had been done to him. He justify'd above all things, the Allegation of the Nine Passages in a Book sufficiently large, which he Publish'd two Years after, as I have said; wherein he gave an Account, not only of the Integrity of their Citation, but he likewise made it appear by a great many Authorities, that he had as much reason of his side to have had Justice done him, as he had been Sincere in matter of Fact; and that he made the Authors Quoted speak no more then what effectually they did. More especially, he there Charg'd *du Perron* with the Falsification of the Acts of the Conference, which he had made himself; and that he did both alter
and

and change 'em divers times before he publish'd 'em: Info- 1600.
 much, that after he had shew'n 'em to some persons at *Lions*,
 who could not forbear speaking, he Tore 'em, to make
 others which he set forth. But *du Perron* was not much
 troubl'd at these Reproaches. 'Twas none of his Ambition to be
 an honest Man, but to fawn upon the Court and raise his Fortune.
 Never was Man overwhelm'd with so many Accusations of
 Frauds, Falsties, Ignorances and Contradictions: Nay of all the
 Crimes that a Writer can be Guilty of. But the pleasure of
 wearing a Cardinals Hat, and to see his Adversary disgrac'd,
 easily Atton'd for these little Injuries. *Arbigne*, who put as great a
 value upon himself as he could, would have re-assum'd the Con-
 ference against him, and some things were written on both sides,
 which were left in the King's Hands: But there they stopp'd.
Arbigne was not so considerable as *du Plessis*; and *du Perron*
 would not stake the Reputation he had acquir'd, against him.

There was one thing in the mean time which stuck in the
 King's mind. The Assembly of *Chatelleraud* had remov'd to *Sau-*
 the twenty fourth of *Novemb r*, the foregoing year; where
 they had pass'd the Winter, without much advancing Affairs;
 because the Duke of *Savoy* being come into *France*, about the
 Dispute of the Marquilate of *Saluces* which he had Usurp'd,
 and the King had a mind to Recover, the Council was wholly
 employ'd in Negotiations and Intrigues. But it seem'd they had
 no design to Adjourn, till the Edict was Executed throughout
 the whole Kingdom; lest it should be but disadvantageously
 Executed, when there was no body to look after it. 'Tis
 true, that the Edict forbid Assemblies of this Nature; and
 this at *Saum r* seem'd to be a formal breach of this Article:
 But they did not think they were oblig'd themselves, to be the
 first to put the Edict in force, seeing the Catholics cross'd the
 Execution of it with a thousand Obstacles from all sides.
 The Place and Time made it more suspicious then ever;
 and 'twas difficult to be apprehended what the Discontents
 about *du Plessis* grumbling in that Assembly might then
 produce. In a word, what had pass'd at *Fontainebleau* much
 troubl'd Mens Minds: But *du Plessis* never having made a ge-
 neral business of his own personal concerns, would not de-
 viate

The Parla-
 ment re-
 mov'd from
 Chatelle-
 raud to
 Saumer.

1600. viate from his usual wont upon this occasion, nor took advantage of this opportunity, to trouble those who had so unworthily Treated him. Besides the common Interest of Religion forbad the making a Publick concern of a pretended disadvantage of a particular Person, for fear the Disgrace of this imaginary Defeat should fall upon the Doctrine of the Party. However, *du Plessis* and the *Reformed* in good time found the means to be Reveng'd on the Pope, and to give New Causes of Mortification to the Court of *Rome*. The Assembly nevertheless did not break up so soon; and it was but the next year after that they deliver'd the King and Court from their Fear of New broils.

When they
broke up.

The End of the Seventh Book.

THE

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

E d i c t o f N A N T S .

B O O K V I I I .

The Aagument of the 8th. Book.

THE War of Savoy, and the success of it. The Estate of the Country of Gex. The Reformed Governours of Places on the Frontiers of Italy. A New Creation of Offices. The Execution of the Edict, different according to the places. The Negligence of the Reformed, and their Prejudices. The Exactness Commissioners. The difficulty on the Edict of 1577. favourably taken away. Limited Exercises. Places of Bailliage. Burying Places. Appeals of Ordinances. The Assembly

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1600. bly of Saumer. General Difficulties on their Institution; and Alterations in the Form of Naming 'em. The Synod at Gergeau. Papers Answer'd. Gex. The Succession of England. The Death of a little Child of the Admiral de Chatillon. The Birth of the Dauphin; and prediction of M. de la Riviere. Notice given to the Reformed of a League form'd against 'em. The general Assembly at Sainte-Foy; and their matters. The disgrace of the Marshal de Bouillon. The Sedit. on at Rochelle. The Spanish Cabal in the Council, presses the Destruction of the Reformed, in hopes to nitharav the King's Forces by a Civil War. Jealousies and Fears are sow'd among the Reformed; whom the Assurance of being in the King's favour preserves in Peace. Roni is provided of the Government of Poitou. The Death of Queen Elizabeth. The Character of King James the First who succeeds h r. Breaches of the Edict. The Duke of Rohan. The Recall of the Jesuits. The Synod at Gap. The Theses of Ferrer Professor at Nimes. His Character, and that of Chauve. An Article made to b. inserted in the Confession of Faith, which imports that the Pope is the Antichrist. The King is Angry, and threatens. The Reasons of the Synod. New Editions of the Confession of Faith, where the Article is inserted. The Artifices of the Court to evade this Decree. The false Moderation of Clement the Eighth. Other Affairs of the Synod. Conditions of the Recall of the Jesuits. Satyrs against 'em. Cotton Wounded. Is made the King's Confessor. The Character of that Jesuit. Questions which he ought to propose to one possess'd. The preservation of Geneva, against the Attempts of the Duke of Savoy. The palliating of this Enterprize in Writings of the Jesuits. The Death of the Duchess of Bar. The Progress of du Perron's fortune. The Treachery of an Officer of Villeroy. The Intrigues of Spain in the Court of France.

The War of
Savoy.

WHile the Execution of the Edict was a foot, the King made his Expedition into Savoy; and in the Progress of this Journey did many things that were very obliging to the Reformed, but very ungrateful to Rome. The Ministers of Genema came to pay him their Respects near to St. Catherine's Fort, which the Duke of Savoy had caus'd to be Built to

to annoy the Town, who made open War upon it under the Protection of *France*. *Beza* being then above fourscore years Old, made him a Speech; and the King receiv'd him so Graciously, that the Catholics were Jealous. The King call'd him his *Father*: A Title rarely us'd among the *Reformed* and their Pastors; but of which the Monks are very Proud, and which they have in a manner appropriated to themselves among the Catholics. It was therefore a great Offence to them, to give the same Appellation to a Minister of the *Heretics*; and to him too, who of all the Ministers since *Calvin*, had done most hurt to the Roman Religion, by his Reputation, by his Counsels, and by his Works.

On the other side the Garrison having deliver'd up this Fort to the King, he restor'd it to those of *Geneva*, who ras'd it to the Ground with all imaginable Expedition. The Legat which the Pope had sent to Trear of a Peace between the King and the Duke, was enrag'd at this business. He complain'd, and threatn'd, as if the Roman Religion had been thereby brought to the Brink of certain Ruin. The Edicts which were made for Heretics, were never worse receiv'd at *Rome*, then this little Accident. One might have said, that *Geneva* had been a *New Carthage*, the preservation of which bereav'd *Rome* of the hopes of being the Mistress of the World. However it behov'd to be pacify'd after a fruitless Clamour; because 'twas to be wish'd, that the King were remov'd farther from *Italy*, where the Neighbourhood of the *French* always causes some suspicion. He was brought to consent to an Exchange of the Marquisat of *Saluces* for *Bresse*, the Country of *Gex*, *Bagey* and *Val-romey*, which the Duke of *Savoy* not without some regret surrender'd to him. Those of *Berne* had made themselves Masters of this Country, where the Neighbourhood of this Canton had introduc'd betimes the knowledge of the *Reformed Religion*. The Dukes of *Savoy* had tolerated it there, with a Provision for a time so long as they were Masters there, in expectation that a Council would have determin'd the Controversies: But some years after the End of the Council of *Trent*, they commanded all their Subjects to submit to the Doctrine that had prevail'd in that Assembly. This rigour did not extinguish

And it's
success.

The State
of the Coun-
try of *Gex*.

1600. the Reformation in that little Country; And those of *Berne* having made themselves Masters by Force of Arms, it was there so well Establish'd, that there were fewer Parishes in the Country of *Gex*, then places where the Exercise of the *Reformed* Religion was Publick. The Roman Religion was only tolerated; and those few people that profess'd it, no longer Exercis'd it with that Pomp that attends it where it is Mistress. The *Reformed* enjoy'd all the places, and apply'd the Ecclesiastical Revenues to their Use. They were in possession of Houses and Church-yards. There was no Town but only that of *Gex*, within whose Walls had not yet one Church.

This was the condition of this Country when it fell under the Dominions of *Henry* the Fourth, who, as soon as he had taken Possession, gave the Government of the Citadel of *Bourg*, Capital of *Bresse*, and the only place of Defence that there was in those parts, to a Gentleman of the *Reformed* Religion. The Reason of this Choice was, that he believ'd these places better secur'd to him by the *Reformed*, then those he had given to the Catholics; in regard he did not look upon the latter to be resolute enough to hold out against the *Spanish* Faction: When as he was perfectly assur'd of the Fidelity of the other; and this was a third thing that displeas'd *Rome*, which could not digest that a Man inaccessible to all the Intrigues that are hatch'd beyond the Mountains, should be Master of a Place so near *Italy*; chiefly because his Religion was the Cause that he was prefer'd before the Catholics. There was yet another, that the Pope could not endure; to remove whom he was long very Importunate with the King: This was the Governour of *Chateau Dauphin*; an inconsiderable Castle on the very extremity of *Dauphine*, which a *Reformed* held, not only as Governour for the King, but also by a Deed of Engagement. He had establish'd his own Religion there, and a *Reformed* Garrison. The Duke of *Savoy* exasperated the Pope upon this occasion; for that this Castle incommoded him, and that he would fain have remov'd a Man thence, that would not easily engage in his broils. Inasmuch that this Trifle made a great Noise at *Rome*, so that they appear'd there sufficiently

sufficiently troubled to see all *Dauphine* intirely, and a 11 or 12 1600. strong places in particular, at the Command of *Lefdiguières*.

*A New
Creation of
Offices.*

The Creation of New Employments in all the Jurisdictions of the Kingdom, ev'n in the Parlements which was one of the Expedients that *Roni* propos'd to Raise Mony, may be look'd upon as one Business of the Edict. These New Creations ever Vex those who are in Possession of Old Employments, whose Fees are made less considerable in retail, when the Number of Persons that should share 'em, is Augmented. This is the Reason, that the Parliament of *Paris* would have confounded these New Offices, with those out of which the King was to gratify the *Reformed*, according to the Edict; one part of which was of a Preceding Creation; and t'other of the first Offices of Ancient Erection which would become vacant by Death. The Parliament was desirous by that to lessen the Number of New Offices. But that did not accommodate the *Reformed*, who were to have the Places that were design'd 'em given 'em Gratis, whereas the others were to be Purchas'd Besides this confusion had been of no Advantage to the King, who had partly lost by that the Fruit he expected from these New Creations; which was the cause that he readily promis'd the *Reformed*, that their Offices should not be comprehended in the Number of New Employments.

But the most important Affair of this Year, was the Execution of the Edict, to which End Commissioners were sent into many Provinces. But the measures they took were not alike: For there were some places where they did acquit themselves, with the same exactness that was done in others. There were some Provinces where they went from Town to Town, from Jurisdiction to Jurisdiction, and where they Visited the Places, which ought to be deliver'd for their Exercise therein, in Order to settle all things as close to their Commissions as possibly they could. Others only went to the Capital Cities, contenting themselves to receive the Petitions, the Pretensions and Objections of Parties, without coming near the particular places where the Disputes arose; to which nevertheless they commonly sent Subdelegates. There were likewise some Provinces to which they

1600. they never went at at all. There were Places where the Catholics were more scrupulous; others where they were more Moderate and Tractable. There were some where the *Reformed* were Exact and Diligent, and others where they did their business with a great deal of Negligence. Which was grounded upon divers considerations. They waited an approaching decacy of the Roman Religion, as if they had had express Revelations: And they doubted not that their Doctrine would make great Progresses in a little time; for that they might Embrace it without exposing their Goods, their Lives or their Hopes: As if there had been nothing to surmount but the Prejudices of Interest and of Fortune, to the End that the Truths, of which they were convinc'd, might become evident to all the World. This was the Reason that they did not think it necessary to take their measures in many things, in which this Happy Juncture might have been much more securely provided for. This thought inspir'd 'em with another of vexing the Catholics a little, in placing themselves, as far as the Edict would permit it, in those Places where the Clergy were troubled to see 'em. This was one little Mortification which they would have put upon 'em, in return of those many acts of Injustice and Cruelties with which they had Treated them. This was the Cause that in some places they had less regard to their own profit, that they might have the pleasure of putting their Enemies to more Pain. A third consideration serv'd as a Foundation for their Negligence. They rely'd too much on the Integrity of these who made 'em believe, that no interruption should be given to the establishments once made; and as they were resolv'd to make no Attempt on the Catholics, they were apt to believe that the Catholics would never consult to disturb their Possession with Wranglings. In fine they imagin'd, that as these settlements were made in the sight of the Catholics, and that the Grounds of that Right which they had acquir'd were publick and manifest to all the World, the Children would never come to dispute what had been so Evident and Notorious in their Fathers time. One or other of these Considerations cast the *Reformed* in many places into a Negligence, common to those who believe that

The Negligence of the Reformed and their Prejudices.

that what they once possess shall never be taken from 'em. 1600. Many were contented with the notoriousness of the things as sufficient proof of their Possession; never minding to have it attested by the Commissioners. Many were satisfy'd with the Verbal or tacit consent of the Catholics, in the places where it was necessary for the Establishment of their Rights. There were *Baillages* where they had forgotten to demand the deliverance of a convenient place; wherein to hold their Publick Exercises: Others where the demand having been made, it was not pursu'd: Others where the demand appear'd made for one place, and the Order given for another: Somewhere the Rights were confounded, and that of the *Baillage*, for Example annexed to a Gentleman's Demesnes: Others that were taken in places where there were so few of the *Reform'd*, that they never did 'em any good: Others so inconvenient, that they were oblig'd to forsake 'em. These little inadvertencies have given great Opportunities to the Injustice of our time, where the Treachery of the Bigoted Cabal has given us to understand, how necessary it was that our Fathers should have taken more exact Precautions to have prevented 'em.

During this, the Commissioners behav'd themselves on their part, with as much Application as was expected from 'em. To Preserve or Establish a Right of Exercise, they made Inquiries and took Informations; they took the Depositions of Catholic or *Reform'd* Witnesses impartially; they examin'd all the Titles and Acts that could be produc'd; either they or their Delegates came down to the place, when their presence themselves was requir'd by any one of the Parties; they summon'd the Officers of the places; they heard the Clergy themselves in their Pretensions and Defences. Of whom they had as many things to demand at least in many Places as of the *Reform'd*, and these Judges frequently receiv'd from one and t'other part large Papers: Upon which they were oblig'd to give several different Judgments. The General Rules they follow'd, was to Examine the reciprocal demands upon the Grand Maxim of the Edict; and which might well be call'd the Soul of all these Concessions; to Wit, to Confirm or Establish things

1600. things *As and altogether as they were*, in the Terms specify'd in the Articles of the Edict. They kept themselves so exactly within the bounds of this Rule, that they gave the *Reformed* a great deal of trouble upon the Exercises whose Right was founded on the Edict of 1577. The Expression of which being a little Equivocal seem'd to bound that Concession to places where the Exercises had actually been made the 17th of September; a day that happen'd on a *Tuesday*, on which were found but few Examples of Assemblies for Acts of Piety. The Commissioners took no notice of the Proofs of the Exercises made the *Sunday* before; they inquir'd precisely of this day, without minding the other. Tho to judge of Terms by the Ordinary Style of Edicts, 'twas only meant that the Exercise was Granted to the *Reformed*, in the places where they had not begun it since that day; but which they had in some sort Peaceably enjoy'd before and till that day. There was the same strictness in the Regulations which were made for the Places, the Buildings, the Bells, the acquits of Places and all the Dependances of the right of Exercise. There were therefore places where they Establish'd limited Exercises, as well for the Number of persons, as for the Quality of the Acts of Devotion that might there be exercis'd. In some, they suffer'd none but the Inhabitants of the Town and Jurisdiction to go to the Assemblies. In other places the Number of Strangers was limited who were permitted to be present. In others they were only allow'd to meet to pray and to sing Psalms without calling the Minister thither. In some 'twas permitted, that a Minister should come and give the Lord's Supper four times a year. But setting aside these little Diversities, which did not extend it self to many places, their Orders agreed in General Liberties, conformable to the Articles which spoke of the Nature of the Exercise which was in hand to be Establish'd. These differences then were but an effect of the exactness of the Commissioners, who would not extend the Rights beyond that which the Possession had gain'd, nor abolish 'em under pretence that the possession did not give 'em extent enough. Nevertheless they have serv'd for opportunities in these latter years, to condemn these imperfect

The Difficulty on the Edict of 1577. favourably taken off.

Limit of Exercises.

fect Exercises, as if they had been ill grounded: So that it had been happier for those of the *Reformed* Religion, if the Commissioners had sometimes been pleas'd to transgress the Limits of their Power: 1600.

One of the most remarkable parts of their Commission, was the delivery of places call'd Places of *Bailliage*, 'Twas necessary they should be taken in those where another Right could not be presum'd, for the multiplying the places of Exercise as much as was possible. Besides it was convenient to have 'em in the most considerable places of the *Bailliage*, where there was some concourse of people, for the common benefit. To Mortify the Clergy a little, they demanded of 'em, when they could, the nearest to the Episcopal Cities, since they could not have 'em in those very Cities. They of *Nimes* demanded the next place to *Pont St. Esprit*, or at *Ville Neuve d'Avignon*, that was no farther distant from *Avignon* then the breadth of the *Rhone*, thereby to give the same Cause of discontent to see the Religion of his Enemies exercis'd, at the very Gate of a City, of which he is the Sovereign, and where some of his Predecessors have held their Sees. These different prospects were the Cause why they did not obtain throughout the whole the most important places, in as ample a manner as might have been desir'd.

The Dispute of Burying places occasion'd more trouble, then the settlement of the places of exercise. The Clergy oppos'd almost through the whole, the Liberty of burying in the Catholics Church-yards: And when the *Reformed* took it of their own accord, they complain'd against 'em to the Kings Justices or to the Parlements, where they were always favour'd. A Gentleman of the *Reformation* having caus'd one of his Children to be Bury'd in a Parish Church of the *Bailliage* of Chartres, the Parliament of *Paris* made a Decree, which Order'd that those should be inform'd against who were Nam'd in the Complaint which had been deliver'd, that prohibited Burying in the Churches and Church-yards of the Catholics: But the Decree did not Order the Bodies of such as were already bury'd to be taken up. The severity of the Canons perplex'd the Curates, because it would not permit that Service should

1601. be Celebrated in the Churches where the Bodies of Heretics were interr'd, unless they had first been reconcil'd. But the difficulty had not been hard to remove, if the Spirit of contradiction would have given way to the Spirit of Peace: Since that the *Reformed* accord to the Edict, being no more to be Treated as Heretics, they ought to have been as well dispens'd with, as to the Rigour of the Canons, which depriv'd 'em of Sepulture in the Ordinary places, as those which declar'd 'em incapable of all Employments, or which condemn'd 'em to the loss of Goods and Life. By these means a great many people had not been depriv'd of their Rights which they had acquir'd by Ancient Foundations, nor had good People wanted the satisfaction of being bury'd in the Sepulchres of their Fathers. But in regard this business every where occasion'd Suits; almost all the Difficulties were remov'd by Orders that match'd the Decree of Parliament. Nevertheless, when places were to be deliver'd to the *Reformed* at the common expence, the reparations were not so uneasie as the Clergy. As they had been ruin'd by the long Wars, they chose rather to partake the Ancient Church-yards with the *Reformed*, then to be at the Charge of buying New; which was the Cause that the Commissioners divided the Church-yards, between the *Catholics* and the *Reformed*; and the part most remote from the Church, was assign'd to these for their Places of Burial. There were places where these Portions were not seperated but by single Divisions. Others where they were contented to dig a little Ditch: Others where they built some Wall, to the end that they might give the less occasion of Scandal or Tumult, when the *Bieres* of both sides met at the same time, or lest there should happen any disturbance on one side or other, in performing the Ceremony. Nor was it not only in the Places where the *Reformed* were in great Numbers, that these distributions were made: 'Twas the same thing in the Provinces where there were but few: And in *Paris* it self there was one part of a Church-yard, which was call'd *Of the Trinity*; the other part of which was the common burying Place of the Poor that dy'd in the Hospital. Infomuch, that the Commissioners could not be charg'd with having done any thing

thing contrary to their Instructions, whether it were in main- 1600.
 taining the *Reformed* in their Portions of their Churc-yards
 which they had already, or allotting 'em New by their Or-
 ders; since, that in the Face of the Court, of a Bishop and of
 a Parliament, there were seen dividends as equal as those they
 had made in the Provinces. By this procedure, conformable
 to the forty fifth Article of the particulars, such as it had been
 drawn up at *Nantes*, this Article was tacitly re-establish'd in its
 first form; and there was no scruple made to Publish it in this
 manner in the Printed Copies of the Edict, because it was so
 put in practice.

It was impossible, that the Commissioners being to pass
 their Judgments in so many places, and upon so many things, *Appeals of*
 should have the good Fortune always to please all par- *the Orders.*
 ties. 'Twas therefore, that there were Appeals from each
 part, on which the King was to determine: But the *Reformed*
 had almost every day the better in those Decrees; and there
 will be found but very few Examples, where the Orders of
 the Commissioners have been corrected to their prejudice;
 tho there are a great Number that redound to their advantage.
 From whence two things may plainly be inferr'd: One, that
 the Commissioners had rather have Executed the Edict in fa-
 vour of the Catholics, then of the *Reformed*: The other, that
 the King's Intention was, that the Articles of the Edict should
 not be eluded by rigorous constructions, since that every time
 occasion presented, he expounded 'em himself to the advan-
 tage of the *Reformed*, by favourable extensions of what the Com-
 missioners had too much contracted. But tho the Commis-
 sioners had labour'd in the Execution of the Edict, during part
 of this year and the following, there remain'd a great many
 things to be executed. More especially there wanted many things
 in the principal part of the Commission of those whose business
 it was to attend this Affair. That is to say, to make all the
 Officers in the Provinces Swear to observe the Edict; which
 could not be done in the places where the Commissioners had
 not yet been. Wherefore the *Reformed* being Assembled again 1601.
 at *Saumur*, and fearing lest the Execution of the Edict should re- *The Ass. m-*
 main imperfect in so important an Article, as also lest there *bly of Sau-*
mer.

1601. being no other Assembly on Foot, to send about in order to its uniform Memoirs, they might lose many of their Rights, by the unequal manner in which they would proceed in every place, they were willing to continue this usual Remedy of all their Fears, and Translate themselves to *Loudun*. But the King would never permit it; and sent Orders to the Deputies, that were there, to seperate themselves. At the same time a National Synod was held at *Gergeau*, who sent an Express to the King, beseeching him to permit the continuation of this Assembly: But nothing prevail'd; they must Obey and Dismiss themselves. Ever since the Month of *March* they had receiv'd Order to do it; but they excus'd themselves as much as they could. The Orders were renew'd at the beginning of *May*; and were not fulfill'd till the last day of the same Month. 'Tis true, the King permitted another Assembly at *Sainte Foy*, for the 15th of *October* following, to the end, that they might Name Deputies to reside near him, and to present him the Petitions and Complaints which should be sent 'em from the Provinces. There were two Interests so opposite upon the Subject of this Assembly, that it seem'd impossible to reconcile 'em. One was that of the King's, to whom they were become suspicious, because of the Authority of the Lords, who were in a capacity of acting something against his Service. T'other was that of the *Reformed*, to whom they were necessary; for that in the Present State of Affairs there were an Infinite Number of things, to be regulated by any other Method. The Colloquies and the Synods not having Power to meddle with any but the Affairs of Church Discipline, with the Inferiour Policy of the Churches, with the distribution of the Money which the King gave for their Ministers; another Council was requisite to advise in matters of another Nature; for the execution or observation of the Edict; for Reparation of the Breach of Articles; for the Sollicitation of the Suits which might arise on each side; for the Preservation of Places, and a hundred other things, without which, the Edict might be dayly eluded by a Thousand Cavils. This Correspondence was mainly endeavour'd; for as they desir'd to preserve

preserve it, that so they might be more secure from the Attempts of their Enemies by their Union; so likewise their Enemies labour'd to deprive 'em of means of effecting their mutual Defence. But there was an inconvenience on both sides, to permit these Assemblies, because of the Consequences; or to hinder 'em, because of the many businesses, which brought the Deputies from all parts to Court, and expos'd the Council to great importunities, and have thrown the Reformed into injurious perplexities, and insupportable expences.

But the permission of having Deputies near the King in the Name of the Provinces, which was Granted 'em to take from 'em the pretence of continuing the Assembly at *Saumur*; seem'd to make amends for all. The Reformed from all parts could send 'em Memoirs, on the Affairs that should happen. The Expence of their Maintenance was not great, because the King, who was not troubl'd at their attendance upon him, took upon him to allow 'em a certain Sum, which should be laid yearly on the Privy Purse. But because the Reformed would bind 'em as well to their Cause by some Interest, they resolv'd at the National Synod of *Gap*, that if the Deputies were not absolutely assur'd of their allowances, what was wanting, should be rais'd, half on the Money that the King gave to the Churches, and half on what he gave to the Garrisons. But by little and little, that which was not Order'd, but by way of Succour, in Case the Allowances were not sufficient, became Ordinary, and was converted into an Augmentation of the Salaries of Deputies General. This Institution was no burthen to the Council, that could not be troubled with so few persons, with whom all Affairs might be ended without Noise and Bustle; and who had nothing to fear from their Intrigues. But this Innovation had almost absolutely ruin'd the Assemblies, which had now no more pretence to Meet, since the Deputies could supply the use of them, in all things which requir'd their sitting. This is the Reason why they were suffer'd no more but for the Nomination of Deputies, which done they were Order'd to seperate; and to oblige 'em to it: Their Messengers were neither heard, nor their Papers
ever

1601. ever Answer'd, till they had separated themselves. However they kept up their Credit as long as they could; and maintain'd themselves powerful enough, till the taking of Rochelle.

*D. Gauldies
e. e. in In-
stitution.* The first that undertook this Employment, were St. Germain and des Bordes, Nam'd by the Assembly of St. Foy for one year: But they were continu'd by the Synod of Gap, and kept this Commission long enough. They would have joyn'd to these Deputies, one of which was chosen out of the Nobility, and the other of the Third Estate, a third who was to be a Minister. But the Court that lov'd none of the Consistory, hinder'd 'em from sending any of those people, whom it esteem'd untractable. Nor was that difficult to be done, because 'twas judg'd that a Residence at Court was not suitable to a Minister, who ought actually to abide near his Flock. The Reformed would have limited the duration of their Commission to a Year; but the King would have it to be longer. Both had their Reasons: The Reformed, under colour that the discharging them, whom they had kept at a distance from their own Affairs, to attend the prosecution of the public business, would prevent their Deputies from accustoming themselves too easily to the Court Air, if they should stay there long. And the King who knew well, that the Charms of the Court tam'd the most fierce, would avoid frequent changes, as not willing to see Affairs pass out of the Hands of a Deputy already taught and familiariz'd, into those of a New Comer; whose first Movements would always be Brisk and Severe. On the other hand, the short Service of Deputies was one Reason of renewing the Meeting of Assemblies, as often as New ones were to be Nam'd; which was the Reason that the Reformed would change 'em so often; and that the Council for the same consideration would have 'em serve longer. The Reformed desir'd again, that the King would stand to their Nomination, and that he would agree to those Deputies that they should appoint; because as they only were concern'd in the Affairs, which their Deputies were Order'd to Treat on, so it was but just that they alone should be left to choose their own Procurators. The matter pass'd thus at present: But not long after, the King would

would have 'em name to him six persons, of which he would take two that best pleas'd him; whether it were that he would have part in the Obligation of the choice, or that he would be sure not to have in his Retinue, persons that displeas'd him. He obtain'd likewise with a little difficulty and time, that the duration of their Commission should be for three years. It seem'd that this Institution should have ceas'd as soon as the Edict was Executed. But because it was never fully done, and that when good Provision was made on the one side, there was presently some New breach of promise on the other to be repair'd, this Commission became ordinary, and lasted as long as the Edict. This was at the time of the Assembly which was held four years after at *Chatelleraud*, that the King to take off the *Reformed* from concerning themselves with *Marshal de Bouillon*, permitted 'em to have frequent Deputies at the Court; and that the time of their Service should be regulated, as well as the manner of naming 'em. 'Tis certain, that this Deputation has been chang'd several times since the Institution of it, to the time it was put down; and *Lewis* the thirteenth was the Author of these changes. The first was, that having forbidden the Politic Assemblies, to whom the Nomination of Deputies belong'd, he Transfer'd the Right to the National Synod, by a Brevet on purpose. This was in Truth no Novelty, because as much had happen'd in the Reign of *Henry* the 4th, at the Synods of *Gap* and *Rochelle*. But there was at least thus much of Novelty, that under *Henry* the 4th the Synods did not meddle in this Affair but by way of Proviso, in expectation of a Politic Assembly; whereas *Lewis* the thirteenth made it the Synods business, and would no longer hear of other Assemblies. The second Change was, that he charg'd himself with the full Pension of the Deputies, when he had taken from the *Reformed* all the Sums which his Father had Granted 'em, The Third was, that he substituted a New Deputy by his own Authority, in the room of one of the other two that dy'd in the Interval of the Assemblies. 'Tis true, he writ to the Provinces to consent to this Substitution: But they understood well enough, that

1601.
And changes in the manner of Naming em.

1601. that his entreaties were those of a King, that were as good as Commands. A little after it became a Custom. The Fourth was, that the number of the Deputies was reduc'd to one, because the vacancy of one of the two that was Dead, was not supply'd. The Fifth was, that the Commission became perpetual: And the last was, that in the end, the Churches lost all the part that they had had in the Nomination; the Right of which the King reserv'd wholly to himself. So that, for near forty years the *Reform'd* have had no other General Deputies, but those whom the King has appointed 'em. This Abridgment is sufficient here: But the sequel will give occasion of speaking more at large.

held at
Gergeau.

Few matters of Importance pass'd in the Synod of *Gergeau*, where they only examin'd some Books of Reunion, which were Publish'd under all manner of Titles. They writ once again to *Lesdigniers* for 17000 Crowns which he kept back; but they receiv'd no more satisfaction then before. They Writ to *Casaubon* to congratulate his Constancy in Religion, of which they had very much doubted; but of which he had given assurances to the Synod. They forbid Ministers to be the first Aggressors in Disputes of Controversie. It seem'd by the Measures that were taken in this Assembly, to hinder the Abuse of removing Causes to the *Chambres Miparties*, or Chambers half Protestant, half Catholics, that Litigious Cavils had made their advantage of their Institution. But what was most remarkable of all that there pass'd, is that the Brevet for 45000 Crowns for the Payment of Ministers having been given to the Churches but three years before, *Roni* was so little exact in paying his brethren, that there was due to 'em the Arrears of this Sum for three years.

Pages An-
swer'd

Some Months after the separation of the Synod, the King Answer'd some Papers, sufficiently Large, that had been presented to him, of which principal Articles were, that the *Reform'd* in *Dauphine* were Tax'd for the places of their Churches and of their Church-yards; that in many places they depriv'd their poor of the General Alms, and thrust their Sick out of the Hospitals; that at *Bourdeaux* and *Xaintes*, the Jurats and Judges would have seiz'd upon the Money that was

was gathered for the poor at the Church-Doors; that at 1601. *Rouen* they refus'd the Petitions presented in the Name of a *Reformed* Church, Body, or Community; that at *Orleans* and elsewhere, they tendred to the Officers at their Admission, Oaths, to live in the Roman Religion: That at *Gerzeau* the King's Proctor had Depos'd his substitute for the Sole Cause of Religion: That at *Lions* the Chevalier *du Guet* would by Force accompany the Attendants at Funerals, and exacted excessive Fees; and those who kept the Hospital of the Bridge of *Rhone*, disturb'd these Funeral Attendants as much as they were able. Upon all which, they had all they could desire Granted 'em; to Wit, most severe Prohibitions against continuing to do 'em the same Injuries. Nor were their two last Articles less favourably Answer'd: By one of which the King was oblig'd to preserve the Churches of the Country of *Gex* in the same State in which he found 'em, when he United it to the Crown; and the other, that the *Reformed* might Traffick in all the Duke of *Savoys* Dominions, without fear of being disturb'd for their Consciences. The King promis'd to the Inhabitants of the Country of *Gex* Liberty of Conscience, and the exercise of their Religion as to the Rest of his Subjects. This was as much as to say, that he Granted 'em the Protection of his Edicts, according to which the Roman Religion ought to be Re establish'd there, and that for the rest things should remain there, in the same condition in which they were found: Because that was properly the General Rule for Executing Edicts. In Effect he re-establish'd the Mass there in some time after, and he sent the Baron of *Lux* on purpose to make this Re-establishment: But he left the *Reformed* Churches in Possession of those Priviledges which they enjoy'd when the Country was yielded to him. He refer'd the *Reformed* for the other Article to the Fifty third of the particulars of the Edict, where what they desir'd was intirely Granted 'em.

At that time there was a Great business a Foot at *Rome*, in which they would fain have engag'd the King. It concern'd the Succession of *England*, which the Pope labour'd to have settl'd in the Hands of a *Catholic*. There was in prospect a Prince of the House of *Parma*;

The Succession of England.

1601. *Parma*; and a Church-man was sent over into that *Island* with the Title of Arch-Priest, to incline the Catholics of the Country to it. The King of *Spain* would have gotten this Crown for himself, or for a Prince of his House; and there were Writings dispers'd wherein the Jesuits did impudently maintain that it was devolv'd to him. The Motive of this Intrigue was Queen *Elizabeths* Age, who in all probability 'twas thought could not live long. It was not known how she would dispose of the Succession: But it was well known, that she would never leave it to a Catholic Prince. And 'twas fear'd, that the King of *Scotland* her next Heir coming to the Crown, might be capable of doing a great deal of hurt to the Roman Religion, if he had an Affection and Zeal for the *Reformed*. He was yet but young, and as he had hitherto liv'd under a kind of Guardianship, his Genius and his Inclinations were not yet known. But they alter'd their measures, when they knew how to hit his Humour; and they carried things so far, that they made use of him himself to endeavour the reducing of *England* to its former Obedience to the Pope: But while they expected that things should come to that, the King did not Relish the Intrigue. He gave his hand to the project of reducing this Kingdom to the Catholic Religion; and during the rest of his Life, he was the Mediator and confident of this design: But he was not willing to aggrandize his Enemies by this change. The other designs which he had in his Head did not require that there should be no more Protestants in *Europe*.

The Death
of the
Grandson of
the Admir-
al de Cha-
llon.

Chatillon the Admiral's Grandson, was taken off this year by a Cannon shot in *Ostend*, besieged by Arch-Duke *Albert*. Never did a young Lord give greater hopes. He was born for War; and among the good Qualities that are necessary to a Commander, he had the knack to make himself belov'd by his Souldiers, whose Hearts and Confidence he had gain'd. 'Tis said, that he had so great a Credit in the Army of the *Statés*, that Prince *Maurice* could not forbear being Jealous. Nor was he of less Authority amongst the *Reformed* of *France*, who lov'd in him Virtues equal to his Fathers and Grandfathers. He was continually talking of their Actions, and aspir'd to no more then

The Birth
of the Dauphin.

The Prediction
of Le Riviere.

then to imitate 'em. The most Ardent of his desires, was that of being like his Grandfather at the Head of the *Reformed*, and to fight one Battle for their Interest. His Merit made him lamented by the King, when he heard the News of his Death. But when Courtiers, who always speak of the Dead or Absent, what they durst not of people in a capacity of revenging themselves, had drawn to the King what Picture they pleas'd of the Ambition and the Designs of this young Lord, he took for a Sign of Prosperity what immediately before he look'd upon as a Subject of Grief. It was in this year too, that the Dauphin came into the World. His Birth gave great Joy to all true French Men, who by that saw all the Seeds of War suppress'd, which the several pretensions to the Succession might have produc'd. But that did not hinder the *Spaniards* from preparing all occasions of disturbance; nor prevented from time to time the spreading of a Rumour, that the King having promis'd Marriage to the Marchioness of *Vernueil*, there was a doubt whither the Succession belong'd to the Children of *Mary de Medicis*. There were some Spanish Casuists that made it a Question whether the Dispensation was fairly obtain'd. In the Low-Countries some Preacher or other had the boldness to Preach in favour of the Negative: And at divers times Libels were dispers'd about concerning this matter. A Capucin who was suspected to have learn'd his Lesson at the Court of *Savoy*, put off a thousand extravagancies on this Subject in *Italy* and in *Rome* it self: But there was a stop put to the course of these mischievous Intentions by the Authority of the Superiour. In the mean time, as the Birth of the Dauphin made all the World talk, *La Riviere* one of the King's Physicians, a great Astrologer and much possess'd with Predictions, Erected a Scheme of his Nativity; the King that gave a little too much heed to these Vanities, either through his own Inclination, or by the Example of *Roni* his Favourite, who gave much way to it, or by the Inducement of the Queen, who was prepossess'd, as almost all the *Italians* are; the King, I say, having oblig'd him, notwithstanding several denials, to tell him his Judgment of this Child according to the Rules of his Art, answer'd him half in Choler, that he

1601. should Reign; that he should destroy what his Father had Establish'd, that he should scatter all that he had husbanded; that he should leave Posterity, under which all should grow worse and worse. The State which at this day the Religion and the Kingdom are in, may make this Prediction to be Rank'd among those which make most for the Honour of Astrology.

Notice given to the Reform'd of a League made against 'em.

But there were very dangerous Motions in the State, which were stirr'd up by Forreign Intrigues. The Court was full of Male Contents which were there engag'd under divers pretences. *Biron* a Man of a Presumptuous Spirit and without Judgment, was so deeply involv'd in 'em, that it cost him his Life. But 'twas believ'd, that the King was yet strong enough to quash this Conspiracy, as long as he had the *Reformed* at his Devotion; this is the Reason that nothing was wanting to engage 'em in the Party. They were admonish'd as by way of Friendship, that the Peace of the State was the way to their Ruin; that there was a powerful League concluded against 'em; seeing that the Peace of *Savoy* was negotiated; that there was a Project laid for a kind of Croisade; that the Catholic Princes had sworn it by their Deputies; that the Oath was given upon the Eucharist by the Legat; that every one was Tax'd at a certain Sum, and a certain number of Souldiers; that the League was to last till the Protestant Religion was exterminated; that there were two Originals of this Treaty Sign'd by the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*; and that that Duke had one in his Hands, which he offer'd to Communicate to the *Reformed*. To this were added the greatest promises of security that could be thought on, provided they enter'd into the League that was propos'd to 'em.

This Advice was confirm'd by that which one *Brochard*, *Baron* gave to Marshal *Bouillon*, touching the Leagues Sworn, against the *Reformation*. This *Baron*, who call'd himself the Nephew of Cardinal *Baronius*, boasted that he was sent by the Pope to the Catholic Princes, to make 'em Sign the Project of New Croisade; and before all things to have, presented the Book of this Institution to the King of *Spain*.
He

He said, that the Instructions of those that were entrusted to engage the Princes to a Protection of this League, recommended chiefly three means to succeed in the Conversion of Heretics. The first was to institute Missions to instruct those that were gone astray by good Sermons and Examples. The second was to tolerate the Enterprises of Magistrates against the Liberties of Heretics; and to make use of Politic Artifices and Pious Frauds, to take away their Privileges. The Third was to use Force and Arms to reduce 'em. The Jesuits business was to sow great Divisions between the Great ones and in the Provinces: And great Liberality was to be shewn to the first Converted, to serve for a Bait to others. He aver'd, that there were five and twenty thousand gain'd in *England*, that were able to bear Arms; and Ministers enow; to hope, that the Reformation would be Condemn'd by the Mouth of the very Ministers themselves. He discover'd great Designs that were laid against all the Protestant States; and he pretended that a great part of the Nobility in *Germany* were corrupted. I know not whence he had got the Mysteries he laid open in his Discourses; but in the sequel the things he spoke, have been so exactly practic'd, and with so great success, that if his Relation may be judg'd by the Event, rather than by the Picture he made of the Design, he must be look'd upon as one that spake positive Truth.

This *Baron* not being rewarded as he expected, went into *Germany* and *Holland* to put the same Ware off there; and if he did not perswade those who had a share in the Government he found the people more apt to believe him. There were Preachers, who during the Siege of *Rochelle*, remember'd his Discourse, and apply'd it to the State to which the Reformation was reduc'd at that time in *France* and *Germany*. To elude his Testimony, they would have had him pass for an Incendiary, who had invented one part of what he said. Nevertheless, there was not in all his parts, one story made at random. There was Erected a little while since, at *Thonon* a Town belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, a Friary for Conversion of Heretics; and to render it more Venerable to the people, it was call'd by the pitiful Name of *The Congregation of our Lady of*
Carm.

1601. *Compassion of Seven Griefs.* This New Society was no sooner set up, but they Writ to the Catholic Princes, to invite 'em to enter into this League. *D'Offat* did not deny to the King, that they writ to the Pope. But he assur'd him, that the Pope rejected this vain proposition, as capable of Uniting the Protestants for their mutual Defence; which could not but endamage the Catholic Religion; and give a fair Opportunity to the Turk to extend his Conquests over Christendom, during the Divisions of *Europe*. This Prelate likewise accus'd the Duke of *Savoy* for having abus'd the Commissions and Procurations of this Fraternity; on which the Work of this imaginary League was built to serve him in his Designs to imbroyl *France*. For the rest, he describes this *Baron* as a Man the most fickle and inconstant that ever was. He had been a Priest, and during that time had committed a Murther; he turn'd Protestant, it may be to avoid the punishment he had deserv'd. He marry'd; but being soon weary of a Marry'd Life, he return'd to the Roman Religion, which in the sequel he forsook a second time. This is according to the Picture the Cardinal makes of him.

*General
Assembly at
Sainte
Foye.*

But tho there had been nothing to have been said against *Baron*, the Duke of *Savoy* was too much suspected in point of Religion, to gain Credit among the *Reform'd*. He had not the Reputation of having too much Honesty; and if they judg'd by what *d'Offat* says of him, he was a Prince of a strange Character; and who had always some contrivance in his Head against the Peace of *Europe*. In the mean time the *Reform'd* were Assembled at *Sainte Foye*, where they were not satisfy'd with naming Deputies General; but where they Treated on many things that regarded the General, and the particular of Churches. A little while after there was a Paper presented to the King, the first Article of which, after having Congratulated him upon the Peace of the Kingdom, and upon the Birth of the *Dauphin*, demanded a Re-establishment of the Edict, in the state it had been Granted at *Nantes*; and this demand was supported with a pretence that the King had promis'd this Re-establishment as soon as the Affairs of the Kingdom could permit it. The Chief of the other Articles demanded

manded that the Parlements, which had not verifi'd the Edict, but under certain Modifications should be oblig'd to take 'em off: That some Immunities should be Granted to Colleges, that the *Reformed* should found, in pursuance of the Liberty which the Edict gave 'em. That the Counsellors which were plac'd there, should be oblig'd to serve in the Chambers of the Edict many years; and that but half of 'em should be chang'd every time some Change was desir'd. They were not Answer'd upon this Paper, till in the Month of *March*, in the year following, and the Answers were first resolv'd on with the Deputies, and about three Weeks after reported to the King, who approv'd of 'em. The first Article was absolutely deny'd 'em, under pretence that there was no great matter in it; that these little Changes were made for the common good, and to facilitate the Execution of the Edict; that the Advice of the Principal of the *Reformed* had been had as being call'd to the Deliberations that had been made upon these matters; that they could not be revok'd; and that there was no promise given to do it. It may be judg'd by this, either that those promises were not made but by people whom the King was not afraid to disown, as there are always at Court, Managers of business, by whom she puts people in hopes of an event, for which she has no mind to be answerable; or that the *Reformed* had taken for serious promises, certain windy Words which were giv'n 'em to put 'em in Heart, that things might Change, and that then they would cause Restoration to be made 'em of what the present Juncture constrain'd 'em, to suffer 'em to be depriv'd of 'em: Or that in fine the *Reformed* at the Court had invented these promises as a secret, to keep off the Reproach of having so easily consented to these Changes. Upon the other Articles they had all the satisfaction given that they could desire: But because they ask'd the Liberty of continuing their Assembly, under the pretence of the Difficulties the Parliament made of Executing the Edict, the King declar'd in his Answers, that he had given such Orders for the redress of 'em, that this continuation of the Assembly was needless.

1601.

But they set forth much larger Papers at *Sainte Foy*; and without stopping long at the repeated denial that the King had made to resetttle the Edict in the same State that it was settled in at *Nantes*; they did not forbear to demand again a little after the same things by Retail which they cou'd not obtain in Gross. This is the reason that in demanding the Execution of the Edict throughout the whole Kingdom, such as it had been verifi'd at *Paris*; they had hopes, one day, to repair those breaches which the Council had made therein: Infomuch, that they seem'd not to accept it but on condition. Many Provinces were Nam'd in these Articles, to which the Court had sent no Commissioners; others where they had not been but in the Capital Cities; many particular Places, where the Exercise was not granted but under certain Restrictions, as I have already observ'd. They complain'd, that in judging the Right of Possession acquir'd by the Edict of 1577. they limited themselves strictly to the 17th of *September*, having no regard to the Proofs of the Exercise that was had in the same month before and after that day; if it had not been likewise prov'd that it was had precisely upon that day. This almost reduc'd the *Reformed* to a *Non-plus*, and made an illusion of this Right, because that the 17th of *September* fell that Year on a *Tuesday*, a day wherein the *Reformed* cou'd not have had their Public Exercises but in a kind of Hazard. It was demanded, that in the places where the Commissioners Nam'd the Kings Judges for their Sub-Delegates, those Judges shou'd be oblig'd to take an adjoyn'd Partner of the *Reformed*, whom the *Reformed* themselves shou'd appoint to labour diligently together, and Scot free in the Execution of the Commissioners Orders. They complain'd, that in many places the *Catholics* wou'd not suffer the *Reformed* to Inhabit: That they drove the Tradesmen out of certain Towns: That they wou'd not allow 'em as Journey-men in their Shops: That they spoke Injurious things to 'em unpunish'd, when they went to their Exercises: That the Preachers in their Sermons, The Advocates in their Pleadings, took the same Liberty, without being repress'd. That the Royal Judges in many places did not do Justice, in the Abuses committed

mitted on their Persons. That in many Diocesses they caus'd 'em to be Inroll'd, and put certain marks on their Houses, to distinguish 'em from those of the *Catholics*: That wherever there were yet any Colleges of Jesuits in the Kingdom, that is to say, in the Jurisdiction of the Parliament of *Tholouse* and *Bordeaux*, they had found out another manner of distinction, causing the Houses of the *Catholics* to be mark'd with the Cross, or Garlands of Flowers, to the end that those might be better taken notice of that wanted such Ornaments: That at *Ver-vins* they put a Minister out of the Town, who travelling that Road arriv'd there upon *Easter-day*; and that they refus'd so much as to give his Horse Stable-Room. 'Twas a Complaint that in several places the Judges hinder'd 'em from Building Churches, tho the Exercise were there permitted: That in many others, that were Nam'd, the Exercise likewise was hinder'd, either through the opposition of the Lords of the Places, or by the Orders of the Commissioners. It was reported upon this occasion, that at *Aubenas*, where the Marquis of *Montlaur* committed a Thousand Violences, tho the Commissioners had caus'd the Steeple, the Bell and the Church-yard to be Surrender'd to the *Catholics*, and left the Town-house to the *Reformed* for their Exercises, the Jesuits had built a Chappel against the Wall, through which they had made a hole, that they might see all over the place; that they caus'd a Bell to Ring during the Exercise; and that they had set up a Cross over the Entry. It was demanded, That the Lords might enjoy the Right of their Precincts and Jurisdictions, and have their Exercise free therein, although they were inclos'd in Episcopal Towns; and that the King shou'd forbid any farther searching in Booksellers Houses for Books of Religion, at *Rou-en*, *Bordeaux*, and elsewhere, and seizing upon 'em, tho not expos'd to Sale. 'Twas Remonstrated that in many Colleges they had refus'd to admit the Regents and the Scholars, for the sake of their Religion only: That in many places the *Reformed* had no Church-yards: That to avoid the Inconveniences of Funeral Attendance in the Night, and which expos'd the *Reformed* to a Thousand Affronts, from which they

1601.
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1601. cou'd not Guard themselves, they ought to be permitted to Bury in the Day. To this were added Complaints against several Curates, who had caus'd divers Bodies to be digg'd up again, in the very places which had been assign'd to the *Reformed* for their Burial-places before the Civil Wars; of which they demanded leave to inform. But above all, they aggravated the Outrage done to the Body of a Lady by Cardinal *de Sourdis*, Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, a Man the most Passionate and most Rash of his time, and who perplex'd himself in all sorts of Affairs with the least consideration. He order'd the Body to be taken up Eighteen Years after it had been Bury'd, and made the Bones to be thrown into the High-way.

There was a long Train of Articles that concern'd the Chambers of the Edict or *Miparties*; and by their diversity it may be observ'd that the *Catholics* wou'd have subjected these Chambers to the Parlements, and have made 'em a kind of an Inferiour Jurisdiction, whereas they ought properly to have been Little Parlements, which having nothing to do with those of which they were Members, but that they were compos'd in part of Judges taken out of those greater Bodies, had the same extent of Jurisdiction and Privileges. These Articles then requir'd, that the Six Counsellors of the Parliament of *Paris*, and the Three of the Parliament of *Rouen*, might be admitted all together into the Chambers of the Edict, because of those Acts of Injustice that one alone cou'd not hinder: That the Invasions of the Parliament of *Tholouse* upon the Jurisdiction of the Chamber Establish'd at *Castres*, of which Examples wholly new were produc'd, might be repress'd. That the *Reformed* Counsellors that serv'd at *Rouen* in the Chambers of Inquests, might judge of Clerical Priviledges, and of Crimes of which the Ecclesiastics were accus'd; That the Chambers of the Edict might take Cognizance of all Causes where the *Reformed* should be Parties; as also of Causes relating to Benefices in Possession, of Tithes, of Ecclesiastical Rights and Demains; of Criminal Causes where the Ecclesiastics were Defendants: That there shou'd be an Expedient found to Protect the *Reformed* from the severity of

of the Parlements of *Tholouse*, of *Bordeaux* and *Grenoble*, 1601. from which no Justice was to be expected, in Affairs the Cognizance of which was taken away from the Chambers: That in Causes relating to a pretended Ecclesiastical Fund, the Chambers might have power to examine the Nature of the Fund, to retain the Cause, if the Fund was not of the Quality pretended: That the Affairs of the *Reformed* against the Ecclesiastics, in some Parlements where the Judges had their Children possess'd of Benefices and Church-Employments, shou'd be brought before the Parliament of *Paris*, or the Grand Council: That the Chambers shou'd take Cognizance of the Affairs of the *Reformed* concerning Hospitals: That they shou'd be allow'd the Cognizance of Affairs of Subsidies and Accounts given to the Parlements of *Rouen* and *Provence*, in Causes where the King was not to Intervene, and where only his Farmers were to be dealt with: That Matters of Corporation-Government, where the *Reformed* were Parties, shou'd be sent back to the Chambers of the Edict, when they demanded it: That the Chamber of *Grenoble* might give Audience with open Doors; and that the Parliament shou'd admit Advocates of the *Reformed* Religion: That the Orders of this Chamber might be executed in *Provence* without demanding *Pareatis*: That in each Bailliage an Office shou'd be Erected, for which the Patents should be given at the Nomination of the *Reformed*, empowering 'em to do whatever concern'd the Edict, and the Execution of it, because that in *Normandy*, and other parts, the Parliament refus'd *Pareatis's* for the Execution of Decrees of Council, Letters Patent, and other Acts of the same Nature: That at *Paris* shou'd be Created a Substitute to the Advocate-General, who shou'd be of the *Reformed* Religion: That removing of Causes to the Grand Council shou'd not be granted to the prejudice of the Chambers: That the Causes of Presidents and Counsellors shou'd be kept in the Chambers where they serv'd, without being constrain'd to go Plead at the nearest Chamber: That Causes shou'd not be remov'd under pretence of Kindred which the Parties shou'd have in the Chambers: That the Exceptions shou'd be Judg'd there, before the King gave his Letters of Removal: That there shou'd be a Fund rais'd for the Maintenance of the Sessions of Vacations in the Cham-

*The Continu-
tion of a pe-
remptory
Warrant,
like our
Hereof fail
you not.*

1601. bers, as for those of Parlements : That the Commissioners of Registers in the Chambers of *Castres* and *Nerac* shou'd be half Papists, half Protestants : That the Parlements shou'd not oblige the Counsellors which they sent to serve in those Chambers, to Judge according to certain Rules, that should too much limit the Jurisdiction : That in the Criminal Instructions to Parlements, *Reformed* Assistants should taken in, such as the Parties should agree upon, or who should be Nam'd *ex Officio*, if the Inquisitors were *Catholics*.

There were other Articles which spoke of Employments: There was a Complaint that the *Catholics* held Contests with the most Ancient Counsellors upon the point of Precedency ; and that at *Paris*, upon the Request of the Attorney General, those of the *Catholic*, *Apostolic* and *Roman* Religion had inform'd against *Mole*, Possess'd of Presidents place. There was a Genetal Regulation demanded, conformable to the Declaration which the King had Verbally made on many particular Affairs touching the Right of admitting indifferently to Consulships, and other Elective places, without distinction of Religion, those who shou'd be call'd thereto by ordinary means, Ancient and Accustom'd. The Reason of this demand was, That the *Reformed* being the strongest in almost all the good Towns of *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*, and persons capable of these employs being no where to be found but amongst them, it happen'd that they always fill'd the most Honourable places, if they were given according to the Ordinary Forms, to those who should be judg'd worthy by the plurality of Voices : On the contrary the *Catholics* would deprive the *Reformed* of this advantage ; and obstinately persisted almost every where, that there might be an equal Division of these Places between Papists and Protestants. In which they buoy'd themselves up by the Example of certain Treaties, which had been made in some places before the last Edict, that equally divided the Consulships between the *Reformed* and the *Catholics*. But there arose daily Law-Suits upon these opposite pretensions, which being carry'd to the Council either directly, or upon the Partition : that happen'd in the Chambers call'd *Miparties*, engag'd the Commonalty in long Disputes and Ruinous Expences.

There

There were yet other Articles that concern'd the places 1601. which the Reformed had in possession; in which it was demanded that the Catholic Inhabitants should be oblig'd to contribute to the reparation of the Walls, and to the charge of the Court of Guard. It was likewise demanded, that certain Fraternities of Penitents that swarm'd in the Kingdom, and who turn'd the Austerities of Mortification into a Pious Masquerade should not be re-establish'd in the Towns of Surety; as it had happen'd in some places, where the Fraternity *dei Battus* was restor'd, by Virtue of an Order made upon a Petition. There was a Complaint of some Castle which a Catholic had begun to Fortify, to incommode some Neighbouring place; and it was demanded that the Fortifications might be demolish'd.

A Sect of people that beat themselves twice a day and once a night

There were others again that concern'd particular Cases. There was a complaint that in many places, when the Reformed had been Fin'd, the Judges to vex 'em, declar'd the Fines applicable to the support of Convents, or of Catholic Churches: And the States of *Languedoc* made 'em contribute to Gratuities that were rais'd upon the Province for the Ecclesiastics, or for the Mendicant Monks: That at *Bordeaux* and other places they would not receive the Petitions, nor the complaints of the Reformed, under the Name of an Agent, or an Advocate of their Corporation: That they had deny'd the Assistance of Ministers to the Condemn'd; and that they have been forc'd to be accompany'd to the place of punishment by the Monks: That they have rated the Ministers for the King's Taxes, as also for their Salaries. The King was Petition'd to permit the Inhabitants of the County of *Marle*, that had no place of Exercise within eight Leagues of 'em, to meet in the Jurisdiction of a Reformed Gentleman, tho he was not resident there: And they begg'd of him to obtain for his Subjects that Traded in *Spain*, the same Liberty of Conscience that was allow'd there to the English, to the Scotch, to the Danes and to the Germans. The occasion of this Address was, that a certain Man call'd *Pradilles* of *Montpellier* going to *Spain*, to recover a Sum that was due to him, the Inquisition caus'd him to be Arrested; condemn'd.

1601 de nnd him to the *Amende Honorable*; to be kept in Prison a year and a day, and to the Confiscation of all his Goods.

An Ignominious punishment so call'd.

All these Articles remain'd a long time in the Hands of the Council, who kept 'em till the Month of *August* 1602. They were variously Answer'd: Some purely and simply Granted, others Extended and Amplify'd: Others absolutely refus'd; others Granted in Part, and partly refus'd. There were a great many on which the Council took time to consult the King's Advocates, to give Orders according to their Advice: Others where the King sent back the Parties concern'd to redress themselves before him by way of Petition: Others where he demanded to see the Decrees of Court, and Acts wherein they were mention'd: Many wherein he reserv'd himself the Power to order what he thought good. But in General there was in all the Answers, a temper of Favour and Equity, which made the Intentions of the King appear openly, and that plainly shew'd, that without Disguise or Equivocation, his meaning was that the Edict should be observ'd, and that the Difficulties that arose upon the Execution of it, should be favorably expounded. This favorable and equitable Mind of his appear'd above all, in the Orders he gave for the Execution of the Edict, in places where it was not yet done: In those which he sent to the Judges and Officers, to enjoyn 'em to let the *Reformed* live in all places, without being molested: In the explication of the Privilege of the Edict of 1577. which he thought fit should be apply'd to all the places where the exercise had been held during the Month of *September*, without stopping precisely at the seventeenth of the Month: In the prohibition of the Inrollments, and the seditious Marks that were put on their Houses: In that of speaking injuriously of the *Reformed* in their Sermons or Pleadings: In that of searching the Booksellers Houses: In many Articles that concern'd the Jurisdiction, the Dignity or the Privileges of the *Reformed* Counsellors at the Parliament of *Paris*, of *Rouen* and *Grenoble*; or the Jurisdiction of the Chambers call'd *Miparties*, and the execution of their Judgments. In the Declaration of his Will upon the indifferent admission of the *Reformed* and *Catholics* to Consulary Employments, according to the customary Forms,

Forms, without distinction of Religion, or limitation of number: In the extension he gave to the Right of Exercise, that the Commissioners had agreed to certain places with Inconvenient Restrictions. In like manner there were many others, where the *Reformed* as in the preceding obtain'd all they could reasonably demand, pursuant to the Terms of the Edict, which was to be the common Rule of their pretensions and their Rights. Those that were refus'd 'em were only either the same in particular, which they could not obtain in the whole, or such as Treated of things, for which there were specious Reasons not to grant 'em. This observation discover'd the King's Integrity and Exactness; who, that his Edict might be the better observ'd, Solemnly decided the difficulties that concern'd execution of it, as soon as they arose: And it appear'd by the same consideration, that it was unjust to Renew and Inlarge these difficulties in our days, since that in the time when they were first invented and rais'd, they had all been decided. These same decisions ought to be so much the more respected, in that they were given by a King who knew what he meant by each Article of his Edict: In a time when he saw things near at hand, and could judge of 'em with knowledge of the Cause.

It is evident, That since they were as antient as the execution of the Edict it self, and pronounc'd upon the difficulties which rose from the Execution it self, they ought to be taken for the Rule of well understanding it, and the true Interpretations of the intentions of the Author. All the World knows, that when there are any difficulties in any Law, there is no body can better resolve 'em than he that made 'em.

But these good Intentions of the King did not hinder, but that there were several Rumours rais'd, to fill the *Reformed* with fears and jealousies, on purpose to dispose 'em to an Insurrection. 'Twas spread abroad, that the King was going to retrench two thirds of their allowances; that they should have no more particular Pensions of him; that he would no longer continue 'em in places of Trust; that he would give 'em no more employments, without inserting in the Pattents the Clause of being *Catholics*. But these Artifices took with no Body. They beheld

1602. beheld likewise without any concern the Flight of Marshal the Duke of *Bouillon*, who was thought to be involv'd in the Conspiracy of Marshal *du Biron*. And indeed the Duke Transported by his Discontents, was engag'd a little too forward in those Intrigues. Tho his design was not to give the King any disturbance but he would have remov'd *Roni* from the management of Affairs where he had got too great an Authority. This Favorite finding himself held up by his Master, abus'd and injur'd all the World without Fear and Wit; under pretence of his Husbandry, which flatter'd the inclinations of the King, he made all those uneasie who wou'd fain have had to do with a more liberal Prince. The Duke had let the King know, that *Roni*'s Credit was the pretence of the Male-contents: Neither had *Roni* fail'd to do the like by the Duke, which forc'd him to fly the Kingdom, after the Death of *Biron*, lest like him, he might have lost his Head upon a Scaffold. The King would fain have had him left himself to his Discretion; and he gave great assurances of shewing him favour, provided he would freely confess his Fault. But the Duke would never trust him: Whether his Conscience made him fearful of his safety; or that he fear'd *Roni*, whom he knew able to do any thing, when he could conceal a Crime under pretence of serving the State, or that both these Reasons together augmented his distrust. But that his Innocence might be clear'd of the Accusations that were form'd against him, he presented himself voluntarily before the Chamber of *Castres*, under whose Jurisdiction he pretended to be, because of his Territory of *Turenne*: And he writ to the Court to demand his dismissal: In which he derogated from the Privilege of Dukes and Peers, whose Causes are of Course referr'd to the Parliament of *Paris*. The Chamber gave him an Authentic Act of his Submission; but because the King's Counsel took no Notice of it, he found himself no longer safe in the Kingdom; and therefore passing through *Geneva*, he retir'd into *Germany*, where he staid some years before his Peace was made.

During his absence, almost all the Protestants Writ in his behalf. He gave 'em to understand, that Religion was the principal occasion of his Persecution; and he alledg'd Reasons which

The Dis-
grace of
Marshal de
Bouillon.

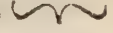
which might perswade it. There were many others, said 1602. he, that had a greater share in the Conspiracies than they pretended he had: Nevertheless they chose to draw up an Impeachment against him, tho he strongly deny'd to have been concern'd in it, and that they had no charge against him. Which could not proceed but from the difference that Religion put between him and the rest, to whom they said nothing. But neither his Reasons, nor all the Credit he had in *France*, could make his Case pass there for a Case of Religion: And the *Reform'd* kept themselves within the bounds of Intercession only. Foreigners that wrote in his behalf, did the same; and only pray'd that their Zeal for Religion might not over-rule their Justice in this Case. Queen *Elizabeth*, who had a great esteem for this Lord, was the only person that pleaded for him in another Tone. She excus'd him by her Letters as much as she could, and cast all the accusations that were rais'd against him upon the hatred of his Religion. The King dissembl'd the discontent that these Letters gave him: But he appear'd incens'd at the Synod and the Polic Assemblies for concerning themselves in the Affairs of the Duke: And he shew'd openly, that he took in ill part the Protection, which it seem'd, *The Chamber Mipartiz* had given him, receiving his Petitions and retaining his Cause. At the end he continu'd inflexible to all the Entreaties that were made him at home, or from abroad.

But if this Affair occasion'd no more Tumult, the King's severity to the City of *Rochelle* produc'd no Effect, that much more extraordinary. An Assembly held at *Rochelle* like a kind of Petty State, had establish'd a certain Right, which was call'd the * *Pancarte*. This Right was to be suppress'd at the term of some years: But the King's Farmers continuing to raise it after the time expir'd, it caus'd divers disturbances in the Provinces. Many great Towns oppos'd this exacti-
* A Paper containing the particular Rights or Customs due to the King.
 on by open force; and *Rochelle* among the rest committed some violences; but was forc'd, like the rest to submit it self to the King's pleasure. She receiv'd *Reni* himself, accom-
Sedition at Rochelle.
 pany'd with twelve hundred Horse within her Walls, and all the Interest she had in the party could not hinder, but that the rest of the *Reformed* remain'd in their Obedience. There

1602. was nevertheless among 'em particular persons, full of suspicion and mistrust, who fear'd that the King had some hidden designs against 'em: And others that foresaw by the Attempts that were made, that the Public Liberty was in danger of being oppress'd. *La Trimouille*, Free and Bold, spoke on this occasion in such a manner, as made him be look'd upon as very obnoxious at Court: *Marshal de Bouillon* was formidable by means of his Intrigues, altho he was absent; and *du Plessia* incens'd by the Injury which he pretended to have receiv'd from the King at *Fontainbleau*, was as much suspected as the rest. They were afraid so much the more, in that, 'twas well known that their distrusts were not without some Grounds.

The Spanish
Cabal in
Council
presses the
Destruction
of the Re-
formed.

There was at the Court, and in the Council it self, a Cabal intirely *Spanish*, who were enliven'd by the Intrigues of the Council of *Spain*, and by those of the Court of *Rome*. This Cabal mov'd all sorts of Engines to engage the King to destroy the *Reformed*: And after having us'd the direct means, they took indirect and remote, to bring the King to it, of which he was not aware. For that Reason it was, that they vigorously press'd the Repeal of the *Jesuits*; that they had already form'd Projects of an Alliance between *France* and *Spain*; that they caus'd it to be loudly spread abroad, that at the same time that there was a *Dauphin* born in *France*, there was an *Infanta* born to the *Catholic* King; as if this occasion had been a stroke of Providence, to oblige these two Crowns to Unite themselves by the Marriage of these two Children, for the Destruction of *Heresie*. *Taxis*, Embassador of *Spain*, press'd the King incessantly to extirpate the Heretics of this Kingdom, and to give that as an evident Sign of the sincerity of his Conversion to the Church of *Rome*. They say likewise, that this Embassador having spoken to him one day, in Terms that offended him, this Prince Answer'd him, that he wonder'd that they should go about to force him to destroy a people, who had done him good Service, and who, tho they held Errors which the Church Condemn'd, yet at least Ador'd *Jesus Christ*, and believ'd him the Son of God, while His *Catholic* Majesty tolerated in his Territories the *Mahometan* Sects, whose Religion was nothing but a Complication of Blasphemies against Christianity. The
King



King made this Answer in such Terms, as by his pronouncing 'em seem'd to imply a necessity of doing that in *France* against the *Reformed*, which the King of *Spain* had done at home against the *Moors*: Insomuch, that *Taxis* taking him in that sense, only reply'd to the King, that he beseech'd him to be mindful of his word. 'Twas thought that this was the first motive for the Banishment of those unhappy people: And that *Taxis* having given an account of his Discourse with the King upon this Subject, the Council of *Spain* had as soon form'd the design of Persecuting those miserable Creatures. But it may likewise be believ'd, that this design was form'd a long time since. That *Taxis* who well enough knew it, laid hold on the occasion, and would have made that pass for an effect of the Zeal of the King his Master, which was but an effect of his Policy. Discretion advis'd to rid himself of these people, whose inconstancy and Infidelity caus'd every day great troubles.

Not but that *Spain* had really a design to destroy the *Reformed* in *France*. It was necessary for the Projects that he had laid, and that they should be strong enough to render themselves formidable. But it was also necessary, that they should not be at peacc, to the end, that they might give a diversion to the King's Forces, which might hinder him from giving succour to Foreign Protestants; because the House of *Austria* hop'd easily to destroy 'em, if they could deprive 'em of the Protection of *France*. The Council of that House, which at that time contain'd the most profound and most refin'd Politics of *Europe*, and which at that time had the Jesuits on their side, had already mov'd a long time towards the same Mark, without losing sight of it: And they kept themselves fix'd to the same design about thirty years, with hope of approaching success. But the divisions of the *Reformed*, the good Fortune of *Louis* the thirteenth, the Prosperity of *Gustavus*, and the Intrigues of Cardinal *Richieu* overthrew all his Projects, and subrogated, if I may so say, *France* to the pretensions that this Powerful House had to the Universal Monarchy. It was then the only drift of the Council of *Spain*, to set the King to handy blows with the *Reformed*, while they labour'd to set up a Catholic King in *England*, to subjugate the United Provinces, and to Ruin

With a
Prospect to
divert the
King's Forces
by a Civil War.

1602. the German Protestants. 'Twas believ'd, that it would require so much time to destroy the *Reformed*, that *Spain* would have Leisure to execute her Grand Projects: Nor would she be wanting to employ her Money and her Intrigues, to prevent that Parties being too soon oppress'd; which may be judg'd by what she did in the Reign of *Levis* the thirteenth. At least this *Civil War* would embroil the King with the Foreign Protestants; which was one of the prospects of *Spain*, because without their Alliance she believ'd *France* could not hurt her, nor the Protestants resist her. This is the Reason why all the other Projects having fail'd, and the Death of *Biron* having dissipated the most dangerous Conspiracies, there remain'd no other Wheel to be set a going to trouble the Kingdom, then to make the *Reformed* take up Arms, if it were possible. To succeed in it, *Taxis* on one side endeavour'd to render 'em suspected to the King, in representing 'em as become his Enemies, since they believ'd him a Catholic in good earnest: And he added as boldly as if it had been true, that they had often desir'd the assistance of *Spain* to begin the War. On the other side, he spread among the *Reformed* a thousand Rumours of Leagues that were making against 'em; and he made 'em always believe, that the King had gone a great way in these Combinations, to the end that he might alienate the *Reformed* from him, by a distrust.

Seeds of
Suspitions
and Fears
between the
Reformed

He said too much to be believ'd. The King knew well enough how he ought to take the Counsels that came from *Spain*; and the *Reformed* well knew, that the true Interest of their King was, to preserve 'em. Every one knew, that as he had Prospects altogether opposite to those of the House of *Austria*, so it was as necessary that he should maintain the Protestants at home and abroad, as it was necessary for that House to suppress 'em or destroy 'em. Nevertheless, as Men are subject to deceive themselves, when they pretend to judge of the Interests of Princes, who having their Passions, or their Weaknesses like other Men, are often ignorant of, or quit their true Advantages, for other imaginary designs; they who amongst the *Reformed* were in reputation of great Prudence, were of Opinion that they should provide against uncertain

tain.

tain accidents. They believ'd, that 'twas better warding off a 1602.
Thrust with what force soever made, when a Man is on his Guard to receive it, then when he does not expect it: And that it is but a Weak excuse in Politics, and which can never repair the mischief of a too great security, to say, I never believ'd it. This is the Reason that there were some who propos'd to put themselves under the Protection of King *James* the first Queen *Elizabeths* Successor: But the Weakness of this Prince which soon discover'd it self; the Love of the *Reformed* for their King, and the firmness he shew'd in his Design to preserve 'em, dissipated these useles propositions.

He talk'd freely of the Affection he had for the Protestant Party: And it may be, he talk'd too freely for a King who had great Designs, who ought to have said nothing which might discover 'em to those whose Interest it was to oppose him. He call'd those of this Profession his intimate and approv'd Friends; he confess'd that it was not safe for him to renounce their Alliance; that that would but too well Fortify the party of his Enemies, in weakning his own; that he and the Protestant Party had mutually occasion for one another. He testify'd likewise, that his Heart could not endure the thought of Persecuting the *Reformed*, when he call'd to mind, that they had assisted him with all their Power, when he was Attack'd on all sides. It was not only to the *Reformed* of the Court that he spoke thus: But he said likewise, yet more to the Catholics; and one time among the rest in the presence of many Lords, among which there was none but *Roquelaure* that was not Bigotted; he made a long Discourse of the Services that the *Reformed* had done him. He testify'd, that he had ever found 'em Constant and Faithful; that they had often hazarded their Lives for his; that for this cause he would give 'em an equal share of his Love and Bounty; that *Richelle*, *Bergerac* and *Montauban* had always been places of Refuge to him, where none ever dar'd to Attack him; that apparently God made use of 'em in the time of the League to save his Life; that he lov'd 'em for this Reason, altho sometimes they were somewhat faulty; and that he gratify'd 'em every year with something, for their Fortifications and for their Colleges.

When

1602.

That the
assurance of
being be-
loved by
the King
kept 'em in
Peace.

When these Words were related to the *Reformed*, they fetch'd Tears into their Eyes; they gave a new Vigour to the tenderness which they ever had for their Protector; and they expected from him yet greater Actions, then the expressions were obliging. 'Tis the greatest Privilege of a King who holds his Subjects by the Heart, that he is assur'd of 'em when he pleases, and that to disperse all the Jealousies they could have of him, he is oblig'd to no greater expence then a few flattering Words. He never loses the Fruit of the tender expressions that he makes use of, and the Hearts prepossess'd with the Love of him, believe yet more then is told 'em. But as the King fear'd *la Trimouille*, who besides the General Credit he had in the whole Party, and the share he had in the Foreign Intrigues, as Brother-in-Law to the Prince of Orange and Marshal de Bouillon, was also very powerful in Poitou, by the places he held, by the great Number of Nobility that paid him Homage, by the Neighbourhood of *Du Plessis*, who was become formidable since he had been injur'd, because he was a Man of Brains, and Governour of a good Place, and in fine, by the great Number of *Reformed* that were in that Province. The King therefore to Counterpoise this Power, gave the Government to *Roni*, who having the mony and the Authority, could easily break the measures of those, with whom the Court was dissatisfy'd. He did, it may be, more then was hop'd; and *la Trimouille* did not live long after this Favourite was Establish'd in the Province.

*Roni is
made Go-
vernors of
Poitou.*

The Death
of Queen
Elizabeth

But that did not happen till toward the latter end of the year; and before the King had lost his good Sister *Elizabeth* Queen of England; and the Prince that succeeded her, being by that the most Powerful of all the Protestants, it was of great Consequence to know him, and to prevent him, and to see how far his Alliance might be depended on. *Roni* was Employ'd in this Commission, and went over to England, to see what might be hop'd for from him. He found this Court quite chang'd. They durst not there speak of *Elizabeth*, whose Memory the people Ador'd: And King *James* the first would not suffer 'em there, to mourn for that Princess. *Roni* had

Others

Orders not to Communicate the King's designs to him, if he found not his Temper inclin'd to assist him, or capable of great things. He only Renew'd a Treaty of Alliance, which hinder'd not the English from presently making another like it with *Spain*. But upon the whole he came back with a bad Opinion of the Affairs of *England*; and time made it appear, that this new King would be no great help to the other Princes of *Europe*. For he was Fearful, Irresolute, a Dissembler, Occitant and Scrupulous. He lov'd not to talk of Business; and he suffer'd himself to be Govern'd by two or three of his Council. His Wife was Imperious and Bold; and he had not Courage to Command her. He was more delighted with Contemplation then Action; and he lov'd Theological Disputes better then War. Hunting was his only Passion; and after he had taken the pleasure of it in the Morning, with a Violence that tir'd all his people, he slept all the Afternoon. It was a great complaint during his Life, that instead of endeavouring to break the Bonds that the House of *Austria* prepar'd for all *Europe*, he lost his time in studying Theology, and that he almost never remembred that he was a King. He thought to undo the United Provinces, by the disturbances he Created there: And tho he had given occasion by that, to Assemble the Synod of *Dordrecht* against the Remonstrants; he mingl'd so many politic Intrigues with those matters of *Doctrine*, that we are but imperfectly oblig'd to him for the Sage Decisions of that Assembly. The Heat of Disputes, and the Animosity of Parties did more Hurt, then the Judgment of the Synod produc'd good Fruit and Schism remain'd after the Decision. This Prince Writ a Book concerning the Power of Kings, upon the occasion of an Oath which he had exacted of his Catholic Subjects: But this Work serv'd for no more, then to shew the little Account the Catholics made of the Author. It was not look'd upon in *Spain*; 'twas burnt in *Florence*. The Inquisition at *Rome* put in the Number of Prohibited Books; 'twas ill receiv'd in *France* by the Catholics, and the King forbad it should be Translated or Printed. 'Twas only at *Venice* where the Reading it was not prohibited. These

Qualities.

1602. Qualities acquir'd him the Title of Captain of Arts, and Clerk of Arms : And the *Spaniards* to make him out of Conceit with *France*, endeavour'd to perswade him, that it was *Henry* the 4th who had given it him. *Charles* his Son had no Inclination to the *Spaniards*, but he was Weak and Unconstant : Whereas the Queen was a *Spaniard* in Affection, and inclin'd her self to the Roman Religion ; so that she wanted but a little of draying her Husband and all *England* after her.

Breach of
promise to
the Edict.

In the mean while, the Edict was not carry'd on in *France*, in a manner so Uniform and Sincere, but that there was occasion every day to make new Complaints. This is the Reason why the Deputies General presented a Paper to the King, wherein were contain'd some that were important enough. They took notice of an Attempt of the Governours, and the King's Lieutenants in Provinces, who upon a bare Petition of the Catholics, commanded the discontinuance of the exercise of the *Reformed* Religion, without taking Cognisance of the Cause. The Count of *St. Paul* had done it in some places of *Picardy*. Marshal *de Biron*, who had no Religion, but was resolv'd to play the Bigot, so far as to come out of his Coach, or to light from his Horse, that he might kneel every time he met a cross, during the course of his Conspiracies, had done the same thing in *Burgundy*, before his practices were discover'd : And *Matignon* had very lately provok'd 'em in *Normandy*. The Inferiour Officers by their Example took the the same Liberty : As among others the Lieutenant General *de Mortagne*, in the Province of *Perches*, who in spite of many Orders of Council, which gave the second place of that *Bailliage* in one Suburb of the City, without heeding the oppositions of the Catholics, forbore not to hinder 'em from holding their Exercise peaceably. The Bishop of *Eureux* a little while after did the same thing at *Aigle*, which was in his Diocess. He caus'd the Catholics to oppose the establishment of a place of *Bailliage* in their Town ; and tho the Lady of the place had said she would not be backward in consenting to it, he forc'd her to disown this consent which the *Reformed* pretended to have had of her. In this Paper was likewise

likewise to be seen, that the contest for the Precedency had 1603. not bin determin'd, notwithstanding all the Regulations possible which had bin made to that purpose. To these and some other Articles the King made 'em as favourable Answers as they could desire.

This was the Year that the Duke of *Rohan* saw the Foundation of his Fortune laid, and of the Credit he had under another Reign among the *Reformed* Party. The King own'd him for his Kinsman by the Mothers side ; and 'tis certain, that if he had Dy'd without Children, he had not had a nearer Heir to the Kingdom of *Navarre*. This made the King without any scruple call the Mother of this Lord Aunt. His Merit had already a great deal of Lustre ; and the King who desir'd strictly to unite himself with the Protestants, had a design to Marry him to the Daughter of *Charles de Sudermania*, Father to the Famous *Gustavus*. This *Charles* was a declar'd Protestant, and wrested the Crown of *Sweden* and *Poland* from *Sigismund* his Nephew, a strong Catholic Prince, and who had a design to extinguish the *Reformation* in his Northern Territorys. This Marriage did not succeed : But seeing this Young Lord had a design to Ally himself in such a manner as did not please the King, and to that end cast his Eyes about on all sides upon Foreigners, the King some Years after Marry'd him to the Daughter of his Favorite. This Woman was as Bold and as Zealous for Religion, as her Father was Cold and Indifferent. She got a little the Ascendent over the Genius of her Husband, and as she was assisted by her Mother-in-Law, who was no less Zealous nor less Courageous, they had no great trouble to lead the Duke to all that they desir'd ; a Person who of himself had a great Heart, a perspicacious Wit, and capable of the highest Undertakings. The King therefore, who had a mind to advance him, and who believ'd him a proper Subject for some Foreign Alliance, made him Duke and Peer this Year, and he took the Oath the 7th of *August*.

But it was also about the same time that the Jesuits at last obtain'd leave to return into *France*. Father *Mugio* had visited the King at *Lions* in the Popes Name, during the War of *Savoy*, where he had obtain'd nothing but Words in general, and Assurances of Good Will. But the King having made a

*The Duke of
Rohan.*

*The Repul
of the Jesu-
its.*

1603.

Journey this Year towards *Mets*, of which he resolv'd to make sure of, the Jesuits of *Pont a Mousson* waited on him at *Verdun*, and obtain'd positive Promises for their Re-establishment. The Jesuits *Armand* and *Cotton* were order'd to come to *Paris*, in which they took care not to fail: And *Cotton*, by his Flattering Conversation, by Preachments to the Palate of the Court, by a profligate Hypocrisie, of which he knew the Art better then any one of his Robe, so possess'd himself of the Kings affection, that he got immediately into the highest degree of his Favor. That which is remarkable in it, is, That this Jesuit was not known to the King but by the Recommendation of *Lesdignieres*, who never did so great a piece of Service (it may be) to the Honest People of his Religion, as he did by this means to the Jesuits. Their principal Prop at Court was *La Varenne*, who rais'd himself by his Compliances with the Kings Amorous Intreagues, and who had a greater share in Affairs then a great many more worthy men. Nor did the *Spanish* Cabal spare any pains on their side: But every good *French-man* had so great an aversion to this Re-establishment, that the King met with great difficulties in it. This Affair linger'd on till the Month of *September*, e'r the Jesuits obtain'd any Edict: But when it was propos'd to Register it at *Paris*, the difficulties were renew'd, and the Parliament had much ado to consent to the return of a Society which they had cast out for such good Reasons. The King took occasion to make a Journey to *Rouen*, to make this Edict pass in the Parliament of *Normandy*; and he found but little Resistance. But that of *Paris* did not follow the Example; inasmuch that the rest of the Year was spent before the Edict was verifi'd. They wou'd likewise have made it be believ'd, that what happen'd at *Gap*, where the *Reformed* held a Synod, had forwarded the matter, which had it not bin for that, might have yet Spun out a longer time. But the affront that there had been given to the Pope, in making it pass for an Article of Faith that he was *The Antichrist*, had laid a Necessity on the King to break through all obstacles that were rais'd to the Re-establishment of the Jesuits, to the end, that by this he might make Reparation to the Pope for the injury that was done him. The Business was this

The

The *Reformed* had got leave to call a National Synod in the Month of *October* at *Gap*, a Town in the *Dauphinate*. It was one of the most Celebrated that ever they held, and they there Treated of great Matters. But the most Important of all was the Question about *The Antichrist*, which was there consider'd. The *Reformed* Taught frequently, that this Title belong'd to the Pope; and in their Sermons and Writings, apply'd to him all the Characters, by which the HOLY GHOST gives a description of him to whom it belong'd. The wrong that was done to *du Plessis*, and which stuck to the Hearts of all good Men, inflam'd their Spirits more then ever in that respect, because that was the pretence laid hold on, that he had given the Name of *Antichrist* to the Pope; insomuch, that they set themselves to speak upon this Subject more then ever; and more then ever to foretel the approaching Downfal of *Babylon*, and the overthrow of the Man of Sin, by the Light of the appearance of JESUS CHRIST. The Pulpits resounded nothing but this Name of *Antichrist*; and there were likewise some Churches which the Judges disturb'd, because that this Doctrine was Preach'd there. But nothing made more noise then the boldness of *de Ferrier*, Minister and Professor of Divinity in the Royal College of *Nimes*. He set up Propositions on Posts which he publickly defended, and where this Thesis, *That the Pope is the Antichrist*, was maintain'd. Nor did he spare *Clement VIII.* whose Name was clapt in all along. The Parliament of *Tholouse* brought him to his Trial upon this matter, and sought to have Arrested his Person; but *Ferrier*, who wou'd not expose himself to the Judgment of that Merciless Court, provided for himself at the Chamber of *Castres*.

This was enough to stop the Proceedings of Parliament, but to have yet a stronger Protection, *Ferrier* wou'd make appear by some Proof that his Doctrine was that of the whole Party: And as there were but few Ministers who did not believe, and Preach, and Write the same thing; and for that it was evident that there were more Churches besides that of *Nimes*, that were Persecuted for this Doctrine, he obtain'd that the matter shou'd be Debated by the Synod, and his Doctrine approv'd by it. The Genius of *Fer-*

1603. *rier* was Compounded of Good and Bad Qualities; but the Bad were most predominant, which was the reason why they drew him into a precipice; and never was the end of a Man so unlike the beginning. He suffer'd himself to be Corrupted by the Artifices of the Court; and the Jesuits boasted themselves, that in the Year 1600 their Father *Cotton* being at *Nimes*, where he had a Conference with *Chamier*, wherein they attributed to him all the advantage, he contracted some Acquaintance with *Ferrier*, whom he inspir'd from that very time with an Inclination to betray his Brethren. However it was, he embroil'd every thing in the Politic Assemblies wherever he came, which made the Synods forbid him to meddle any more. He Acted such things in his Church and his Province, that caus'd him be turn'd out thence: And growing weary of being a Minister, he got to be a Counsellor in a Presidial Court at *Nimes*, tho he had promis'd at *Paris* to continue the Exercise of the Ministry in some other place. At length he was depos'd as a Deforter. In fine, he Revolted, and Dy'd a few years after, as much hated by the People as at the beginning he was belov'd. He was Self-ended, Knavish, Ambitious, Inconstant, a *Bontefeu*, without Judgment, and but little capable of the Intrigues wherein he had the Imprudence to trouble himself. But he had Courage enough, a quick Wit, an Imagination all Fire, a great facility of Speech, the tone of a Commanding Voice, a vehemence in Action and Discourse which drew his Hearers along, and which hardly gave 'em the liberty of Contradicting him. This was the reason that the Multitude, who are easily dazled by these Qualities, was ever of his Party, and that he often prevail'd, even in the Synods, against *Charve* his Competitor. This *Charve* had much more Uprightness and Judgment, and above all a Charming Gravity, which made him very considerable in the Assemblies; but the Fire of one prevail'd over the Phlegm of the other, and the Vivacity of *Ferrier* obscur'd the Solidity of *Charve*.

His Cha-
racter.

And that
of *Charve*.

In the Synod then of which *Chamier* was President, *Ferrier* held the second place, and was join'd with the Moderator; insomuch that it was no hard matter to obtain, that what there was Personal
in

in his Affair should be favourably Judg'd. The Synod order'd the General Deputies to Entreat the King, not to suffer these Churches, or particular Persons, to be put to trouble for this Business, or that the Liberty of Confessing shou'd be taken away from 'em, or of Teaching what they held for Truths. They writ to the Chambers *Miparti*, that they wou'd take into their Protection such as were molested upon this occasion. But they did yet more. And to the end that it might not be doubted that it was the Doctrine of all the *Reformed*, the Synod order'd that it shou'd be inserted among the Articles of Faith, and that an Article shou'd be made, which shou'd be plac'd immediately after the 30th, where the equality of all the Pastors, and all the Churches in Power and in Authority is spoken of. This Article, which for the time to come was to be the 31th in the Confession of Faith, was to have run in this form.

“ And since the Bishop of *Rome*, having erected to himself
 “ a Monarchy in *Christendom*, Attributes to himself a domi-
 “ nion over all Churches and Pastors, and has Exalted
 “ himself so even as to call himself GOD, for to be Ador'd,
 “ and that all the Power of Heaven and Earth may be Attri-
 “ buted to him, to dispose at his Pleasure of all Ecclesiastical
 “ Things, to define the Articles of Faith, to Authorise and
 “ Interpret the Scriptures at his Pleasure, to make a Traffick
 “ of Souls and of their Salvation, and to dispense with Vows
 “ and Oaths, to Ordain a New Service of God, and in reference
 “ to Civil Government, to trample under foot the Authority
 “ of Magistrates, taking away, and Giving and Changing
 “ Kingdoms, we Believe and Maintain that he is properly
 “ *The Antichrist*, and the Son of Perdition foretold in the
 “ Word of God, the Whore Clothed with Scarlet, sitting on
 “ the 7 Mountains, and the Great City; who had his Reign
 “ over the Kings of the Earth, and do expect that the Lord, as
 “ he has promis'd and begun overthrowing him by the Spi-
 “ rit of his Mouth, will finally destroy him by the brightness
 “ of his coming.

The Article made to be inserted in the Confession of Faith, which imports that the Pope is Anti-christ.

The King who had his Spies in the Assembly, had notice in good time that this Decree was framing; but he cou'd by no means hinder it, and the Article was receiv'd almost with

1603. a General Approbation. The Catholics were offended in the highest degree. The Nuncio made bitter Complaints. The Pope was in a Rage when he heard the News. The King himself express'd a great resentment of it; and after the Deputies General, which had assisted at the Synod, had given an Account in Court of what had pass'd there, they had Orders to write how much the King was Incens'd at this Affront. He complain'd that the *Reformed*, whom he had put in a Capacity of maintaining themselves, had started such a thing under his Reign, which no body ever Dreamt of since the Confession of Faith was made; that they had never thought of this Decree, in the time when the Crown had reason to be dissatisfy'd with the Popes; but that they had set it on foot; now that the King and the Pope were strictly reconcil'd together; and that they had quarrel'd with a Pope who was esteem'd the most moderate in Affairs of Religion that had Sate since the Doctrine of *Luther*. To this he added Threats, That he would neither suffer the Printing of this Article, nor the Sale of the Books wherein it should be inserted; and to punish those who endeavour'd to trouble the State with Propositions so offensive and unreasonable. The *Catholics* inflam'd his Anger by remonstrating to him, That the Injury wou'd fall upon him himself, and that he was scandaliz'd in an odious manner by this means; that in re-entring into the *Roman Church*, he was become a Favourer and a Disciple of *Antichrist*; whence they drew terrible consequences against the Affection and the Fidelity of Subjects, who had such thoughts concerning the Religion of their Sovereign.

The Synod's Reasons. The Authors of this Article defended themselves, by the necessity of loudly maintaining what they were perswaded in their Consciences. They pretended this Article cou'd not pass for new, because it was presuppos'd by all their Doctrine concerning the Church; that it was necessarily deduc'd from what they believ'd touching her Corruption, her Desolation and Ruin; That this was the reason that most clearly evinc'd the Necessity of their Separation from the Church of *Rome*; That all the rest, which made it appear, that it behov'd 'em indispensably to break with her, and which drew 'em from the depravations

depravations of her Doctrine, of her Worship, of her Government, and of her Morals, were at the bottom but a deduction, and a manifest display of this same, which comprehended 'em all; That in saying *That the Pope was the Antichrist* they said all; that since a full Liberty of Conscience was granted 'em, they could not take from 'em the Right of joining a Decree to the other Articles of Faith, which was naturally comprehended therein; the substance of which was found in the Terms of the other Articles, in all the Writings of their Doctors, in all the Sermons of their Ministers, in all the Complaints that are made of the Popes, even many Ages before the *Reformation*; that the same Name had been given many times to the *Roman See*, by those very People who were never suspected to be bad *Catholics*; that they ought therefore to be less surpriz'd to see this Truth believ'd and confess'd by the *Reformed*, who saw more clearly into the matter, which they had study'd more, and of which they were convinc'd by Invincible Reasons.

The Article then pass'd in spite of all Obstacles, and the Kings Threats hinder'd not but that there were new Editions of the Confession of Faith in a short time, in which it was Inserted. The People furnish'd themselves with these New Editions, very well pleas'd to see their aversion to the *Roman See* encourag'd by so Authentick a Decision; and almost perswaded that it was enough that the Pope was publickly call'd *Antichrist*, to give 'em grounds of hoping thence that his fall was near. But the Court having not been able to hinder things from coming to this pass, wou'd have eluded the Decision by some Artifice; and to satisfy the Pope, they made him believe that they had succeeded therein, and that they had rendered this troublesome Decree unprofitable. They endeavour'd therefore to make some considerable persons of the Party disown it, whether without or within the Kingdom, to the end that this disowning it might make it pass for a particular Doctrine. Now was it a difficult matter to get *Rom*, and such as himself, to disclaim it, who treated the Pope with *His Holiness*. But he had been already too often reproach'd with his coldness for Religion, and the little Care he had of advancing the concerns of his Brethren, that his Name stood 'em in little stead upon this occasion.

New Editions of the Confession of Faith where the Article is inserted.

1603. cation. There were a great many found, who without disowning the Doctrine, judg'd only that the Doctrine was a little out of Season, and that in the beginning of a Peace which had been so much desir'd, it wou'd have bin better to have left the Articles of the Confession of Faith, such as they had been, till that time, then to have added such a one which might re-kindle the hardly extinguish'd hatred of the Catholics. Some for fear, some in complaisance, favour'd the designs of the Court, tho they had no reluctancy to the thing decided. They buoy'd themselves up more especially with the Opinion of *Scaliger*, who had condemn'd the Article: But the *Reformed* had as little respect for him, when he treated of Theology, as they had a veneration for his knowledge in other things. Mean while, by thus disowning it, they distracted those who wou'd have maintain'd the Doctrine of the Assembly.

But because *Ferrier* was look'd upon as the Promoter of this Affair, by reason that he was vex'd to have been proceeded against for the Propositions which he had publish'd, it was believ'd that all wou'd be suppress'd if he cou'd be pleas'd. The Endeavours were so fortunate, that more was gain'd then was hop'd for. They corrupted both his Understanding and his Heart. They attack'd him with Pensions, and hopes of Interests at Court. He made no more use of his vehemence and heat but to trouble his Brethren. And in fine, he precipitated himself, as I have said, into Desertion and Revolt. It was of great advantage, to have for a ground to cry down the Synod, the Moderation of *Clement VIII.* of whom they did not then stick to say, That he had made no noise of the Edicts granted to the *Reform'd*, but out of a decent Formality: And that in effect, he had given as formal a Consent to those Edicts as cou'd be expected from a Pope. 'Tis true likewise, that he did not seem like his Predecessors, to Advise Massacres and Punishments. Experience had taught him that the Reformation advanc'd it self amidst oppositions, and that in every place where they wou'd have destroy'd it by War, it had encreas'd to the danger of the Catholic Religion: That in *Germany* the War did the business of

The False
Moderation
of Clement
VIII.

of the Protestants; That it strengthen'd them in the United Provinces : That it was favorable to 'em in many other places; and that in *France* it might have had yet the same effect. In other places he fear'd that War would reunite the Protestants, who when they undertook to help one another had very formidable Forces. But at the bottom it was the Pope, fully desirous to re-establish his Authority every where, where the people had shaken off the Yoke: And it was under his Pontificate that the first knots of these pernicious Intrigues were knit, which cost *Henry* the 4th his Life, and which had like to have destroy'd all *Europe*. He was desirous to play a sure Game, and procure between all the Princes of his Communion a League so secret and so strong, that it might overwhelm the Protestants all at one blow, who could not foresee this Tempest.

The same Synod had likewise done some other things, which had anger'd the King. They had admitted Foreign Ministers. They had receiv'd Letters from the *Palatine*, and had Answer'd 'em. They likewise Writ to the Duke of *Savoy*, on the Account of the *Reformed* of *Saluces* whom he Persecuted. They receiv'd the Duke of *Bouillon's* Letters, which they answer'd without any Hesitation, and the Synod themselves took upon 'em to solicit for him. This did not please the King, who express'd some resentment of it: Tho he did not complain but in Pardoning it, because he believ'd, said he, that they had done it, rather out of Indiscretion then Malice. He added nevertheless, that if these Ecclesiastical Assemblies did not behave themselves with more Moderation, he would deprive 'em of their Liberty; which hinder'd not, but that they us'd it as formerly, till a great while in the Reign of *Lewis* the Thirteenth. The Deputies General also were Order'd to represent to the King many things, which they drew up in Writing. The most Remarkable Article was that where the *Reformed* desir'd, that they might not be oblig'd to give themselves the Name of *Pretended Reformed* in the Public Acts, or in the pleadings of their Advocates: And the Synod exhorted 'em to abstain from those Terms. An expedient was found out to content 'em, which chang'd the

Other matters of the Synod.

1603.



Words and left the thing: And 'twas allow'd 'em to call their Religion, *Reformed in the Terms of the Edict*. But the Judges, the Advocates and Notaries preserv'd yet a long time the custom of abstaining from the New expression, and from the Word *Pretended*: And continu'd to give their Religion simply the Name of *The Reformed Religion*.

Condition
of the Re-
p.al of the
Jesuits.

During this the Jesuits follow'd their business, and solicited the Parliament, for the Verification of the Edict by which they were Recall'd. It was founded on the conditions that the King had propos'd a long time before, and they were discuss'd at *Rome*. There were five or six which the Jesuits found very hard: Not because they were in themselves Unjust or Inhuman; but because they put too strict Limits to the desires of this Covetous and Ambitious Society. The first that displeas'd 'em, was that they were commanded, not to receive into their Order in *France*, any but Natural *French-Men*. This was very opposite to their Politics at that time, whose main drift it was to subjugate *France* to a Foreign Power. The second was, that they were to take the Oath of Fidelity; which was extreamly contrary to the Intentions of a Society naturally unfaithful. But it was not any Respect of the Oath that troubl'd 'em so much: It was because they were Mark'd with Infamy, in taking a security from them which was not demanded of the others. The Third was, that they were forbidden to purchase Lands, without the King's leave: They had well recover'd themselves of the Error into which *Lainez* their General had fall'n, during the Council of *Trent*, when he would have had his Society excepted out of the permission of possessing Estates, which the Council Granted to the Mendicants: And they had made so good use of the Advice which the *Jacobin La Torre* gave this General, to make him desist from his Modest demand, that they could no more likewise suffer, that the Liberty of Inriching themselves by all manner of means, should be taken from 'em. The Fourth was, that those who had once taken the Habit, should not be permitted to return to the Possession of their Estates, when it should please their Superiors to turn 'em out of their Order; which

which they have retain'd the power of doing, before the fourth 1603.
 Vow is taken, when they cannot accommodate themselves with
 the Genius of those who put themselves under their Discipline.
 This Article griev'd 'em sorely, because they drew a thou-
 sand advantages from this Power, of sending back into a
 secular Life, those who were imbu'd with the Maxims of their
 Order. But there were such good Reasons not to leave 'em
 this means of troubling the peace of Families, that the
 imposing of this troublesome condition could not be avoided.
 The Fifth and the Sixth subjected 'em intirely to the Jurisdi-
 ction and Correction of Bishops; and likewise to take from
 them permission to confess those of their Order. This was
 Hard, that a Society which sought to trample under Feet all that
 was remaining of Dignity to Bishops, should be constrain'd to
 pend upon their good Pleasure.

But by the Interest of Father *Cotton*, some things of these
 Articles were moderated; and when they have once gotten
 Possession, they well enough know how to make themselves
 free of the Rest. Nevertheless, the Parliament oppos'd their
 return as much as they could. They made re-iterated Ré-
 monstrances; they would have qualify'd the Edict which
 they had obtain'd: But the Edict was to be Obey'd and Ve-
 rify'd just as it was. Indeed this was not brought about without
 the Quipps and Ferks of a thousand Satyrs, a thousand Pasquins,
 thousand Bloody Railleries. All was let loose against 'em;
 and the Negotiation of their return was likewise made into a
 kind of a Farce, where they were Treated after a very Comi-
 cal manner. But they comforted themselves for all that, with
 the Pleasure of their Success, and that which astonish'd all the
 World, was if it may be so said, from the very next day of their
 Re-establishment, that the Interest which they had in
 France appear'd so great, that there was not any person who
 had ever so much. Their Joys nevertheless, were interrupted
 by an accident, which had like to have forc'd 'em to begin
 again.

Cotton the Jesuit, who seem'd to have Enchanted the King, *Cotton the*
 whom he manag'd as he pleas'd, thought one Night, that he
 had *Jesuit*
 Wounded.

1603. had been kill'd in a Coach: But the Wound that he receiv'd was not Mortal. They would have charg'd this Assassination on the *Reformed*, tho there were many *Catholics*, to whom the Interest of this Man, who by his Insolency abus'd it, gave more Abhorrence then to them. He was one of those, who pursuant to the Conditions of their return were to remain at Court, to serve as Hostages for the Fidelity of the others. The King made him his Confessor, and ever since that, the Kings have had no other Confessors but Jesuits.

To make the
King's Con-
fessor.

The Chara-
cter of this
Jesuit.

Questions to
be propos'd
by him to a
Woman pos-
sess'd.

'Tis not known for what Reason this Man was set so high in the King's Favour. Never Man had so perfectly the Spirit of a Jesuit. Deceit was so natural and familiar to him, that he had one piece of Knavery or other afoot; and when that succeeded ill, he had another just ready. Tho he was countenanc'd by *Reni*, he did not forbear to do him a thousand ill turns: And after having more then once Solemnly receiv'd the Lye, for what he had prefer'd against him, and against many others; he carry'd himself loftily, because he had not Modesty enough to make him blush. Nevertheless, the King either fear'd him, or lov'd him so much, that these Accidents never made him lose any of his Favor. That which happen'd to him on the occasion of a Woman pretended to be possess'd, whom he had Order to exercise, had like absolutely to have Ruin'd him: But the King conniv'd at it, and no other harm came to the Jesuit, then to wipe off the Cruel Railleries upon it. He had prepar'd Seventy one Questions, upon which it was said, he was to Answer the *Spirit* whatsoever it was, that had seiz'd this unhappy Woman. There were many of 'em, that in good Politics render'd him Criminal against the State; since they concern'd the Life of the King, and the Succession of his Children: And as it is easie to make these pretended Devils, that are concern'd in these Comedies, play what Part is desir'd, it may be fear'd, that all these Questions were prepar'd, to obtain Seditious Answers. There were Sixteen or Seventeen, that had regard to the *Reformed* or their Affairs. One speak of the Count de Laval, Grandson to d'Andelot, who chang'd his Religion a little after, and who dy'd the year following.

lowing in *Hungary*. Another spoke of War; and inquir'd if 1603.
 the King would make it on the *Spaniards*, or the *Heretics*.
 Another spoke of *Chamier* and *Ferrier*, Men whom the Jesuits
 had in their Eye, because of their Credit with the *Reformed*;
 and very likely the Jesuits would have known the means to
 destroy, or to gain 'em. Another concern'd the King and
Roni: And apparently it ought to have Instructed the means
 of destroying the one in the opinion of the other. One that
 follow'd it, demanded, as by way of imposition, what would
 happen concerning the Change of this Favorite. Immediately
 after it gave Notice, who were the *Heretics* of the Court
 the most easie to be brought over to the *Roman* Faith. In
 the sequel, he would know what was the most profitable to
 the Conversion of the *Heretics*; That is to say, whether it were
 more to the purpose to come to open force with 'em, or to
 keep 'em in a Fraudulent Toleration. He would take likewise
 Lessons of Divinity from the *Dæmon*, and force it to tell him
 which passage in the Scripture was the most clear to prove
 Purgatory, and to shew the equality of the Pope's Power to
 that of *St. Peter*. He demanded of it also, in what time the
 Heresie of *Calvin* would be extinct. He question'd it concern-
 ing the Depravation of Passages in the Scripture by the He-
 retics: And he had Reason to ask the Lights of the Prince of
 Darkness concerning that; because he had prepar'd a Work
 wherein he accus'd the version of *Geneva*; of a great number
 of Falsifications. He pass'd to Foreign Affairs; to know what
 measures might be taken to Convert the King and Queen of *Eng-
 land*, and all the Kingdom, and which way to succeed therein with
 most Ease: How the *Turk* might be Defeated, and the Infidels
 Converted: Whence it came to pass, that *Geneva* had been so
 often preserv'd? Then returning to the Affairs of the King-
 dom, he demanded something concerning the places of Sure-
 ty; concerning *Lesdignieres* and his Conversion; and of the
 Duration of *Heresie*.

The Question about the preservation of *Geneva* (no doubt) The Preser-
 was very Curious. The Duke of *Savoy* made continual At- vation of
 tempts on this City, and towards the end of the foregoing Geneva a-
 year, Attempts of
 the Duke of
Savoy.

1603. year, he mis'd very narrowly of becoming Master of it. He held intelligence with *Blondel*, one of the Syndics of the City, whose Treason was neither found out, nor punish'd till many years. But his Men already Masters of the Wall, already enter'd the City, and ready to force the Court of Guards that kept the Gates, were nevertheless Defeated. Those who were not kill'd were taken Prisoners, and in the sequel were Executed as Robbers. The Duke being desirous to gain that by force, which he had been so near obtaining by surprise, the King interven'd, and told the Duke, that he must expect him to be his Enemy, if he push'd on the matter any farther: Infomuch, that the Duke was oblig'd to defer his designs till another time. *Geneva* had implor'd succours of the Churches of *France* in this business, and had written to their Deputies General, to pray 'em to make a good Collection, to assist 'em in the War which they thought to have against this formidable Neighbour; and *St. Germain* did not fail to write concerning it throughout the whole Kingdom. But the Interposition of the King deliver'd *Geneva* of this Dread, and the *Reformed* of this Expence. *Cotton* the Jesuit not being able to comprehend, how Providence so openly had favour'd this *Heretic* City, against the Pretensions of so *Catholic* a Prince, was desirous that the *Dæmon* should unfold to him the Mysteries of the Council of God; and ask'd it, whence it came that this City did never fall under the Attempts of a Neighbour much more Powerful then she.

All, or most part of these Questions were set down in half Words: But it was not hard to understand the meaning of every one of 'em, did a Man but never so little understand what was the State of the Court and Religion in that time; and that they were the Prospects and Intrigues of the Jesuits. The Jesuit was so indiscreet, as to Write all these Questions with his own hand upon a loose Leaf, and to put 'em in a Book which *Gillot* Counsellor of the Parliament of *Paris* had lent him in 1603. Some years after, returning the Book he forgot the Leaf, which the President *de Thor* found there in Reading. The thing seem'd too extraordinary to this Wise Magistrate,
not



not to endeavour to discover the Author of this curious Interrogatory It was plain enough, that the Jesuit had a part in it, because this Writing was found in a Book that came out of his Closet, but the suspicion turn'd into certainty, when this Paper was compar'd with his Writing, which it was not difficult to find. The King did not Relish this Piece of Curiosity but the Jesuit Reign'd ; there was no Noise to be made of it ; and the King call'd for the Paper to suppress it. No Body could forbear Wondering at it, Murmuring at it, and fretting at it : Many diverted themselves with it, and found something very Comical in the design of questioning the *Dæmon*, not only upon Affairs of State, but upon Religion, upon the State and Conversion of Hearts, and to take the Lights of this Doctor for Guides in understanding the Scripture. Other expected, that this Jesuit should have been Mortify'd at least by this Adventure : But he did not much trouble himself about it, because he was never the Worse for it at Court. The Tractableness of his Temper, his Complaisance, his Flattering and insinuating behaviour, maintain'd him in a Degree of Favor, whose Cheats and Rashness ought to have thrown him down, if the good Will of Kings were bestow'd on Merit.

They who have Written the Life of Cotton the Jesuit, not knowing how to Reconcile this Adventure with all the Falsities which they put off in Honour of this Profligate Man, bethought themselves of altering the Recital by all sorts of Disguises. Principally the Last of these Authors has gone beyond the Impudence of the other : And as he has well judg'd that those who should compare the manner by which he Writes the History of him, to that by which the President of *Thou* relates it, would admire at this difference, and would make no difficulty to believe this Venerable Magistrate before the Jesuit ; he endeavour'd to render him suspected of Passion and Infidelity upon this occasion. But the Integrity and Exactness of this Wise Historian is so well Establish'd, that his Testimony in things that have pass'd under his Eyes, and through his Hands, will always carry it in the Judgment of honest Men, upon that, from the whole Order of Jesuits. That which these

The Disguising this Adventure in the Jesuits Writings.

1603. these Authors say then, that the Jesuit had not set down in this Writing, but that which was permitted him by the Canons to demand of a *Dæmon*, is altogether a pure invention to Disguise the Truth. There are also great variety of Copies of it, which appear'd in Publick. 'Tis true, the Jesuits themselves might sow among the people Memoirs made at pleasure, to perswade those that will not ascend back again to the very source, that it was a piece of Malice that was intended against their Society; that every one mingling therein what came into his mind, thereupon arose this multitude of Writings differing from one another. But it was impossible, that the President *de Thou*, and the Counsellor *Gillot, Roni*, and the King himself, who had seen the Original Piece, before the thing became Publick, should suffer themselves to be Cheated by this Artifice.

The Verification of the Writing which the Jesuit caus'd to be made by these who were most immediately at his Devotion, without Form of Justice, without having any party that took Notice of it, and upon such a Writing, that he pleas'd to produce to 'em, because the Original could no be found, by what his Historian says, is a Trick that ought not to prevail against the Testimony of those Magistrates, who had had the Original in their Hands, and who before they spoke of it were assur'd by their Eyes, that it was the Jesuits Writing. It is Remarkable, that the last Author of his Life, forgetting the Apology which he had made for the Conduct of his Heroe upon this occasion, relates, in the Order of his History, the Answers which the Woman possess'd had made him, upon some Questions contain'd in the Memoir. This accident belongs to the year 1605. But I have plac'd it here, as serving to make known the Character of *Cotton* the Jesuit, and upon what Qualities his Favour was founded. I return now to the Order that I had quitted.

The Death
of the Du-
chess of
Bar.

The Duchess of *Bar* dy'd the beginning of this year, of a Distemper which she thought proceeded from being with Child; and which her Physicians understood not. She was Persecuted with Conferences to her Death. *Du Perron* had acquir'd

quir'd so much Reputation among the *Catholics*, by the success of *Fontainebleau*, that they believ'd he would succeed every where accordingly. But he had not so good an Opinion of himself as others ; and he would not hazard an Honour so well establish'd, upon uncertain hopes. When therefore there was any Conference ready, they never fail'd to break it off upon the Preliminary Conditions. They were propos'd to the *Reformed* so unjust or so impossible, that they were oblig'd to refuse 'em: And the Bishop took an occasion from thence to give out that the Ministers were afraid of him, and fled from him every time he was ready to enter the List with 'em. They defended themselves against this Reproach, by the exact Relations of what had pass'd at those Meetings ; and the fruit of those Apologies was always, that the *Catholics* referr'd themselves to the Bishop, and that the *Reformed* believ'd, that their Ministers were in the Right. But these Relations were not Read at *Rome*, where the Bishops Letters were receiv'd, as Testimonies of a perfect Victory. This was the Reason the King was at no trouble, after the Death of Cardinal d'Ossat, to procure the Hat for him: And sometime after, he made him Grand Almoner, and Arch-Bishop of *sens*. *Roni* countenanc'd as much as he could the Fortune of this Prelate. But the Heart of *du Perron* was not to be gain'd or oblig'd by Gratitude, or by Friendship. His Fortune was his Idol. He crept before *Roni* while he was in Authority: But he did nothing to serve him, when the face of his Affairs was chang'd.

1603.

The Pro-
gref: of du
Perron's
Fortune.

The Spanish Cabal receiv'd this year a severe Check, and *Villeron*, who was suspected to have been one of the Number, had much ado to get off. The Council of *Spain* had Confidants in *France*, and in all the Provinces, in all the Orders of the State at Court among the King's intimates, in the Council it self. The Queen who was push'd forward by the Councils of *Italy*, and by the *Italians* which were in her Service, aspir'd to nothing but an Alliance with *Spain*; because she believ'd it necessary to assure the Succession of her Children. The Agents of *Spain* knew well how to scare her with the Disputes, that might one day arise on this Subject, and the Attempts that the Marchioness

The In-
terests of
Spain in
the Council
of France

1603. of *Verneuil* was capable of making against her Person. On the other side, the same Agents heighten'd the Courage of the Marchioness, who took for current Money the private assurances that were given her of protecting her against the Queens Pretensions. She enter'd into several Conspiracies to strengthen her self; and she made her self unsupportable to the King, by a thousand Malicious Tricks, and to the Queen, by a thousand stinging Reparties. Infomuch, that the King, that to mortifie her, was constrain'd to bring both Her, her Father, and the Count *Auvergne* her Brother to Justice. They had had so many Intrigues against the good of the State, that 'twas no hard matter to convict 'em; and that he had then enough to destroy 'em, if the King had not had a Soul too tender to suffer the Death of a Mistress. That of the Count *de Scissons* may be reckon'd a Third Party; an unquiet Spirit, and who lov'd Change. He thought he was the nearest to the Crown of all the Legitimate Princes. In the times of Confusion, he would not (it may be) have given place, either to the Queens Children, or to the Marchionesses, or to the Prince of *Conde*. He would have had the places held in *Dauphine*, to have been taken away from *Lefaignieres*, that he might have had 'em himself. He did not like, that that Captain who was but his Subordinate in the Province, should be stronger there than he who was a Prince of the Blood, and had the Government of it. This Enterprize came to the Ears of *Lefaignieres*, and put him in fear, that a Journey which the King talk'd of making into *Provence*, was intended to dispossess him. But tho the design of this Journey was broken off, to remove the Jealousies he had entertain'd, his mind however was not perfectly heal'd, he began to close again with the *Reform'd* for his security, whose Affairs had not much touch'd him till then. His suspicions however, were not apparently well founded. Since it is not credible, that the King would ruin him in *Dauphine*, to put a Man in his place, who if he became powerful there, might do him more mischief than he could.

All the Council was divided amongst these several Cabals, and by consequence the greater part engag'd in the Intrigues of *Spain*, which had an influence in all these Factions. *Ville-*

roy took the Queen's side, and as he had a strict intelligence with *Rome*, by the means of Cardinal *d'Offat* his Creature, it was impossible that he should not have likewise a little with the *Italians* Domestic of that Princess, and by their means with *Spain* which was their first mover. 'Twas hardly question'd, after the business of an Inn-keeper, one of his Officers. This rascally fellow sent Advice to *Spain*, of all that pass'd in the Council of *France*. Infomuch, That the King's Ambassador at the Court of *Spain*, always found the *Spaniards* inform'd of all that he had to say to 'em, by the Orders of his Master. A *French-man* call'd *Rasis*, who was weary of *Spain*, where he had been ill rewarded for his past Services, because that the Ruin of the League hinder'd him from continuing 'em, promis'd the Ambassador to unfold this Mystery to him, if he might be pardon'd what was past, and be permitted to return in safety, to end his days in his own Country. His good designs had like to have prov'd abortive, because the dispatches which were Granted him on this occasion, pass'd through the hands of *Villeroy* and his Officer: But he happily escap'd after he had told the Ambassador the Treachery of the Inn-keeper; and being arriv'd in *France*, he discover'd himself to *Villeroy*, whom he found at a Country-House, ready to joyn in the King's Retinue at *Fontainebleau*. *Villeroy*, instead of securing his Officer, forbore to speak to the King of the matter, when he was with him. This gave time to a Courier who left *Spain* a few Hours after *Rasis*, to arrive in times, and Caution the Inn-keeper to have a care of himself. So this miserable Wretch escap'd, and he was found Drowned 20 or 30 Leagues from *Paris*, upon the Bank of the *Marne*, which he would have foarded, in his way to *Flanders*. His Death seem'd no less suspicious then his escape; and many believ'd, that *Villeroy* conniv'd at the one, and procur'd the other. 'Twas not rational to think, that a Man who had been above five and thirty years in the Ministry of State, should not know, that the first thing he ought to have done, was to have seiz'd on the Officer: And the Neglect of so necessary a Precaution, gave occasion to suspect, that the Master had

*The Treason
of one of
Villeroy's
Officers.*

1603. some Reason to desire, that the Servant should escape. But the King was willing to take the sorrow that *Villeroy* exprefs'd, for a Proof of his Innocency : And he accepted of the bad Excuses of this Minister, as if they had been better. Inſomuch, that he continu'd in the Miniſtry as before ; and if (perhaps) he loſt ſomething of the King's Eſteem and Con-
fidence, at leaſt he loſt nothing of his Dignity.

The End of the Eighth Book.

THE

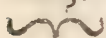
THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Edict of NANTS.

BOOK IX.

The Argument of the 9th. Book.

THE Reformed are afraid that the King gives way too much to the Jesuits. He Answers their Papers favourably. Gex. The Genius of La Trimouille, and his Death. The Process of the Cardinal de Chatillon's Widow. The Pyramid pull'd down. New Factions. An Assembly at Chatelle-raud:

1603.



raud : Matters which were there to be treated on. St. Germain's Letter to Marshal de Bouillon. Roni Commissioner for the King at the Assembly. His Instructions. What Reception he had. His Speech. Provincial Councils. Deputies General. General Assemblies. The Union renew'd. Leldiguieres comes into it. Roni Excuses this New Oath. Breviats for the Guard of Towns of Hostage. The Assembly suffers the places of Marshal Bouillon to be taken. Other advantages that Roni gain'd of the Assembly, with which the Pope is well contented. The Deputies of the Assembly caress'd at the Court. An Assembly of the Clergy. The Artifice to hinder the Ecclesiastics from changing their Religion. An Edict in favour of the Clergy. Roni Duke and Peer of France. The Marshal de Bouillon makes his Peace. The Treaty with those of Rochel in favour of the Catholics. Priests that did not Pray to God for the King. Gun-Powder Treason. The Oath exacted of the Catholics of England. The Exercise permitted at Charenton for the Reformed of Paris ; which the Lord of the place opposes in vain. Papers favourably Answer'd. The Attempt of Seguiran the Jesuit to Preach at Rochel. A Mortification of the Jesuits. The Synod at Rochel. General Deputies. The Question about Antichrist renew'd. Deputies gain'd at the Court. The Quick-sighted of the Church, and Fools of the Synod. The Question is defend'd, and Vignier order'd to Treat largely on it. The Synod Names only two Deputies General. Affairs Treated on at the Synod. Foreign Ministers. Malwin call'd to Rochel. The King refuses the Nomination of the Deputies. He permits a General Assembly at Gergeau. Sulli suspected by the Reformed Affairs of the Assembly. Places left by the Reformed. Conferences and Changes of Religion. The Assembly Complies with the King's desire. An Assembly of the Clergy. The Resolute Answer of the King, and his fulfilling a promise made in his Name by his Attorneys in the Matter of Absolution. Cotton the Jesuit, the Dauphins Master. A Fund for the Ministers that shall change their Religion. The Treaty with the Morisco's Persecuted in Spain is broke off by the Bigots. Leldiguieres Marshal of France. The Kings Dom stic

Domestic Vexations. Divers Sentiments on the Alliance of Spain. 1603. Frauds to renew the Civil Wars. The Power of the Jesuits Establish'd at Bearn. Papers Answer'd. The Synod at St. Maixant. The Theatre of Antichrist. A Blow given to Seignioral Rights. The Jurisdiction of the Chambers. A Book found at La Fleche. The Discourse of Jeannin upon Liberty of Conscience. The Edict in favour of the Morisco's. The Escape of the Prince of Condé. War declar'd against the Arch-Duke. The Formidable Power of the King. His Designs. His unexpected Death.

THE Reformed had a great share in these particular Accidents, because they look'd up on all those who held Intelligence with *Spain* as their Sworn Enemies, and they believ'd that all the Projects of that Court design'd their Ruin at the bottom; insomuch, that they were always listening to discover the designs of that Cabal, and to hinder that it did not grow too powerful in *France*, where they had, if it may be so said, no Friend but the King. Besides, they were not so assur'd of him, as not to have some distrust of his Constancy; and the little Resolution they had observ'd in him upon the Account of Religion, made 'em fear that he had besides as little in Point of Acknowledgment and Friendship. They saw that he suffer'd himself to be too much possess'd by the Jesuits; and they complain'd sometimes, alluding to the Name of his Confessor, that he heard his old Friends no more, since he had his Ears stopp'd with Cotton. They saw likewise in him, amidst his great Qualities, great Weaknesses: And that to have Peace at home, he was so far Patient and Compliant, that the meanest Citizen wou'd have hardly done so much. There was besides great Reason to fear, that to Content the Queen, whose Intentions were no way favorable to 'em, he wou'd break with 'em, and suffer himself to be led to an Alliance with *Spain*, of which they did not doubt but their Destruction was a necessary consequence.

1604.

*The Reformed
fear that
the King
gives way
too much to
the Jesuits.*

1604. These apprehensions which were but too reasonable, as it appear'd under another Reign, oblig'd 'em to Arm themselves every day with new precautions.

The King, who believ'd that these Alarms might serve for a pretext to those who were not well affected to his Government, was very willing to dissipate 'em by the Testimonies of the constant Will that he had to maintain the Edicts; and whatsoever discontent he had of particulars, he favour'd the General Cause as much as 'twas possible for him.

he answers
these Pa-
pers favour-
ably.

And this about the time that I speak of, he made appear by his manner of answering the Papers which the Deputies General presented him. They complain'd among other things, of certain Monuments of the late Wars, which the Catholics preserv'd, as it were to render the Memory of those Troubles eternal. Thus in the Cathedral Church of *Bazas*, was to be seen an Inscription which call'd the Reformed *Heretic Hugenots*; and which imputes to 'em Profanations and Ruins. The King had often commanded the Bishop to erase those violent Terms, but the Bishop was not willing to obey him. They complain'd again of the affronts which were done in some places to the Ministers and their Children; of the delay of Establishing the Exercise of the *Reformed* Religion in many places where it shou'd be, according to the Edict of 1577; of the trouble that they found, when the places design'd by the Commissioners to perform that Exercise, fell by Succession, or otherwise, into the hands of Catholics; of which they alledg'd an Example in *Baujois*, where the Propriet of a Barn, that was design'd 'em for their Assemblies, was upon the point of being sold. They made likewise Complaints of the Seditious Terms that the Catholic Preachers made use of in their Sermons, as they had done all the *Lent* long at *Blois*, at *Orleans*, at *Angers*; and elsewhere, at *Chalons* upon *Saone*, at *Mortagne*, at *Chartres*, the Judges to whom the Complaints were made never using their endeavours to repress 'em. They spoke also of the attempts of some Judges that wou'd take upon themselves the Authority of proportioning upon the *Reformed* the

Sums.

Sums of which they had occasion for the Maintenance of 1604. their Ministers. The Kings Answers were all favourable; however they were forc'd to come again more then once to desire the Abolishing of those Monuments which preserv'd the Memory of the Civil Wars. Very near the same time, the Inhabitants of the Country of *Gex* solicited the Confirmation of the Regulations which they had obtain'd in the Matters of Religion, since their Country came under the power of the King. I have already observ'd, that they had there follow'd the Methods of the Edict, as in all the rest of the Kingdom, whether for the Restoration of the Exercise of the *Roman* Religion, or for maintaining the Reformed in the possession where the King had found 'em. But to have a stronger Title then those Regulations made upon particular Accidents, they desir'd something more Authentic, that they might make 'em effectual; and they obtain'd it in the Month of *June*, by a Declaration for that purpose.

In the mean time they prepar'd themselves to hold a General Assembly; and indeed, the following Year they held it at *Chatelleraud*. The King was much afraid lest some things shou'd pass there against his Interest, because it was said that this Assembly wou'd Grant their Protection to the Marshal de *Bouillon*. The Marshal made his Affair pass over all *Europe* for an Affair of Religion, and when he writ to the King after his disgrace, he spoke more in the Style of an Accuser that threaten'd, then of a Criminal that humbl'd himself. It was dangerous in the Example, that that shou'd be taken for a Cause of Religion, in an Assembly of Subjects, which was held a Crime of State in the Council of a Sovereign. Moreover, the place was suspected, because it was at *Chatelleraud*, from whence *La Trimonille* and *du Plessis* were not far distant. For in regard the Duke had a great passion for Literature, and Sentiments on that Subject becoming a Hero, if he had not been Born under a Monarchy, 'twas fear'd that he wou'd have endeavour'd to make of the Reformed Party a kind of Common-wealth; of which the Marshal de *Bouillon* was ac-

*The Genius
of la Tri-
monille.*

1604. cus'd to have laid the Project. This likewise gave so much the more occasion to the Kings Council to think, that they had (perhaps) already some prospects of oppressing the Public Liberty by an Absolute Power. 'Tis certain at least that the suggestions which came from *Italy* or *Spain* tended that way; and little Papers ran among the people, that taught how to rise to the highest degree of Despotic Authority. The *Reformed* did not Palate these Designs of a Power without Bounds, because they knew well what they ought to expect from a Catholic Council, if once they went about to set themselves above Promises and Laws. 'Twas therefore that there were many amongst 'em that were desirous to take measures to avoid Civil Servitude, because they saw it wou'd be easie to fall into the Servitude of Conscience if the first were once Establish'd. But the Death of the Duke of *Trimouille* deliver'd the King of that pain. It happen'd so seasonably, that it might be said to have been procur'd. His Distemper began with Convulsions, which terminated in a Languishment wherein he lingered some months; and when there seem'd some likelihood of his Cure, his Convulsions seiz'd him again and carry'd him off. He had bin invited by *Roni* a little before his Distemper began; and I knew some of his Domestic Servants that were strongly perswaded that his Death was not Natural. This Death was taken by the King for a Fortunate Hit, because the Duke's Genius gave him a great deal of trouble. 'Tis a difficult matter for a Man to behave himself before Kings; if he be Fear'd, he is Hated; if he be Peaceable, he is Despis'd; and when some part of their favour is obtain'd, 'tis not agreeable to a Man who has a Soul, to be more oblig'd to blind Compliance, or a servile Dependance, then to his Merit.

The Process
of the Car-
dinal de
Chatil-
lon's Wi-
dow.

There was this Year an Affair that made a great Noise, which was judg'd at the Chamber of the Edict. The Cardinal de *Chatillon* had been Marry'd ever since the year 1564. yet for all that had neither quitted his Habit nor his Dignity. His Death happening some years after, his Widow agreed for his Inheritance with the Admiral; and after that, having been carry'd

ry'd away by a Man who Robb'd her of all that she had got, 1604. it came into her mind when the *Edict of Nantz* was publish'd, to demand a Review of the *Contracts* which she had made, and to dispute with the Heirs of the Admiral the Inheritance of her Husband. She grounded her Suit upon the *Edict*, which by the Nine and Thirtieth Article of Particulars, order'd a Toleration of Marriages such as Hers. But on the other side, the Quality of the Person was a great Obstacle to her pretensions. She might have succeeded better, if the Dispute had been about any other then a Prelate; but the affront had been too heinous for the Pope to bear, had the Marriage of a Cardinal been confirm'd, Bishop and Peer of *France*, who had presum'd to retain after this Marriage his Revenues and his Purple. Besides the Cardinal was the Elder Brother of the Admiral and of *d'Andelot*, and his Marriage ('tis like) cou'd not be confirm'd without the Ruin of two Families, which descended from these Lords; one of which was half Catholic, to wit, that of *d'Andelot*, whose Son had embrac'd both the *Roman* Religion and the League. *Servin*, Advocate-General, made a long Speech in this Cause. He spoke not of this Marriage of the Cardinal but as of an unlawful Conjunction, and wou'd never grant that there had been any Solemnization of this Marriage, even in the Forms accustom'd among the *Reformed*. As *Servin* inclin'd very much to their Doctrine, it may be judg'd that all his discourse was made on purpose to be sent to *Rome*, where he was necessary to make it appear, that such a Marriage had not been approv'd of. His Evidences took from the Cardinals Wife the Quality of his Widow, depriv'd her of all that she cou'd pretend to in that Quality, and did not so much as order any Provision for support of her Children. The Court order'd the Advocates to put off the Cause to be heard before the Council, for other Reasons then those that appear'd in the Decree; That is to say, That nothing might be pronounc'd in an Affair of this Nature, and to give place for an Accommodation. A very passionate Author, who has inserted *Servin's* Pleading in his Work, says, That the Decree was agreeable to the Evidence; but he does not relate the Terms of the Decree, whereas

1604. whereas the Advocate General *Talon* relates 'em in his Reports such as I have said. In a word, this Affair was one of the principal Reasons of making the Nine and Thirtieth Article of Particulars so as it is; and the opposite Interests of the Widow and the Defendants, gave room for greater Contentments since the year 1600. The Cause of a *Carthusian* who had left his Cloyster before the Edict, and who demanded a share with his Brothers; and in 1605. that of a *Capuchin*, whose Case was the same, were Judg'd according to the Tenor of the Article. If they deviated a little in this Widows Cause, 'tis easie to see that there was more regard had to the Quality of the Persons concern'd, then to the Nature of the business.

1605.

The Pyramid
was thrown
down.

The Duke of *Rohan* this year likewise receiv'd a Check at the Court. He was not willing to live unprofitable to the World; and with a design to advance himself therein, he made some steps which did not please the King: But that was calm'd by the submission of the Duke, who referr'd himself to the Discretion of his Master. But the following year the *Reformed*, and all good *Frenchmen*, with no small disgust beheld the Pyramid thrown down, which was rear'd to Eternize in a Plate of Brass, the Decree of the Banishment of the Jesuits, after the wicked attempt of *Chatel*. Those Assassins, who had the Credit to Re-establish themselves in spite of the Decree, had yet a greater Reputation to demolish that Monument of what they were capable to do; nor could the Parliament, who were troubl'd beyond imagination to see the noblest mark of their Zeal for the good of *France* destroy'd, prevent it either by Oppositions or Remonstrances. All that they obtain'd was, That they were not constrain'd themselves to undo their own Work, and that it was Demolish'd without Formality of Justice. Discourses, Writings and Verses, were on this Subject; but the Jesuits, who had what they desir'd, took little notice of these slight storms, well knowing it to be a Liberty of no consequence, which may be Granted, for his Consolation, to an Enemy that can do no more mischief, then only evaporate his Anger in Satyrs

tyrs and Pasquills. After this, nothing but Favours were granted to this Society, nothing but Benefices united to the Colledges, but Houses built to Lodge their Novices more at their Ease. 1605.

In the mean time the Kingdom was full of Alarms, and the King received from all parts Advice, of the great designs that the *Spaniards* had upon several places. Several Parties of the Male-contents got together, of which the one had for pretence the Publick Good; others design'd to raise up the Nobility again, which had bin too much humbled; others to pull down *Roni*, whose Fortune they compared to that which *Sejanus* had done under *Tiberius*, and wish'd that his end might be like to the downfall of that Favourite, as there had been a resemblance in the advancement of the one and of the other, and in the abuse which as they pretended the one in imitation of the other, made of his Masters favour. Others pretended to Revenge the Death of *Biron*, whose Relations they were, or else his Creatures. The greatest part of these Intrigues were Spun by the Marshal *de Bouillon*, who thought to render himself formidable, in hopes, perhaps, to be recall'd; and who had every where such great Intelligences, that he seem'd capable of putting all *Europe* in Combustion. He Labour'd above all things to engage the *Reformed* in some League, by insinuating a dread in 'em from the King's having promis'd the Legate to Ruin them. And he caus'd Propositions to be made them for Establishing fixed Councils in all the Provinces, to Treat of the Affairs of the Common Cause; to exclude the Kings Officers of all the Politick Debates of their Assemblies; to draw up Models for Raising Men and Money; and to make Alliances with Strangers for their Common Defence. But I know not how they could impute to him any other Projects Inconsistent with these; as to design to change the Religion; to conspire

1605. conspire the Dismembring of the Kingdom ; to desire the *Dauphinate* for his share ; to disturb the Succession of the Dauphin ; to make a League with the *Spaniards* ; to make Peace between them and the *United Provinces*. It is impossible to join these Designs with the other ; for his part he deny'd constantly ever to have had such thoughts ; and it was so much the more easie for him to justifie himself in, that it was not possible to find the least Proof against him in Writing. Some body depos'd that Money brought from *Spain* was distributed by the Orders of the Marshal to some private Gentlemen of *Querci*, *Guyenne*, and *Languedoc* ; and that they were promis'd at the same time, that they should be assisted with greater Succours ; but the Sum, which did not exceed Ten or Twelve Thousand Crowns, was so little, that it could not be thought to come from *Spain*, which would never have confin'd her Profusions to so small a Matter. It was believed that the Marshal had drawn this Sum out of his own Purse, to keep his Friends in hope of a more considerable Profit.

The Assembly
at Châtelleraud.

Nevertheless, every thing caus'd a Jealousie in a Kingdom where the Remains of so many old Factions gave occasion to fear that new ones were forming ; and the Assembly of *Châtelleraud* being come unlook'd for in this state of Affairs, redoubled the perplexity of the Suspicious ; they well knew at Court that great matters were there to be Debated They were to consult which way to preserve their places of Security, of which they knew that the Council would all at once take two Thirds away from them, by distinguishing those which belong'd to particular Lords from those which were the Kings only. The Revolt of Gentlemen, of which already many Examples had been seen, made the consequence to be feared ; in regard that if one Person of Estate happen'd to change his Religion, all his Places would be lost from the Party. Moreover, the King talk'd openly of making War against the Marshal de *Bouillon*, and of seizing his strong Holds ; and nothing could

1605.

to divert him from it, but the Consideration of his Breeves which allow'd the *Reform'd* the keeping of the Places or Garisons for a time, which was not yet expir'd. But the difficulty was remov'd, in case the Places belonging to particular Persons, were not included with those they call'd Places of Surety; from whence it follow'd, that when ever the King should think fit, he might dispossess the *Reform'd* of all those Places one after another; and the Breach being thus made, it would be easy also to take the main Places from them. Moreover, those Garisons belonging to private Persons were properly those that were most likely to trouble the King, not only by reason of their number, but also by impowring their Lords to act sometimes against the King's Authority. It was a hardship upon the King, not to be able to deal with them without a formal Siege, and without waging a just War against them, even at the hazard of offending the whole Party, which was perswaded that their Safety depended on the keeping of those Places. Inſomuch, that whenever the King expreſs'd ſome diſpleaſure to ſee ſo many Places in the hands of the *Reform'd*, it was only in relation to thoſe that were poſſeſs'd by particular Perſons; which were the whole Subject of *Ron's* Negotiation with the Aſſembly of *Chatelleraud*. The Marſhal of *Bouillon* had Agents, who were not wanting to give advices upon that Subject, and to repreſent how much his particular caſe was interwoven with the General Safety. On the other hand, the *Reform'd* were ſo far from being inclin'd to ſuffer their Places to be taken from them, that in order to ſecure themſelves againſt the Conſpiracies that were daily form'd againſt them, they deſir'd a Prolongation of the Time which was allow'd them for the keeping of them. Moreover, they alſo pretended to keep thoſe the King had given to ſome of the *Reform'd* ſince the *Edict*, or ſuch as did belong to Perſons, who having lately embraced their Religion, had been aſſur'd that they ſhould be maintain'd in the Poſſeſſion of their Holds or Places. So that this Affair was interwoven with divers Difficulties, which no body knew how to unravel.

St. *Germain*, one of the Deputies-General, was a Creature of the Marſhals, and held a cloſe Correſpondence with him; and the Marſhal by his means held a Communication with all the

A a a a a

Churches.

1605. Churches. For that reason he was very desirous to have him continu'd in that Employment. The thing was to be debated in the Assembly; and therefore the King, who had only at first allow'd Deputies to reside with him, about the Affairs of the Edict for a season, resolv'd to make it an Ordinary Commission, on condition, that the Assembly should nominate Six Persons to him, out of which he should chuse Two, that he might not be oblig'd to continue *St. Germain*, or to receive another of his Character. Before the meeting of the Assembly, *St. Germain* writ to the Marshal to communicate his Sentiments to him about the present Conjuncture: And his Letter was either Intercepted or Copy'd by some of those who gave the Court an account of all that pass'd. There were several in every Province who drove that Trade, some to deserve the Pensions they had, or to obtain some, others out of a kind of simplicity, which induc'd them to believe that the Court-party was always the most Innocent, because the King's Name was ever at the Head of it. By their means the Court was inform'd of divers Propositions that had been made in the Provincial Assembly, in order to be carry'd into the General.

St. Germain's Letter to the Marechal de Bouillon.

St. Germain in the said Letter press'd the Marshal to depute some body to the Assembly. He also urg'd divers Reasons, for which in his Opinion, the King ought to be mistrusted; his Submission to the Councils that came from *Rome*; the Authority he allow'd the Jesuits; the great Charge he had been at for the Election of a New Pope to his mind, after the Death of *Clement the 8th*. The demolishing of the Pyramid, on the account of which so much severity had been us'd, that some People having caus'd the said Pyramid to be Ingrav'd, representing all the Sides and Inscriptions of it, to preserve at least the Image of that Monument, the pulling down of which griev'd all True *Frenchmen*; care had been taken to discover and suppress the Plate to please the Jesuits. Moreover *St. Germain* represented the mischief *Roni* was able to do. He added the reasons that should oblige him to quit the General Deputation, which he could no longer hold without exposing himself to displease the King, or the *Reform'd*; because that on one side he would be accus'd of doing too much, and on the other of doing too little. He acquainted the Marshal that

that *Roni* was afraid of not holding a Rank suitable to his Dignity in the Assembly, by reason that the King refus'd to give him a particular Commission to preside in it. He said that it was impossible to foresee with certainty, the Inclinations of the Deputies that were to compose the Assembly: but however, that he would do well to write to them, which would be of some use. He was somewhat at a loss to find a proper Person, whom the Marshal might trust with his Deputation; and therefore advis'd him to give that Commission to the Deputies of *Guienne*, who might accept it as a dependency of their particular Charge; the Deputies of every Province commonly taking upon them the management of the Affairs of the particular Members thereof.

This expedient was likely to break the Measures the Court took to hinder private Persons from sending Deputies in their own Name to the Assembly: For besides Marshal *de Bouillon*, they were diffident of *Lefdiguieres*, of the Duke of *Rohan*, of *la Force*, of *Chatillon*, of *du Plessis*, and several others. Therefore in order to apply a proper Remedy to all these Disorders, the King resolv'd to send *Roni* to *Chatelleraud* with large Instructions; they were of two kinds, the first, General; the others, Secret, in form of Addition to the first. By the first, he was order'd to remonstrate to them, that the Assembly was not very necessary, since the only end of it was but to receive an Account from the Deputies-General of what they had done for three years last past, which might be done with less noise: However, that the King had freely granted it, in hopes that it would serve to congratulate the Peace which the last Edict had afforded: Upon which Subject he was order'd to declare that it had been punctually perform'd; that the King was resolv'd to maintain it; that care had been taken that it might be done to the satisfaction of both Parties, as it appear'd by the Answer that had been made to the Petition presented by the Catholics and *Reform'd*, by which, all Affairs of Consequence had been immediately regulated. He was further to say, That the King after having given so many Testimonies of his good Will, would be very much concern'd, should they pitch upon another Protector, he having all along been so to them, and being resolv'd always to continue so. That such Assemblies for the future would become

Roni is sent the King's Commissary at the Assembly. His Instructions.

1605. of ill Consequence, the Edicts allowing none but such as relate to Discipline, in which no Persons were to be admitted, but such as were to see it perform'd: That as to what related to Civil Government, they were to apply themselves to the Judges; and for favours, to the King, who is the Dispenser of them: That the reasons for holding Political Assemblies, only about Deputies-General, did not deserve so much show nor expence: That the Residence of Deputies at Court, was neither mention'd in the Edict, nor in the private Articles, nor in the Breeves: That it had been granted out of Toleration, until the Verification of the Edict: That nevertheless the King did grant the said Residence, and did consent to a certain Form for the Election of the said Deputies, *viz.* to name Six, out of which his Majesty would chuse Two. He was also ordered to endeavour, that the said Assembly might Treat of nothing but that Nomination; To declare, That that Assembly would serve instead of that which the Synod of *Gap* had desir'd leave to hold at *Rochel*. Not to promise any thing without the King's leave, in case they should persist in desiring another, especially if they desir'd to hold any contrary to the Edict. The King allow'd him to give them assurances of his own Affection, and order'd him to excuse the Alteration that was making at *Orange*, the Government of which City was to be taken from *Blacons*, who was dislik'd by *Philip* of *Nassau*, to whom the City belong'd; but to promise them withal, that his Majesty would put the said Place into the hands of a Person of the *Reform'd* Religion. The King had a great deal of reason to excuse that Alteration, because the *Reform'd* were extreemly displeas'd at it, and look'd upon that Affair, as being of a general consequence for their Safety.

The Additions, after a short Preface, in which the King express'd, That relying on the Affection and Fidelity of the *Reform'd*, he hop'd that they had only order'd such things to their Deputies as were allowable, and not displeasing to him; oblig'd him to take care that the question about Antichrist might not be renew'd; that they should receive no Letters from *Marshall de Bouillon*, or from Foreign Princes; that he should hinder it at first under-hand; but that in case that would not do, he should oppose

oppose it openly, and make use of his Authority as Governour of the Province ; That he should suffer no Deputies there from particular Persons ; for example, as from *Lefdiguieres*, who being dissatisfy'd with the Court at that time, join'd with the Party again for his own ends. He was commanded to mention some things the King had been inform'd of, as if he had learnt them there himself ; to give them hopes at first that the King should prolong the time prefix'd for the keeping of the Places of Surety, without distinguishing those that belong'd to particular Persons from the others ; because the King was willing not to oblige them by halves, provided they behav'd themselves as they should do. The Brief for that prolongation was deliver'd to him, but he was order'd not to produce it until he receiv'd a positive command so to do. The King also order'd him to refuse the Assembly the Re-establishment of certain Funds that had been retrench'd, either for Marshal *de Bouillon's* Places, or upon the general Settlement of the other Cities of Surety, or upon the Arrears of certain particular Assignations. The Reason alledg'd for it was, That the King had made the same alterations in the Settlements of the Cities and Garisons held by the Catholicks, who should have had reason to complain, unless the *Reform'd* had been us'd in the same manner. Moreover, that he thought that the Catholicks being weakned, by the reducing of their Garisons to a smaller number of Men, the *Reform'd* could have no reason to complain at the reducing of the number of theirs, since they did not want so many to defend them, as when the Garisons of those they suspected were stronger. But they did not relish those Reasons, because they did not think their Cities and Forces of the same Quality with those of the Catholicks. The King only kept up these, because it was his pleasure ; but there was a Treaty between him and the *Reform'd*, which oblig'd him to leave them certain Places for a time, which he was to pay the Garisons off ; insomuch that those of the Catholicks were revocable whenever he pleas'd ; whereas it was a breach of Treaty to meddle with those of the *Reform'd* before the time, for which the Cities of Surety were granted them : Nevertheless they could obtain nothing of *Roni* upon that subject, because he was as inflexible for them in point of Money, as he was

to

1605. to every body else. Finally, the King order'd *Roni* by those Instructions to refuse to interceed for the Marshal of *Bouillon*, alledging what he had already attempted in vain for his Reconciliation : To accept the Presidentship of the Assembly in case it were offer'd him : To behave himself towards *du Plessis* and others, according to the Affection he should observe in them for the King's Service , and to give an account of all Occurrences.

Those Instructions were fram'd upon the knowledge the Court had of all that was to be propos'd in the Assembly ; there being Persons in all the Provinces that inform'd the Council, as I have already observ'd, with all the Propositions the particular Assemblies had Incerted in their *Memoirs*. But one of the main Points was the preservation of the Places of Surety : And whereas the *Reform'd* grounded all the hopes of their safety on the keeping of those Fortresses, at a time when they plainly saw the Conspiracies that were hatching against them, the fear of losing them by surprize, kept them in perpetual agitations. This was the posture of Affairs when *Roni* came to the Assembly. Nothing can be more opposite than what most *Memoirs* relate about his reception there. Some Historians of great exactness and authority say that he presided there. The Compilers of *Sulli's* Memoirs say the contrary, and produce several of their Master's Letters to the King, in which he excuses himself for not having accepted the Presidentship, for reasons which he assures himself the King will relish, when he shall be at liberty to give him an account of them. They only say, that he might have presided there had he been so minded : Nevertheless he did not so much as sit among them, by reason that not presiding there, he could not hold a Rank suitable to the Dignity of Governour of the Province. Others say, That both the one and the other was refus'd to him in a disobliging manner ; and they relate the Fact thus,

The Court, say they, being desirous to have Persons devoted to them in the Assembly, in order to manage the Members according to their intentions, *Roni* and *Parabere* presented themselves there to that end, pretending that no body could refuse them to sit there, by reason of their Quality ; but the Assembly without Ceremony desir'd them to leave them at liberty. *Parabere*

here was absolutely engag'd in the Interest of the Court, except- 1605.
ing only that he would not believe the Marshal of *Bouillon* guilty
of the Crimes he was accus'd of. Therefore when he alledg'd
the Article made at *St^e. Foy*, which allow'd the Governours of
Provinces to sit in the Assemblies, tho' they were not deputed,
some answer'd him plainly, That the said Article had been al-
ter'd upon his account. In effect, to secure themselves against
false Brethren, and to avoid the Intrigues and Contestations that
were commonly manag'd to create a division in the Assembly,
the President was Elect'd in this, before the reading of the Creden-
tials, contrary to what had been practis'd in all the foregoing
ones. *Roni* was look'd upon as a Man sent on purpose to break
off the Assembly handsomly, or to bring them to some Compo-
sition by his advice. For that end he brought Breeves and Pro-
mises, to mollify those who were to be mov'd that way. But
his haughty humour, or his desire to serve the Court even to
the prejudice of his own Religion, as he was wont to do, made
him take another course. He commanded the Assembly, after
having nam'd Deputy's General, to break up the following day
at Noon; and he express'd that command in a very rough man-
ner, without ever mentioning the Breeves he had in his Pocket.
He had flatter'd himself, that some Members of the Assembly
would second him, and would help him to alarm the rest. But
those from whom he expected that Complaisance, having de-
clar'd to him that they would remain firm to the Assembly, and
that they would stand by their Resolutions; he was forc'd to al-
ter his note, and even to make some satisfaction to those he had
offended in particular. He show'd the Breeves he had endea-
vour'd to conceal, and distributed the Pensions wherewith the
Court desir'd to buy the Votes of the most considerable.

These last *Memoirs* seem to agree best with certain Circum-
stances, that are taken out of that Lord's own *Memoirs*. The
first Speech he made to the Assembly is to be seen in them, *His Speech.*
which had more of Threats than Modesty in it; the haughtiness
of which displeas'd every body. He far exceeded the Instructi-
ons that had been given him in Writing; and whether he had
receiv'd other Orders verbally, or that he thought fit to do more
than he was order'd, his behaviour prov'd as harsh and disob-
liging,

1605. lizing, as his instructions were wise and moderate. It is true that he said many things that might be useful ; but even Truth it self lost its force in such a Man's Mouth. Therefore he vainly imploy'd all his Power to dissuade the *Reform'd* from keeping of their Places. He endeavour'd to perswade that every one being willing to keep his, the great numbers of them only serv'd to destroy their Forces, which by that means were too much divided. He warn'd them not to trust *Lesdiguieres*, who would change his Religion as soon as he thought that step necessary to preserve his Authority and his Cities, &c. in *Dauphine*. As he had no such things to urge against *du Plessis*, whose Behaviour was untainted, and his Religion fix'd, he endeavour'd to turn him into Ridicule, together with his design of Fortifying *Saumur* ; the circumference of which he design'd to enlarge to that degree, that it would require 8000 Men in Garison. He press'd them to Surrender Nine parts of their Places to the King, and only to keep the Tenth, which would be the more easy to defend ; after which he forewarn'd them not to receive either in common or in particular, any Letters or Deputations from Foreigners, or suspected Persons, whom he nam'd to them ; because that in case those Persons had any Concerns, they might have sent them in the Petition of their Provinces : And finally, in case they refus'd, he threatned them with his Authority as Governour.

Provincial
Councils.

This Behaviour probably occasion'd the ill treatment those last *Memoirs* mention : But when he grew more affable, the Deputies became more gentle ; and after several Negotiations, he obtain'd almost all what the King desir'd, because he had at last satisfy'd both the particular Members and the whole Assembly. He prevail'd with them to desist from the thought of erecting Provincial Councils every where, which should have been different from the Provincial Political Assemblies in several things ; but especially in that they should always have been fix'd, and in being, whereas those Assemblies were only upon occasion, and from time to time. Yet he had no express Orders to hinder that new Establishment, but only to do it if he could ; or otherwise to endeavour that it might be compos'd of quiet people, well affected to the State, and of a proper Quality to apply themselves there in case of necessity : That is, they had no mind to have any

any Presbyters there, because they were a sort of People the Court did not care to negotiate with, which they look'd upon to be more independent from them than the Gown or Sword men. That Affair cost *Roni* but little trouble, since there needed no more to hinder that new Institution, but to acquaint them that the King disapprov'd it. Not but there were some erected already in some Provinces, according to the Regulations made at *St^e Foy*, but they hardly did any thing; and above all, they wanted Correspondencies one with another. Therefore in the following Reign people said, That the *Reform'd* had made a modest use of that Institution under this. The Nomination of the Deputies cost him a great deal more. The Marshal *de Bouillon* was very earnest to have *St. Germain* continu'd. *Lefdiguieres* was for *Bellujon*, who was his Creature, and who under the Name of Deputy-General, should have been his Spy and Confident at Court. The same Reasons which induc'd these two Lords to desire Deputies in whom they might confide, made the King refuse both. Moreover it had been propos'd in some Provinces to augment the number of the Deputies General, and to join one to the two ordinary ones that should be chosen among the Ministers. *Beraud*, one of the Ministers of *Montauban*, seconded that Proposition, by reason that he pretended to that Nomination, and that he endeavour'd to obtain it almost publickly. But the Court did not like that multiplication of Deputies; neither were they willing to consent to it in favour of a Minister. *Roni* order'd matters so, that they kept to the number of two; and that a Nomination of six Persons was made, among which the King Elected *La Noue* and *du Cros*. It is true, that the Nomination of six was only a Ceremony, since it was very well known that *La Noue* and *du Cros* would have the King's Approbation; the one by reason of his moderation, the other because he was deputed by the Province of *Dauphine* into the Assembly; and that in refusing *Bellujon* whom the King dislik'd, he had offer'd to accept a man who should have a dependency on *Lefdiguieres*, as being his Vassal, and living in a Countrey where he had a full power.

Roni endeavour'd according to his Instructions to make the *Reform'd* consent to hold no more General Assemblies, because they always created some Jealousies in the Court. But that Pro-

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position

Deputies
GeneralGeneral
Assemblies.

1605. position frighten'd the *Reform'd*, who look'd upon it as being Inspir'd by their Enemies, and as a snare tending to break the Union which had maintain'd them till then. Neither could the Promise of allowing them Conferences and Synods there, to treat about the Affairs of their Discipline, content them. There were other Affairs of as great moment, which those Ecclesiastical Assemblies took no cognizance of, which could not be neglected, without exposing the *Reform'd* to an approaching Ruin. So that the Court was oblig'd to allow them Political Assemblies, upon condition that they should acquaint the King with the Reasons that should make them judge it necessary ; and in that case, if the King found there was any occasion for it, he promis'd to give them satisfaction. The King remain'd Master by that Accommodation ; and in granting out of hand what might have given occasion for an Assembly, he might easily stop the project thereof : And the *Reform'd* on the other hand were sensible that they should daily meet sufficient occasions to desire leave to have them. And indeed they assembled several times again in that Reign, and in the following ; until their Division and Weakness afforded the Court an occasion to suppress them quite. But what *Roni* granted them upon that Subject, did not hinder the Assembly from renewing the Union of *Nantes*, and to swear it anew. The Court was very much disturb'd at it, looking upon that Oath as the Project of a Republick they design'd to form in the State. The King was particularly displeas'd at *Lefdiguieres* having sign'd the Union, after having so lately receiv'd a particular Favour from him. He had given *Crequi*, his Son in Law, the command of the Guards, to make him forget the Count of *Soisson's* Enterprize, and the Journey of *Provence*. But though he was no great pretender to Religion, he thought his safety for that time would be more consistent with the union of the Churches, than in separating from their Interests.

Union re-
new'd

Lefdi-
guieres en-
ters into it.

Roni who had not been able to ward that Blow, endeavour'd to excuse it, and to extenuate the consequence thereof. He wrote to the King, That the said Union did not proceed from any ill Intention in the *Reform'd*, and that nothing but the fear of the Courts endeavouring to destroy them, in case any disunion should reign among them, had inspir'd them with it ; That they should have

Roni excu-
ses that
New Oath.

have no fears, were the King immortal ; but that the remembrance of the 24th of *August*, 1572. stuck in their Stomacks: That the Duke of *Mayenne's* Proposition of only granting them an *Edict of Toleration* from time to time, oblig'd them to think on the future, so much the rather, because that Prince's Demand, express'd the Pretentions of the major part of the Catholicks, and especially of the Court of *Rome* : That that was the end of their Union, which after all was nothing but a Chimera which he laugh'd at ; that it would destroy it self ; that the Places they possess'd were more chargeable to them by their number, than of use for their safety. However the Court would have been glad to prevail with the *Reform'd* not to insist in desiring to continue the keeping of them beyond the eight Years the King had granted them at *Nantes*. Yet at last the Court consented to their keeping of them three years longer : And because that did not content them, another year was added to it ; so that by a Brief of the 1^o of *August*, the keeping of their Places was continu'd to them for four Years longer. Moreover they obtain'd a Year more upon other Terms, by a Brief of the same Day, which declar'd, That the eight Years granted at *Nantes* should only be reckon'd from the day of the verification of the *Edict* in all the Parliaments. In the said Brief the Places belonging to private Persons were not distinguish'd from the others, by reason that it would have been difficult to obtain from every particular Person to consent to the retrenching of his, seeing that of another preserv'd. But to authorise *Roni*, and to make the world believe that he labour'd heartily for the preservation of his Brethren, the King did as if he only granted those Favours at his solicitation.

A Brief for the keeping of the Hostage Cities.

It was at this price, and by some promis'd or restor'd Pensions, that the King bought leave to take possession of the Places belonging to the Marshal of *Bouillon*. *Roni's* Intrigues were more prevailing than all the Endeavours of the Marshal and his Friends. The Assembly refus'd to interest it self for the preservation of his Places. The Argument they us'd for it, was, That in some preceding Assemblies, in which the Intrigues of the Cabinet had inclin'd him to thwart such particular Persons as were desirous to recommend their Affairs to the General, he had put a stop by

The Assembly suffer the Marshal of Bouillon's Places to be taken.

1105. his Example to such deliberations; and that he ought not to take it amiss, if he was now us'd according to his own Maxims, since he had been warn'd of it, whilst he was practising them against others. The Effect of that Negotiation was, that after the breaking up of the Assembly, the King took possession of the Places belonging to the said Marshal, though they were Places of surety as well as the others, none of the *Reform'd* offering to defend them. The Marshal on his side behav'd himself like a good Politician, ordering his Men to deliver them up to the King without compulsion; Whether it were that he thought it inconsistent with the Innocence he boasted of, to take up Arms against his Sovereign; or whether not judging himself strong enough to resist Royal Forces, he was willing to prevent the ruin of his Places, which he was in hopes to have restor'd to him by an Accommodation.

Other Advantages which *Roni* obtains of the Assembly.

Besides all these Advantages, *Roni* prevail'd with the Assembly not to urge the restoring of the Edict to its first extent: Inasmuch that at that time the King was not importun'd with a Proposition from which the *Reform'd* never desisted till after the ruin of their Affairs under his Son's Reign. Neither was any thing mov'd about the matter of Antichrist, by reason that the Political Assembly refer'd the Affairs about Doctrine to the Synods. The Grand Machine *Roni* set at work to gain peoples minds, besides Gratifications and Promises, was, that of the King's grand Designs, in which the *Protestant* Princes enter'd upon certain Conditions, of which one was, the preservation of the *Protestant* and *Reform'd* Religions. This was sufficient to dazle people, who imagin'd that all the Promises that were made to them, would be accomplish'd as faithfully as they desir'd it earnestly.

The *Spaniards*, according to their wonted Custom, made a great deal of noise at *Rome*, about the King's having allow'd the *Reform'd* to keep the Places of surety four years longer: And some of the Speculators of that Court declar'd, that the King ought to have retaken them by open force, even at the hazard of renewing the Civil War. But the Pope dreaded the League into which the Marshal of *Bouillon* endeavour'd to draw all the *Protestants* of *Europe*, under the King of *England*, whose inclination for the *Catholicks* were not yet known. He consider'd that

that the *Roman* Religion would have been endanger'd by so potent a Union, if the *Protestants* had receiv'd cause to arm in the heat of their first Zeal, before the *Catholick* States could have form'd a sufficient League to resist them: Moreover, that the War would only serve to form closer Engagements between the *Reform'd* of *France*, and Foreign Powers, whom they stood in need of for their preservation: Whereas in time of peace, and process of time, their ardour would certainly cool, many of their Chiefs would die, or be divided; their Discipline would slacken, and they would lose their Engagements and Intelligences. Insomuch that the Pope commended the King's prudence, and approv'd his having granted to the *Reform'd* the keeping of all their Places for four years longer. Thus *Roni's* Deputation to *Chatelleraud* prov'd very useful to the King; and at the same time his Negotiation was so agreeable at *Rome*, that *Du Perron*, who was there at that time, writ to him to congratulate his Success in the said Commission, and to let him know how much the Pope was pleas'd with it.

The Pope is very well satisfied with it.

Roni's Ambition was very singular; although he profess'd the *Reform'd* Religion, he made it his study to acquire the Pope's favour. He valu'd himself upon having more Friends at *Rome*, and upon his receiving more Applauses there, than among those of his own Religion: Neither did it burthen his Conscience to find that the Court of *Rome* was better satisfied than his Brethren with his way of managing their Liberties and Safeties. In the mean time the Deputies of the Assembly repair'd to the Court, where they were very well receiv'd, and where neither fair Words nor Caresses were spar'd. The chief reason of that good Reception, was the secret Assurances they gave, that the *Reform'd* would not take Arms for the Marshal of *Bouillon*; and that they would not hinder the King from taking his Places, and of disposing of them as of Cities taken in a just War. Besides these Civilities redounded to the advantage of *Roni*, whose Negotiations had been so prosperous: And the King had no better way to express how well he was pleas'd with the complaisance of that Assembly towards that Favourite, than by those marks of his Good Will.

The Deputies of the Assembly are caress'd at Court.

1605. The Clergy assembled that Year, as well as the *Reform'd*, and did not break up until the following Year. The Place of the Assembly was *Paris*, where *Villars*, Arch-Bishop of *Vienna*, who made a Speech to the King, fill'd his Discourse with Allusions relating to the *Reform'd*: But above all, he made very mournful Complaints about the Condition to which the *Catholick Religion* was reduc'd; and, he endeavour'd to persuade that it labour'd under great oppressions. 'Tis the common Stile of their Harangues: They are all upon the same Tone; and it has been observ'd, that the Clergy in the greatest Lustre in which it has appear'd these 500 Years, has still made as bitter Complaints, as if the *Roman Church* had been reduc'd to the utmost desolation. However, the Archbishop's Complaints reduc'd themselves, in requiring the Publication of the Council of *Trent*, the Re-establishment of the Elections, and the abolishment of Laick Pensions. Moreover he accus'd the *Reform'd* of several Infractions of the Edict of *Nants*, and of several Scandals committed against the *Catholick Religion*. Among the rest, he accus'd them of having profan'd some Churches, and of having trampled upon the Sacrament which the *Catholicks* adore at *Milbau*. The King's Answer receiv'd different Constructions; some thought it favourable, and others disobliging: But as to the Excesses that were laid to the Charge of the *Reform'd*, he spoke like a Prince who was not perswaded that there was any truth in it. He desir'd that it might be prov'd, and then promis'd to do them justice. The Clergy had occasion to renew their Complaints under the next Reign, and finally they took vengeance on the whole Party for a pretended Outrage, the Resentment whereof, at most, should not have extended beyond those who should have been guilty thereof.

1606. At that time it was sincerely acknowledg'd, that the Edict allow'd Liberty of Conscience to all the *French*, whether Ecclesiasticks, or Laicks. Therefore Monks and Priests were often seen to embrace the *Reform'd Religion*. Those Conversions were cruel Mortifications to the Clergy, who look'd upon the Custom of some of the Churches in the *Meridional Provinces*, as Affronts to them, they preserving the Habits of those Profelites in their Vestries as Trophies erected with the Spoils of the *Roman Religion*, in honour of the *Reform'd*. The Clergy not daring to desire the

Artifice to
hinder the
Ecclesiasticks
from
changing
their Religion.

the King to hinder those Conversions, by reason that the Law by which they were authoriz'd, was as yet too new to be so soon violated in a Point of that importance, bethought it self of an Expedient which might have the same effect as a formal Defence. They made use of an Article in their Petitions, by which supposing that the Ecclesiasticks could never side with the *Reform'd*, unless to avoid the Canonical Punishment of their Crimes, and disorderly Course, they desir'd leave to try them, before they could make profession of the *Reform'd* Religion. This was an infallible way to hinder the Ecclesiasticks from changing, since it was an easy matter to frame an Accusation true or false against a suspected Person; after which they might have forc'd him by Menaces and ill usage to alter his Mind, or tire him with long Imprisonments; or in case they had been oblig'd to release him, load him with ignominious Condemnations, which would have destroy'd all the Fruit the *Reform'd* hop'd to reap by such Conversions. This Article was granted to the Clergy, who made use of it on some occasions, when they could lay hold on such as they thought wavering in the Catholick Doctrine. But they never deriv'd all the Advantages they expected by it, by reason that those who were willing to quit the *Roman* Religion, for the most part found Means to escape the fury of those unmerciful Judges.

The Clergy obtain'd, notwithstanding, several favourable Regulations, of which they compos'd an *Edict* which was long a drawing, and yet longer before they could get the Verification thereof. That which related to Religion, was, That the *Reform'd* should not be allow'd Burying Places, either in Churches, or Monasteries, nor in the Church-yards belonging to the *Catholicks*, not even under pretence of Foundation, or Patronage: That no Temples should be built so near Churches, that the Ecclesiasticks in performing Divine Service might receive the least disturbance or scandal thereby: That the Regents, or Teachers, Tutors, or School-Masters of Villages, should be approv'd of by the Curates, without prejudicing the *Edict of Nantes*.

Roni found his Services rewarded that Year with the Dignity of Duke and Peer; and it was only to hinder the Pope from murdering

*Edict in
favour of
the Clergy.*

*Roni Duke
and Peer of
France.*

1606. muring thereat, that he made so many steps to perswade the Court of *Rome* that he was not overmuch conceited with the *Reform'd* Religion. The Marshal of *Bouillon* also made his Peace, when the King advanc'd to lay a Siege before *Sedan*. *Sully*, that was the Name *Roni* took after his new Dignity, had been a great promoter of that Siege, and had made vast Preparations for the taking of that Place. But the Marshal's submission broke all the Measures of that envious Person. He deliver'd up the Castle of *Sedan* to the King, who was to restore it to him at the end of four years ; but the King only took it out of Ceremony, and return'd it to the Marshal almost as soon as he had delivered it into his hands. This Reconciliation was made without the Duke of *Sully's* participation, which prov'd a great Mortification to him. Whether the King design'dly conceal'd it from him, lest he should oppose it ; or whether *Velleroy*, who was the manager thereof, would have the Marshal solely oblig'd to him for it ; at least *Sully* complain'd, that *Villeroy* had sent him the King's Letter by an indirect way, whereby he was desir'd to share in that Treaty ; insomuch that he was ignorant of the Project, till after it was concluded. However it is most certain, that the Marshal was a necessary Person for the King's Design, by reason of his credit among Foreign *Protestants*, who plac'd an intire confidence in him, and whose Friendship the King was resolv'd to preserve at any rate. Therefore the Marshal was observ'd the very next day after his Reconciliation, to be as far in the King's favour and Familiarity as ever he had been.

Treaty with
the Roche-
lois.

During these Transactions, the Court continued to cause the Edict to be put in execution where it was necessary. The Commissioners had re-establish'd the Mass at *Rochel*, but that Worship had been so long interrupted there, that the People being no longer accusom'd to it, the renewing thereof was very much thwarted. The Clergy appli'd it self to the King, to obtain greater Liberties. But the Court was at a great loss to Answer their Petition, not daring to do it favourably, for fear of occasioning some Commotion at *Rochel* ; nor harshly, lest the Ecclesiasticks should thereby lose the hopes of returning thither. The thing was referr'd to an Arbitration, and *Sully* was chosen Mediator. The *Roche-lois* had some confidence in him, perhaps because some among them

them receiv'd Pensions. Some Effects of that Confidence had appear'd in the Affair of the *Pancarte*. The demands of the Clergy were reduc'd to Six Articles. *Sully* made them desist from the two first, which related to their Houses and Revenues. He obtain'd a grant for them upon the Third, for leave to visit the Sick in the Hospitals, and Criminals, and others in the Prisons, and to administer Confession, and the Communion to them, on condition that it should be perform'd secretly, and without Pomp; and he prevail'd with the Ecclesiasticks not to accompany the Criminals to the Place of Execution. Upon the Fourth, he perswaded the *Reform'd* to allow that the Ecclesiasticks should assist at Burials, provided it were not in the Form of a Procession, carrying the Cross on high; but that they should have leave to wear their Canonical Habits in the Streets, and that the People should be hindred from insulting, or abusing them. Upon the Fifth he advis'd the Catholics not to pretend to Places, unless call'd to them by the usual way of Suffrages; but at the same time, that no difficulty should be made to admit them to Arts and Trades, and that the Catholick Journey-men should not be turn'd out of the City, lest the Catholics should do the same in those Places where they were the strongest. Upon the Sixth, By which the Catholics desir'd a Place of Worship, pretending that the Commissioners had assign'd them one, he gave his Opinion for leave to build a Church there, provided the Place were neither suspicious nor troublefom; that in that case it would be fit to prevail with them to accept another; that upon their refusal, it would be proper to offer a Petition to the King to obtain a Regulation, and to abstain from ways of Fact. These Advices, which had been agreed upon by the King and the Catholics, and which serv'd partly as a Law, until the renewing of the Troubles, shew that the grand Maxim that was observ'd in the Execution of the Edict, was to leave things in the same Condition into which the Edict had found them; and to preserve to the *Reform'd* Religion the Priviledge of Superiority in those Places where they enjoy'd it at the time of the Edict; as the *Roman* Religion enjoy'd it in those Places out of which they had not been dispossest.

1606. *Priests who refuse to pray for the King.* One would have thought that the King's Reconciliation with the Pope, and all that he had done since to perswade that he was a sincere Catholick, should have remov'd all the Scruples of the Bigots, and brought back every body to their Duty. However there still were some Clergy-men so much disaffected to him, that they did not pray for his Person in the publick Service. Moreover, there were several Churches under the Jurisdiction of the Parliament of *Thoulouse*, where they made use of Mass-Books, in which that Prayer was omitted; and the said Books were so much in Vogue, that three Impressions of it had been sold during the Wars; one of *Lyons*, another of *Paris*, and the third of *Bourdeaux*. The Parliament of *Thoulouse* was oblig'd to remedy it that year, by a Decree which they gave on the Month of *June*, whereby the use of the said Mass Book was prohibited, and the Priests were commanded to mention the King in the Prayers of the Mass.

Powder-Plot.

But an Affair of far greater consequence occasion'd a great deal more noise. The Jesuits had of late imbroid'd all *Europe* by their Intrigues, and had promoted Bloody Tragedies in *Sweden*, *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Prussia*, and *Hungary*. But that which they had design'd for *England*, was far more worthy of them, had the Success answer'd their hopes. They had design'd to blow up the King and Parliament with Powder, which they had laid to that purpose under the House where they Assemble, which was to have been fir'd at the King's coming in. The said Conspiracy was discover'd upon the very point of Execution, and some Jesuits who had a hand in it, were punish'd, High-Treason being fully prov'd against them, which did not hinder their Order from placing them among the Martyrs. The King's Complaisance for the Court of *Rome*, could not hinder them from forming that horrid Conspiracy against him. Altho he us'd his best endeavours to perswade the Court of *Rome*, that he inclin'd to their Sentiments; and that he express'd as much by his Publick and Private Discourses; and that there was a kind of a Secret Negotiation between the Pope and him about Religion, which *Henry* the 4th was Mediator of, the Court of *Rome* did not confide in him; whether they had no good Opinion of his steadiness, or whether they thought his Complaisance was only

only an effect of Policy, to oblige the Catholicks of his Kingdoms to remain quiet, in hopes of a better Condition. But he quite ruin'd his Reputation there by the Oath he exacted from the Catholicks, by which he made them acknowledg, that they had no dependency on any Foreign Power; that he was Sovereign in his Kingdoms, even in Ecclesiastical Causes. This Oath was the Discourse of *Europe* for several years, and serv'd to create Divisions among the Catholicks of *England*, of which some maintain'd it lawful, and others contrary to their Consciences. The Pope joyn'd with the last, which was the Party of the Jesuits. But there were some *English* Priests, who neither believ'd the Pope nor Jesuits in that point, and who exhorted the Catholicks to take that Oath without scruple. The King himself writ in defence of his Oath, and his Book had the success I have express'd elsewhere.

Oath exacted from the Catholicks in England.

In *France* the Jesuits advanc'd their Affairs with a wonderful facility: And tho several Cities refus'd to consent to their Establishment, they notwithstanding daily obtain'd new Favours. However, they could not prevail to hinder the King that Year from granting the *Reform'd* a Boon. By the Treaty of the Reduction of *Paris*, the Exercise of their Religion was not to be allow'd them nearer than at the distance of five Leagues. It had been allow'd at *Ablon*, a place a little nearer than that Article mention'd. But yet the distance was too great to permit them to go and come in a Day, especially in the *Winter* time. It was very inconvenient for such as had Children to be Christned, the *Reform'd* at that time not allowing Baptism to be Administred out of their Assemblies. They alledg'd that several Children dy'd by the way, which might have been Christned had the place of their Exercise been nearer: which reason was capable to move the Catholicks upon the account of their Opinion concerning the necessity of Baptism. Moreover, Foreigners, and the Lords of the Court complain'd, that it was impossible for them to pay their Duty to God, and to the King, in one and the same Day, by reason of the great distance to which they were oblig'd to go to make their Devotions; which at that time seem'd more inconvenient than ever: The Dutcheſs of *Bar*'s Death having depriv'd them of the Advantage of Religious Worship at Court,

1606. which they had enjoy'd whilst she was a live. Therefore the *Reform'd* desir'd to have a place nearer, to remedy those inconveniences: And the King being desirous to favour them, of two places which they had pitch'd upon, granted them one, which was the Village of *Charenton*, near the Abby of *St. Maur*, within two short Leagues of *Paris*. They obtain'd his Letters-Patent for it, bearing date the 1st of *August*, by virtue of which they were put in Possession thereof within a few days. The King by the same Letters reserv'd to himself the Cognizance of all the Oppositions and Appellations that might be form'd upon that Subject, and forbid the Parliament and all other Judges to meddle with it.

The Re-
form'd of
Paris ob-
tain the
Exercise of
their Reli-
gion to be
perform'd
at Cha-
renton.

The Lord of
the Mannor
opposes it in
vain.

That Affair did not pass without difficulty; tho it met with none from those who were most able to oppose it; viz. the *Parisians*, who might pretend that the said Grant violated the Edict of their Reduction. It was the Lord of *Charenton* who oppos'd it, grounding the said Opposition upon that Article of the Edict which forbids the settling of the Religious Worship of the *Reform'd* in Mannors belonging to Catholicks, against the Will of the Lords thereof; but those Oppositions were shifted off by transferring them to the Council. Nevertheless, the Successors of the said Lord, have renew'd them from time to time, as if they had been concern'd at the improvement of their Mannor; the Village, which of it self was one of the poorest in the Kingdom, being grown one of the most considerable and richest, by the incredible Trade it occasion'd there every *Sunday*. But notwithstanding all those Oppositions, the Exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion has been continu'd there until the Revocation of the Edict.

A Sedition
in Paris.

The Rabble was not so easily suppress'd as that Lord's endeavours. Soon after that new Establishment, they excited a violent Sedition at *St. Anthony's Gate*, which is the nearest to *Charenton*, against the *Reform'd*, at their coming back from their Temple. Tho the Magistrates immediately repair'd thither, it was not in their power to remedy it: And the consequences might have prov'd of very ill consequence, had not the King come back on purpose from *Fountainbleau* to *Paris* to give his Orders there. His Presence restor'd Peace and Union into the City, and confirm'd the *Reform'd* in the possession of the favour he had granted them.

About

About the same time the King receiv'd the Petitions which the 1606.
Deputies General presented to him very favourably, which were very large, and very material. The most considerable Articles were, That the Modifications of the Edict, made by divers Courts and Jurisdictions, might be cut out: That it might be recorded with the particular Articles in such places where it had not been done yet: That the Commissioners already nominated, might be oblig'd to execute the Edict in *Burgundy*, in *Dauphine*, and in other places where it had not been done yet: That the Charges of their Journey might be allow'd them, to remove all pretence of delay: That the Ecclesiastical Lordships of the first Places of Bailiwicks might not be exempted: That the Restriction of the second might be remov'd, which had been added after the first Expedition of the Edict; and that the Lands belonging to the Orders of Knighthood, might not be comprehended under the Denomination of Ecclesiastical Lordships: That the Poor might be receiv'd into Hospitals, and share in the Publick Alms proportionably to the number of the Inhabitants, and that they should not be molested upon the account of Religion; or otherwise, That the *Reform'd* Inhabitants of the places where the general Gatherings should be made, might not be oblig'd to contribute towards them: That in such Places where they had allow'd no Church-yards to the *Reform'd*, they might be allow'd to bury their Dead in the Old Church-yards, and that the Ecclesiasticks should not be allow'd to disturb them in the same, or to take up the Corps, which the Official of *Anger*, the Bishop of *Alby*, and the Cardinal of *Sourdis*, were accus'd to have done to some that had been buri'd above Six, some even Eighteen Years: That a stop might be put to the Seditions that were excited in divers places against the *Reform'd*, either at their coming back from Divine Service, or when they held their Conferences or Synods: That Officers might not be allow'd to sit in their Assemblies in that Quality as they had pretended to do it in divers Provinces: That the Ministers might be allow'd to Visit the Sick, and such as were Condemn'd to Dye, and that the Priest and other Catholicks should not be allow'd to divert them from their Belief: That they might be exempted from contributing towards the Fraternities, Casting of Bells, Reparation of Churches, and the like, conformably to the
the

1606. the Second of the particular Articles, which the constraints impos'd by the Judges, and the Precipitation of the Syndies render'd of no use; even forcing the *Reform'd* to contribute towards certain Collections made for the Capucins, Jesuits, and other Ecclesiasticks; whereupon they beseech'd his Majesty, That whenever he should allow such Gatherings, an express Clause might be inserted in the Grant, declaring the *Reform'd* exempt of such Taxes, the which might impower the Chambers of the Edict to take Cognizance of the Infractions thereof: That the *Reform'd* might be allow'd the peaceable Possession of the Employments they had; upon which several Examples were alledg'd of the Oppositions they had met with: That they might be receiv'd into the Offices of Receivers of the Tythes: That the Six *Reform'd* Counsellors, or at least Three of them, might serve commonly at *Paris* in the Chamber of the Edict, to the end that there might be People enough to have an eye upon the observation of the Edicts, and that in case of Absence or Recusation, some body might constantly remain there to take care of it: That it might not be in the Power of Parliaments to judge the Affairs of the *Reform'd*, unless they pleaded voluntary before them; and that the Counsellors of the *Reform'd* Religion, who should be accus'd of Misdemeanours in their Offices, might only be summon'd before the Chambers they were Members of: That no removal might be allow'd from one Court to another without a just Cause: That in such a Case the Neighbouring Chamber might judge according to the Formalities, Use, and Customs of the Places where the Suits were depending, without obliging the Parties to appear Personally, unless at the Charge of those that summon'd them there: That the Registers of the Parliaments of *Burgundy*, *Provence*, and others, might be oblig'd to send to the Register's Office of the Courts, where the Affairs of the *Reform'd* of their Jurisdiction were referr'd, the Original of the Criminal Informations that lay before them, by reason that in several cases the Extracts were not sufficient: That the *Reform'd* might not be oblig'd to appear in person to demand a removal, nor to surrender themselves Prisoners, unless to the Courts where the Removal should be desir'd. There were several others, some refus'd, or not answer'd, and others of less consequence.

The

The King's Answer to all these Articles was as favourable and as just as could be expected from an Equitable Prince, who desir'd the welfare of his Subjects. His Majesty order'd all the Modifications of the Edict to be cut out: That it should be Registred in such Places where it had not been done yet: That the Bailiffs, and Seneschals, or their Deputies, should execute the Edict at the first requiring, and take a Catholick or Reform'd Assistant, according to the Religion they should be of themselves: That the *Reform'd* should continue the Exercise of their Religion in such places as were allow'd them by the Edict of 1577. belonging to the Ecclesiasticks; but that the Lands belonging to the Order of *Maltha* should have the same Priviledge, for the performing of the Exercises granted by the new Edict, as the other Lands belonging to the Clergy: That the Poor should participate without distinction to the benefit of Hospitals and Alms: That Places should be provided for the Burying of the *Reform'd*, and that no Prosecutions should be made against them for the Burials they had hitherto made in Catholick Church-yards: That his Majesties Officers should prevent Popular Commotions and Injuries by Words or Fact: That they should not be allow'd to disturb the *Reform'd* in their Conferences and Synods, or to sit among them in the same; and that the *Reform'd* should admit none but Ministers and Elders there, and should treat about nothing but the Affairs relating to their Discipline in the same; but that it should be free for them to hold other Assemblies by the King's leave, to Nominate Deputies-General to reside near him: That the fourth of the particular Articles, touching Liberty to assist the Sick and Condemn'd, should be observ'd: That the second should also be observ'd, which exempts from contributing towards Fraternities: That the Clause of Exemption should be put in favour of the *Reform'd* in the Letters the King should grant, to make Collections applicable to the use of the *Roman* Church; and that the Infractions should only be Try'd in the Chambers of the Edict, or Party Courts: That according to the 27th Article of the Edict, a stop should be put to all the Obstacles that were rais'd against the *Reform'd*, who were provided with Impleys: That no alteration should be made to the Order establish'd for the Chamber of the Edict of *Paris*, but that in case of illness, recusa-

tion.

1606.
Favourable
Answers to
the Petitions.
om.

1606. tion, or absence of the Person who was to serve in the Chamber, the Elder of the other five should serve in his room, while those Causes should be depending: That the Decrees of Parliament should only be put in execution against such as should plead voluntarily before them; and that such *Reform'd* Officers as should be accus'd of Misdemeanors, should be summon'd for the same only in the Chambers of the Edict: That no transferring of Causes should be allow'd to the prejudice of the Edict: That the Registers who had Informations against the *Reform'd*, should send the Originals to the Chambers, unless some Catholicks were guilty of the same Crime, or concern'd in the Dependencies thereof, and already Appeach'd by Catholick Judges, who should have order'd the entring of the Informations in their own Offices; in which case the Extract or Copies of the same should only be sent to the Register's Offices of the said Chambers: Finally, that the *Reform'd* should be receiv'd to desire the Parliaments to grant them a removal by Attorney, without being oblig'd to appear there in Person.

1607. At the very beginning of the following year, the Jesuits undertook a thing, which in any but themselves would have been judg'd worthy of a severe punishment; whereby it is apparent, that as they fear'd nothing, they had found the way to make themselves fear'd. *Seguiran*, one of the boldest of that Order, being favour'd by *Varenne* their Protector, obtain'd Letters from two Secretaries of State, without the King's knowledge, tho' in his Name, to those of *Rochel*, commanding them to allow him to Preach in their City. The Jesuit presented himself at the Gates, and boldly told his Name, his Profession, his Design, and his pretended Power from the King. The *Rochellois* refus'd to let him enter into their City, answering, That they were very well satisfy'd that *Jesus* had no Companion, nor he any Letters from the King. The Jesuit made a great deal of noise about their refusal; and the King, out of Policy, not to discredit the Letters subsign'd by the Secretaries of State, or not to offend so daring a Society, seem'd to be very angry at it. He gave *Seguiran* other Letters, and oblig'd *Rochel* to receive him for form sake; after which he order'd him to retire quietly. The King at the very time he seem'd to be angry, whisper'd to his Confidants, that the

Rochellois

The Jesuit
Seguiran's
Enterprise
to Preach
at Rochel.

Monifications
of the
Jesuits.

Rochelois were not in the wrong. There were also Catholics, 1607. who did not use the Jesuits better than the *Rochelois* had done. *Poitiers* refus'd to allow them to establish a Colledge there; and the Bishop was the most Zealous Opposer thereof. The Jesuit *Cotton* endeavour'd to lay the blame of it upon the Duke of *Sully*, and to make the King believe, that he was the Person who had hinder'd them from entering into that Important City, accusing him to have written against them to the Bishop. That Prelate, who was not their Friend, clear'd him from that Aspersiō; and in order the better to convince the Jesuit of Calumny, he sent the King the Letters which *Sully* had written to him upon that subject. Those who have written *Cotton* the Jesuits Life, or rather the Romance which they have intitl'd his Life, have mention'd *Sully's* Accusation by that Jesuit, but did not think fit to mention his Justification by the Bishop. Nothing can evidence the esteem which the Catholics themselves, who were true *Frenchmen*, had of the probity of that Sect, better than what pass'd between some Jesuits, and a Canon of *Nostredame*, or our Lady of *Paris*. The Jesuits to honour their Church of *La Fleche*, daily sollicit'd the King to grant them his Heart, to put it there after his Death. The Chapter of *Nostredame* pretended that it was an Ancient Privilege belonging to that Church, to have the keeping of the Kings Hearts: Insomuch, that the Pretension of the Jesuits met with great oppositions in those Canons, who were unwilling to yield them so considerable an advantage. During those Contestations, a Canon being nettled at the Jesuits Impudence, ask'd them Cruelly, alluding to the Name of that City, For which they desir'd that Honour: which of the two they desir'd most earnestly to put the King's Heart in * *La Fleche*, or to put *La Fleche* into the King's Heart. They often receiv'd such Mortifications; but the success of their designs serv'd to comfort them for all; and they despis'd the World, because they had the Chief of the Council at their Devotion, and that the King fear'd them.

* Which signifies a Dart or Arrow.

In the Month of *February* the King answer'd the particular Petition of the Province of *Normandy*. The *Reform'd* complain'd in the same of several things in which they were disturb'd, without regard to the Regulations that had already been made on

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their

1607. their behalf. They remonstrated particularly, that by the absence, recusation, or illness of the *Reform'd* Councillors who serv'd in the Court of the Edict, it often happen'd that Suits were try'd, and none of the *Reformed* present; whereupon they desir'd that one of the two others might take the room of him that was absent. They complain'd of the Summons the Council granted to people who oblig'd them to go to plead in suspected Parliaments: That the Lords in whose Mannors Places were allow'd them for the exercise of their Religion, disturb'd them in the Possession of the said Places, to oblige the Communities to allow them a Vicar, Substitute, or Deputy, (which they desir'd to be free from by a Fine once paid :) That at *Roan* on Solemn Festivals they only open'd the Wicket of the Gates for them, which hinder'd them from assisting at Divine Service. That very inconvenient places were allow'd them for Burial; the Judges only allowing them in Highways and Dunghils, or in Commons distant from all Habitations, even which they refus'd to do, unless paid for their pains. The King granted them upon all these Points favourable answers; he order'd that in the absence of the Councillor in waiting, in the Court of the Edict, the Eldest of the two others should officiate in his stead; that no farther Summons should be granted contrary to the Edict, and that those that had occasion'd the complaint should be brought before the Council, thereto be revok'd unless conformable to the Regulations: That the Lords should content themselves with an Indemnity once paid, to be referr'd to expert Persons by the consent of both Parties, or Persons nominated for such an Office: That the Gates of *Roan* should be kept open on solemn Days for the convenience of the *Reform'd*, at least those two that lead towards that place which was allow'd them for Divine Service; and that the Judges should allow convenient places for Burial, in places belonging to the King, or Commonalties, or otherwise; that a place should be bought at the common Cost of the *Reform'd* and Catholicks, which the Judges should be oblig'd to do without Fees; and that within the Fortnight mention'd in the 28th and 29th Articles of the Edict of *Nantes*.

Synod at
Rochel.

Nothing of moment pass'd elsewhere, besides the National Synod that was held at *Rochel*. The *Reform'd* had solicited to obtain

tain it the year before ; but the King who was afraid of scandalizing the Legat, who was coming into *France* to Baptize the *Dauphin*, in case he should allow the *Reform'd* to hold a Synod in that Conjunction, they preparing again to speak about Antichrist, refus'd to grant it at that time, and they were forc'd to have patience, and to put off their Synod to the following year. Several things were done, or propos'd in it, which displeas'd the Court ; and the King omitted no means that Affairs might be determin'd in it to his liking. As soon as the Synod was assembled, they deputed three of their Members to the King according to their wonted Custom. They were order'd chiefly to obtain three things of him. The one was to proceed to the Nomination of Two Deputies General in the room of those that had serv'd ever since the Assembly of *Chatelleraud*. 2dly. That the time of their Service might be limited to one year : And the third, That the *Reform'd* should only Nominate Two Persons to the King, which he should do them the favour to accept. But the King was positive to the contrary : That the said Nomination should not be mention'd, the two last not having been long enough employ'd : That the Deputies should serve three years, in order not to allow Political Assemblies yearly, under pretence of Nominating others : That the *Reform'd* should name Six Persons, to the end that he might be the better enabled to chuse such as were agreeable to him. *Sully* kept the Deputies at *Paris* as long as was necessary to work upon them ; after which having dispos'd them to what the Court desir'd, he dismiss'd them for the Synod, and gavethem Letters as written from himself, tho' it was really done by the King's Orders. In one of the said Letters he endeavour'd to incline the Assembly not to insist upon the Affair of the Deputies General, by reason that they should not have time enough to think upon it, and that the number of the Members of the Synod was inconsiderable, illness having hinder'd some of the Deputies from repairing thither. By another Letter apart, tho' bearing the same date, he gave his Opinion about the Question concerning Antichrist, which was to be renew'd in the Synod. There were some Provinces the Deputies of which had acquainted the King, that they carry'd *Memoirs* thither upon that subject. *Sully* advis'd them not to disturb the Peace they had so much desir'd,

Deputies
General.The Questi-
on about
Antichrist
renew'd.

1607. by unseasonable proceedings ; assuring them that the then Pope would use none but mild ways to gain Consciences. In which this Lord, who was no more a Pretender to Divinity than Religion, reason'd, as if in deciding whether the Pope was Antichrist, the Synod should have consider'd the then Pope's Personal Qualifications, more than the Tyrannical Power the *Roman See* usurps.

But the *Reform'd* were not ignorant that the Spirit of Popery is always the same ; That the *Roman Church* always thinks it self bound to persecute : That there was a general Conspiracy in *Europe* against the Protestants : That it was no longer conceal'd : That it appear'd in divers places by a thousand Injustices : That even the *French Nation* was excited against them : That the *Spaniards* had Agents who endeavour'd to gain Priests, by their means to inspire Animosities and Hatred in the Catholics against the *Reform'd*, which the Jesuits especially did almost barefac'd. Therefore they did not think they wrong'd the Pope, whatever his particular Maxims were, to give him a Name which suited to the Character of his Dignity, and which is much more inherent to the See it self, than to the Qualifications of the Person who fills it. Therefore the Synod did not desist from their Enterprize. They receiv'd their Deputies very well at their return from Court ; but they were not mov'd by the Reasons they urg'd to perswade them, perhaps because the Gratifications, which were *Sully's* best Arguments, were not communicated to the whole Synod. There were also some Persons at Court full of Political Considerations, which they employ'd to make the *Reform'd* fearful of offending the King ; and their foresight ever extended it self to inconveniences the others did not see. Therefore the Synod call'd them Ironically, the *Clear-sighted* of the Church ; *Sulli* had the best Authority of any of them ; yet neither his Letters, nor those of some others, could prevail any more than the Reasons of the Deputies. To be even with them, the Court call'd some of the Members of the Synod the *Fo's* of the Synod, because they found them thick-skull'd, and that they thought too much on their safety. Those pretended Fools prov'd the strongest ; and tho *Montmartin* us'd his utmost endeavours to strengthen the Court Party in the Assembly, his Cabal was not powerful enough to get the upper hand there.

Deputies
gain'd at
Court.

Clear-sighted
of the
Church ;
and Fools of
the Synod.

No.

Nevertheless he obtain'd part of what he desir'd, concerning the Question about Antichrist. He had such positive Orders from the King upon that subject, and he did so well represent to them, that they would offend him in persisting in their Resolution of Printing the Article of *Gap* in all the Confessions, that the Synod durst proceed no further in it; and so under pretence of adjourning that Affair, they laid it quite aside. They contented themselves with promising the protection of the Churches to such as should be troubled for having preach'd, confess'd, or said, or written any thing about that Matter: That is, in a word, the Doctrine was stop'd, and the Question held as decided. But Interests of State hindered it from being incerted as an Article of Faith among the rest. This is partly what the Synod writ about it to the Duke of *Rohan*, from whom they had receiv'd Letters upon that Subject, desiring them to pleasure the King, and not to carry that matter too far. An Impression of the Confession of Faith in which that Article was incerted, having been sold off already, the Synod made Applications to the King, to beg that nobody might be prosecuted, either for having shar'd in the Impressions, or for keeping any Copies of that precipitated Edition. The King freely granted it, his Design being only to hinder it from ever being talk'd of. In the mean time the Synod being desirous to show more clearly that they did not disown the decided Doctrine, though they had so much complaisance for the King, as not to make it an express Article of their Faith; desir'd *Vignier* to write at large about that matter; which he did in a manner that made a great noise in its time.

1607.
The Question is desir'd.

Vignier order'd to write at large about it.

The Affair of the Deputy's General did not end thus. *La Neue* and *du Cros*, who had received that Quality in the Assembly at *Châtelleraud*, brought a Brief to the King, dated in *December*, which authoris'd the Synod to nominate six persons, out of which the King was to chuse two; but at the same time, that Business only excepted, forbade them to meddle with any thing but their Discipline. The Council had thought that they should get something in acquiescing so far, tho by that permission granted to the Synod, they seem'd to consent that the Deputies General should officiate but one Year, since *La Neue* and *du Cros* had not exercis'd their Deputation much longer. But they were in hopes

that

1607. that by granting this, they would deliver themselves for three years of the fear of these General Assemblies, because the King might refuse to allow one, under pretence that the Synod had provided for that time for the only thing that could render it necessary. The Synod had not the power to make that Nomination, because it exceeded the bounds of their Discipline ; for which Reason the King had given them that Brief to authorise them. The Synod having examined it, did not find it sufficient, because it neither empower'd them to give a discharge to the Deputies, that were to lay down upon a new Nomination, or to give Instructions to those that were to succeed them, without which the Nomination was of no manner of use. They writ most humble Remonstrances to the Court about it. The King received them very graciously ; and the bearers of them returned with very obliging Letters from him, and almost an entire satisfaction upon the Subject of their Message ; tho *Sully* by private Letters advis'd them not to make use of them. It is very probable that the Deputies had reveal'd the Secret of the Synod, which was not well dispos'd to satisfy the Court about the nomination of Six Persons. Therefore the new Brief renewing that Article, they would have been better pleas'd to have the Synod put off the Affair of the Deputies to another time, than to see it determin'd in a way that should not please them. Therefore the King allow'd them to work about it, for fear of vexing them by a refusal ; but at the same time his Favourite writ to them, to dissuade them from it if he could. The Synod neither believ'd him, nor those who were of his Opinion, nor yet the Deputies *Sully* had corrupted. They discharg'd *La Noue* and *du Cros* with a world of thanks and praises ; after which they nominated only two persons, although the Brief oblig'd them expressly to nominate six. The Reason or Pretence of it was, That the Powers the Deputies had brought from their Provinces, did not allow them to exceed that number. But that to show that they did not design to offend his Majesty in refusing to answer his Intentions in that Point, they begg'd of him to allow a General Assembly to consider whether the nomination of six should be made for the future, according to the King's Desire, and to be pleas'd in the mean time to accept the two Deputies which were nominated to him by the Synod ; they were *Villarnoul*,

The Synod
only names
two Deputies
General

larnoul, and *Mirande*, Persons of great credit amongst the *Reform'd*, 1607. and very zealous for the Publick Good.

Tho the Synod had positive orders to treat about nothing but what related to their Discipline, it did not hinder them from examining several things relating to the advantage of their Churches, which pass'd under the notion of the Instructions they were to give their Deputies, and the Articles of their Petitions. The deliverance of several Prisoners that were detained at *Paris* and elsewhere upon the account of Religion: The pursuit of the establishment of the Churches where the free liberty of the exercise of their Religion was either hindered or contested. The naturalization of the *Reform'd* Refugees of the Marquisate of *Saluces*: The care of restraining the insolence of the Monks, who often made seditious Enterprizes; as it happened at *Alencon*, where a Capuchine had affix'd injurious Libels; and at *La Roche foucault*, where the White-Fryars had often insulted the *Reform'd*: The Affair of one *Mascla*, who had a great Suit depending about his Mothers Burial, which had cost him 7 or 8000 Livers: Foreign Ministers who desired Letters of Naturalization: The removing of Causes granted to the prejudice of the Jurisdiction of the Courts, notwithstanding the Regulations that had been often promis'd upon that Subject, were the main things the New Deputies took upon them. Above all, the exemption of the Ministers was recommended to them, for which Letters Patents had already been obtained, which the Court of *Aids* had already verifi'd.

The Synod allow'd the Deputies of the City of *Rochel* to assist at their deliberation about the Affair of the Deputies, and their Instructions, by reason that it was a Political concern, and that *Rochel* held the Rank of a Province in the Assemblies in which they treated of Affairs of that nature. That Synod enjoy'd the same Liberty others had had in relation to Strangers. They receiv'd Letters from Princes, and from Protestant Universities; and some Ministers either actually assisted at the Synod, or were invited to it by the Churches, tho no Natives of *France*. But *Rochel* gave the Court some Discontents, by their calling one *Malwin* a Scotch Minister. He was a Prisoner in *England* upon the account of some Words or Writings he was accus'd of against King *James* and his Council. That Prince, to get rid of him, granted

Affairs treated in the Synod.

Foreign Ministers.

1607. *Malwin* call'd to *Rochel*. red him to the *Rochelois*, declaring positively, that he only gave him his Liberty on condition that he should depart his Territories, and that he should go to exercise his Ministry in *France*. This was a happy kind of Banishment, in which *Malwin* would have found considerable advantage. But one *Primrose*, another Foreign Minister call'd to the Service of the Church of *Bourdeaux*, reveal'd that Secret to the King, in order the better to obtain leave to settle himself in that advantageous Post. He might well be positive in the Matter, since he was the person that had been employ'd to carry the Letters from *Rochel* to the King of *England*, and who had brought that Prince's answer back again. Thus Private Interest began to divide the Party; and even the best among them suffer'd themselves to be drawn into little Infidelities against the General Cause. The King found fault with two things in the proceeding of those of *Rochel* in the Case of *Malwin*. *First*, the manner, because they had call'd him without the King's leave. *Secondly*, The person, by reason that the man who was a Prisoner in *England* for an Offence against the Government, was not proper for *France*, where the disposition of Affairs did not permit to tolerate Persons of that Character; and yet less at *Rochel* than any where else, considering their inclination for Liberty, which they indulg'd more than they ought to have done, according to the Policy of Monarchies. *Sulli* writ to the *Rochelois* to come to justify themselves, in case they were accus'd wrongfully, or to beg pardon if they were guilty. But the Affair stop'd there, without being attended with any ill consequences.

During these Transactions, *Chamier* lost his time at the Court where he had been sent by the Synod, to offer the King the Nomination of *Villarnoul* and *Mirande*, and the Remonstrances of the Assembly upon the dependencies of that Affair. He had been there above six Months, and yet had not been able to obtain the honour to speak to the King. His Person was dislik'd, he being one of those Fools of the Synod the King had an aversion to; one of those hard Sculs that nothing works upon; of those hearts which neither threats or promises could move, tho they are the strongest Machines of Courts. Neither perhaps was he more acceptable to *Cotton* the Jesuit, with whom he had formerly had a conference at *Nimes*; in which both of them, as it is most usual, pre-

pretended to have the better of the other. The truth is, that the Jesuit had dazl'd the Auditors by Eloquent Digressions, which made them lose every moment the Subject of the Dispute; and that *Chamier*, whose Arguments had much more solidity and Scholarship in them, had reduc'd the Jesuit to save himself by that Artifice. Those who have written the Life of that Jesuit, say enough to show us, that the sharpness of *Chamier* would have put that Hero to a stand, had he not warded the Blow by Eloquence and Discourses wide from the purpose, which he had at command. But the Affairs *Chamier* came about, were yet more disagreeable than his Person. The King refus'd to accept the Nomination that had been made by the Synod, because it was not according to the Form prescrib'd in the Brief. The Council disapprov'd two things alike, one of which was of necessity to be allow'd. They were oblig'd either to receive the Deputies the Synod presented, which could not be done handsomly, the King having so positively declar'd that he did not like that Nomination; or to allow a General Assembly, as the only way to accommodate that Affair, which was a thing the Council never did willingly. They would perhaps have been glad to tire *Chamier's* patience by making him wait, and so oblige him to give over his Suit; but it was difficult to send him back without some satisfaction, by reason that the *Reform'd* having no body at that time to mind their Affairs, they daily grew worse. *La Noue* and *du Cros* had no longer any power, being discharg'd by the Synod: *Villarnoul* and *Mirande* could not do it neither, because the King would not accept them. Thus the Complaints made by the *Reform'd* remain'd unanswer'd: The Evils that requir'd speedy remedy, receiv'd none. Therefore all things rightly consider'd, the Council thought it best to allow them to call an Assembly; but that Permission was accompanied with such Limitations, that no considerable Advantages could be expected from it. The Matters they were to treat of, were prescrib'd to them; they had not so much as the choice of the Place free, and *Sully* was given them as a Spy. *Gergeau* was pitch'd upon for the convenience of that Lord, that City being his, and the House he borrow'd his Name from in the Neighbourhood thereof.

*The King
refuses the
Nomination
of the
Deputies.*

1608.

*A General
Assembly is
allow'd at
Gergeau.*

1608. He was receiv'd there, not like a man who interes'd himself Sully *suspected by the Reform'd* for the *Reform'd* Religion; but like one who came to negotiate from the King. Moreover it was greatly suspected that he design'd to change his Religion, which he had given reason to believe by a very extraordinary conduct. The King had offer'd him one of his Natural Daughters for his Son, provided they would both turn Catholicks: and he had oblig'd him to have some conferences with *Cotton* the Jesuit, who since his being at Court, had shar'd the Quality of Convertor with *Cardinal Du Perron*. Those Conferences commonly produc'd the Effect they desir'd, being commonly accepted by such as desir'd only a pretence to change. Nevertheless, whether it were a Blind contriv'd between the King and *Sully*, or whether it were real, *Sully* refus'd to change, but gave his Son leave to do it if he pleas'd. The King pressing him to oblige his Son to do it, he refus'd to command it him; but declar'd that he left it to his own free choice, which the King seem'd not to be very well satisfied with. I would not affirm that this were any thing but a Juggle to re-establish *Sully's* Reputation among the *Reform'd*, who look'd no longer upon him as a Member of their Party. Indeed it was not very likely that *Sully* should refuse in earnest what the King propos'd to him, to obtain an Alliance, which several Princes of *Europe* would not have disdain'd. It was also as easy for him, according to the Notions he had inspir'd into the King, to make a Religion to himself reduc'd to certain General Articles, as to perswade another to do it, or to believe that he might innocently authorize his Son to turn *Roman Catholick*. However it were, that Refusal is mention'd to his praise in his *Memoirs*; in which it is reported, that the King upbraided him with loving the *Huguenots* better than him; by reason that while he refus'd his alliance, he was treating about a Match between his Son and the Countess of *Saux's* Daughter, Grand-Daughter to *Lefdiguieres*. But that Reproach looks very like a Jest. It was very well known at Court, that neither *Lefdiguieres*, nor his Children were of the number of those who were zealous for Religion; *Cotton* the Jesuit knew it better than any body. And that Intrigue only serv'd to perswade, that *Sully* was not over religious: He was us'd in the Assembly of *Gergeau* like a *Catholick*. *Du Plessis* had sent them good *Memoirs* upon that Subject, which were follow'd. *Sully*

Sulli notwithstanding prov'd very useful to the King in the 1608. Assembly, tho he refus'd to take the Title of Envoy or Commissary there. Seven or eight considerable Articles were treated of there, which prov'd difficult, and might have occasion'd the sitting of the Assembly a long while, which was a thing the King fear'd. The Chief related to the Places of Surety. Some of them belong'd to Catholick Lords, or were fallen into their hands by succession, or otherwise. Those Lords put *Catholick* Governors in them. The *Reform'd* had already lost *Caumont* in that manner; and were upon the point of losing *Montandre* and *Tartas* in the like manner: Besides they were afraid of losing many of their Places thus by degrees; especially because *Conversions* were then in fashion, and that several Lords express'd but little Zeal for their Religion. They had lately had the experience of some, who after having long sought a pretence to change, had at last taken that of an accidental Conference, which *Cotton* the Jesuit had fasten'd upon *Gigord*, a Minister of some Reputation. He found him at Court, in presence of some people that were ill dispos'd, and engag'd him into a Dispute, which the Jesuit and his Adherents did not fail to report to the disadvantage of the Minister; and because it was interrupted without being renew'd, the Minister not caring to engage in those tumultuous Disputes, in which those that talk most and loudest seem always to be in the right, which those that were wavering among the *Reform'd* took the advantage of to colour their Change: they pretended that he was sensible of his weakness, and confess'd himself vanquish'd. This was sufficient to give *Castelnau*, and some others, a pretence to do what they had long resolv'd, and to embrace the *Roman* Religion. *Gigord* did not remain mute upon the Subject of that Conference which the Jesuit's Friends publish'd: But those who had a mind to believe that he had not maintain'd his Cause well, little matter'd his Justification. The same Game was so often plaid at Court, that the *Reform'd* had some reason to distrust all the Lords of their Religion, and especially such as had Places, whom they chiefly endeavour'd to corrupt. Therefore *Sulli* seeing that that Affair, and the others, which were of consequence, might occasion long debate, writ to the King, that it would be convenient to put *Reform'd* Governors in Places of that kind, being Friends

Affairs of the Assembly.

Places lost by the Reform'd.

Conference and Changes of Religion.

1608. or Relations to the Lords to whom they belong'd ; which would be a proper Expedient to remove all Jealousies on both sides. As to the other Articles, he advis'd him either to grant part of them, or to give them leave to insert them in the Instructions of their Deputies. The King pitch'd upon the last Expedient, because he was resolv'd not to treat about any thing with the Assembly ; and that having only allow'd it for the nomination of the Deputies General, he would not suffer them to treat of any thing else in it. He order'd them to break up immediately after the said Nomination. However his Answer to *Sulli* was very obliging for the *Reform'd*. He assur'd them of his Protection, and acknowledg'd that they had deserv'd it by their perseverance in his Service.

The Assembly submitted to the King's Will, and nominated Six Persons, of which *Villarnoul* and *Mirande* were Two, and sent the said Nomination to the King with very respectful Letters. The King express'd, that he did not like their writing so well, as if they had sent the Nomination the Assembly had made by Deputies: However he was plac'd to excuse it, and to say, That he would not declare his Choice until the Assembly was dissolv'd. As soon as they had obey'd him, he chose *Villarnoul* and *Mirande*, who had been presented to him by the Synod of *Rochel* ; thereby showing, that his refusal of them the preceding year, did not proceed from Aversion to their Persons only, but because he dislik'd the manner of their Election.

The Solemn
Act that
passes be-
tween the
Pope and
the French
King.

The same year the Clergy also Assembled at *Paris*, and their Deputies renew'd their usual Complaints to the King against the * *Concordat*, and the Laick Pensions. That which was most remarkable in it, was, that *Fremiot*, Archbishop of *Bourges*, who was Speaker, represented the Church to be under a Misery capable to move Compassion ; tho at the same time the Splendor in which he appear'd before the King, did not suit with his Description of the said Desolation. Besides, a numerous Train of Bishops he was attended by, whose Air express'd no Misery, he had Five Cardinals in his Company ; and this pompous Deputation resembled much more an excess of worldly Prosperity, than an afflicted Church, over-whelm'd with great Adversities.

The earnestness the Clergy express'd again that time, for the Publication of the Council of *Trent*, was not well receiv'd. The King answer'd with more Resolution than ever he had done; and upon their alledging the Promises his Attornies had made in his Name about it, he made no difficulty to disown them. He complain'd of their having promised it without his knowledge; and said, That that Publication would be a step for others afterwards to desire the Introduction of the Inquisition: He made them sensible, that if *Francis I. Henry II. and Charles IX.* who had no such Solemn Engagements with the *Reform'd*, as he had, and had not receiv'd such Services from them, had not approv'd that Counsel, he had much less reason to do it, for fear of renewing the Troubles of his Kingdom. This comforted the *Reform'd* in some measure for the grief they receiv'd that year, in seeing the *Dauphin's* Education committed to the Care of *Cotton* the Jesuit; since they could oppose the assurances of the King's good Will, to the fear of his being succeeded one day by a Prince, who being fallen in such ill hands was not likely to prove favourable to them. The King put the Change agreeably upon the Clergy in another Affair. That rich Body had often sollicit-ed him to establish a Fund, out of which Pensions might be taken for the Ministers that should change their Religion; and whereas they had but inconsiderable Sallaries at that time, the Clergy, whose over-ruling Passion is Interest, did not question, but that in bettering the Condition of those that should change, they would invite several to immitate them. But the King being desirous, That the said Fund should be taken out of the Pockets of the Clergy, and not out of his Exchequer, caus'd the Pope to write a Brief to the Clergy, to desire them to raise that Fund themselves. The Brief was presented to the Assembly by the Cardinal of *Joyeuse*. They agreed to make a Fund of 30000 Livres a year, out of which they should take Pensions for Ministers only; and made a Rule excluding all such as had not been Ministers or Professors, from those Recompences; and all those who having embrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion since the 6th of *August*, should return to the Catholick Church. By the said Rule, those who were to enjoy the benefit of those Pensions, were oblig'd to bring in yearly Attestations of their good Behaviour

1608.

*A resolute
Answer of
the Kings,
disowning
the promises
made in his
Name by
his At-
tornies.*

*Cotton
the Jesuit
made Tutor
to the Dau-
phine.*

*Fund for
such Mini-
sters as
should
change
their Reli-
gion.*

1608. Behaviour to the Agents of the Clergy; the manner also of paying them the Sums that were allotted them, was prescrib'd in the same. This Sum was inconsiderable, and yet the Clergy has never made a sufficient number of Conquests to exhaust it: And some years after it, they took out of the said Fund, the best part of which was not us'd, Sallaries for certain Laick Missionaries, who troubled the *Reform'd* in a thousand manners; and recompences for People, whose Trade was to solicit the Common People to change their Religion.

Treaty with
the Moors
who were
persecuted
in Spain.

During those Transactions, the Council of *Spain* persecuted the *Moors*; whether it proceeded from the Councils own movement, or from the advice *Taxis* had given. Those Wretches offer'd to submit to the King of *France*, if the King would take them under his Protection. But that Prince not confiding in those People that are naturally false and inconstant, thought fit first to send a Person among them to see what might be expected from that Overture. He made choice of *Panissaut* for his Envoy, a Gentleman of *Gascony*, and one of the *Reform'd*. He repair'd thither in the Habit of a *Franciscan*, with an Obedience that was given him by the Guardian of some House of that Order. He did negotiate with so much success, that some considerable Advantage might have been expected by it, had he been suffer'd to go on: But the Bigots told the King, That he inspir'd them with the Doctrine of the *Reform'd*, which might be true, and would certainly have been of great use, that Doctrine removing from the *Mahometans* the pretences of the Aversion which the Worship of the *Roman Church* has inspir'd in them against Christianity. Insomuch that *Panissaut* might have made them Christians, and good *Frenchmen*; but the Catholick Zeal thought it more reasonable that they should remain *Mahometans*, than turn *Huguenots*. Therefore *Panissaut* was recall'd, and *Claverie*, a Gentleman of the *Roman Persuasion*, and of the same Country, sent in his room; but whereas he proceeded upon other Principles, which the *Moors* did not relish, his Negotiation met with no success.

It is spoken
by the Bi-
gots.

Lefdi-
guieres
Marshal of
France.

Lefdiguières obtain'd that year the Staff of Marshal of *France*. His Services had sufficiently deserv'd it; but it was not granted so much in regard to his Merit, as to make him forget the Dis-
contents

contents he had receiv'd from the Court. In the mean time, the *Spanish* Faction was not a sleep, and lost no opportunities to sow Divisions in all parts to excite some Troubles in *France*. The Royal Family was very much imbroil'd. The King and Queen did not agree. That Princess cross'd him continually; and that which was most unaccountable, she adher'd with the *Spaniards*, whose Interests were espous'd by Five or Six *Italians* who serv'd her. The Marriage of the *Dauphin* with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, and that of one of the Daughters of *France* with the *Infant*, had been propos'd to her, as a means that would for ever secure the Succession to her Offspring. In order to draw her the sooner into that Project, they exasperated her mind by black Calumnies against the King; they perswaded her, that he design'd to be rid of her; after which the Charms of the Marchioness of *Verneuil*, and the Promises of Marriage the King had made her, afforded reason to fear that he would raise her Children to the Throne, to the prejudice of hers. Those Jealousies proceeded so far, that *Conchini* and his Wife, dress'd themselves in their own Chamber, what that Princess was to eat, as if she had been in danger of being poyson'd. *Sully* sometimes advis'd the King to send back those pernicious Spirits into *Italy*, to stop the torrent of those Disorders, and to send the Marchioness and her Brother into *England*, to the end that the Queens Jealousies, and her Evil Counsellors being remov'd, she might be the sooner reduc'd to live peaceably with the King. But that Prince neither being able to remove his Mistress, nor willing to exasperate the Queen by taking her Confidants from her, while her Rival still remain'd before her eyes, encreas'd the Evil by his irresolution, and daily gave the Queen new Causes of Quarrel. On the other hand, he did not relish the Marriage propos'd, the Project whereof did not agree with his designs. It was impossible for him to seek the Alliance of a House he design'd to humble. Besides, the intentions of the Council of *Spain* did not look candid in that Proposition, since one of the Conditions of it was to make War against the Protestants, which the King was sensible tended to two things, of which *Spain* would receive the sole benefit, and he the disadvantage. The one was, to break the Alliance between the *Protestants* abroad, and *France*: The other, to renew.

1609.
*The Kings
Domestick
Troubles.*

1609. renew the Civil Wars in the Kingdom. The King lik'd neither; and to satisfy his Subjects as to his good intentions, he promis'd that he would leave his Children such good Instructions, that they would take care not to renew past divisions, or to force the *Reform'd* to look for a Foreign Protector. He design'd to infuse into them as a principal Maxim. Never to reduce their Subjects to the necessity of wanting an Intercessor with their Prince: A Maxim equally of use to raise the happiness of the People, and the Authority of Kings to the highest degree. 'Tis a certain proof of the happiness of the People, not to stand in need of a Mediator to obtain favours from their King: And a King is never more powerful, than when no body shares the Honour of his Favours, and the acknowledgement of his People.

*Divers
Sentiments
about the
Alliance
with Spain*

There were also some Catholicks in the Kingdom, who had a great Aversion to those Marriages, especially the Princes, and those who dreaded, lest a *Spanish* Queen might bring along with her the despotick Maxims, of which all the Politicks of that Nation was form'd. They thought that the Power of the Nobility, and the Liberty of the People, would be much better preserv'd during a Foreign War, than in a time of Calm, which would afford favourable occasions to the Council to humble those who had a little too much Popularity and Credit: And they were sensible that the King daily aspir'd to that degree of Authority, to oblige Subjects to obey without reply. But then there were others, and particularly those, whose Souls were still inclin'd to Leagues, who fanci'd that the Grandeur of the House of *Austria*, and the Triumph of the Catholick Religion, were inseparable: That the Alliance with *Spain* was necessary to make *France* share in both; and that it was their true Interest to preserve themselves by a good Intelligence with that Potent House, by abandoning all the rest of *Europe* to them. Insomuch, that out of a Zeal to Religion they oppos'd the Glory of their Country, and omitted no means to engage the King against the *Reform'd*. To that end they daily made use of new Stratagems. They scatter'd Seditious Letters in the Streets of *Rochel* to alarum the People, as if the King were ready to declare War: The effect of which was, that they hasten'd their Fortifications, and took measures to avoid being surpriz'd. At the same time false Letters were convey'd

*Frauds to
renew the
Civil War.*

to the King, in which the Enterprizes of the *Rochelois* were exaggerated, to oblige him to exprefs some Repentment. 1609.

In the mean time the Jesuits, who made it their business to embroil all *Europe*, left no means unattempted to reduce *Fance* into its former disorders again. Some of them trespass'd upon the King's patience at Court with a surprizing boldness. *Cotton* the Jesuit was convicted of having reveal'd the Secrets the King had confided to him; but no manner of notice was taken of it. *Gontier* the Jesuit, was a Man of an impetuous, violent Spirit, who lov'd nothing but Trouble and Broils. *Ignatius Armand*, was subtle and cunning, and so much the more dangerous, because his Intrigues were cover'd with the Vail of Modesty and Simplicity. Their Enterprizes disturb'd the King exceedingly, by reason that he had much ado to suppress them. But he had prepossess'd himself that he should tame them by his kindnesses; and that at least they would attempt nothing against his Life, while they had reason to expect new favours from him; inso-much, that he seldom refus'd any thing they desir'd of him. He had settled them in *Bearn*, notwithstanding the Opposition of the Estates, and the Deputies of *Provence*, who protested that the said Settlement was contrary to the good of his Service, and the repose of the Country; and shew'd a Decree of the Parliament of *Pau*, made in the year 1598. which prohibited the receiving of them there. The Bishop of *Oleron*'s Intreaties prevail'd over those Remonstrances; and Jesuits were sent to him with an Edict, which order'd them only to submit to the Laws of the Country, and to the Discipline of other Ecclesiasticks; which conditions they kept no longer than till they were strong enough to lay them aside. This year they erected a Noviciat at *Paris*, and began to build their College of *Clermont*. 1608. 1609.

Power of
the Jesuits.

1608.
Settled in
Bearn.

During these Transactions, the Court examin'd the last Petitions of the Assembly. They granted the Abolishment of some Solemnities which the Catholicks had Establish'd, in Commemoration of the good Successes they had had over the *Reform'd*: As the Festival they had decicated at *Chartres*, to our Lady of the Breach, for a pretended Vision of the Blessed Virgin, who defended the Breach against the *Reform'd*, that had besieg'd that City in 1568. The Procession of *Dreux*, which was perform'd yearly there, on the

Petitions
answer'd.

1609. day the Duke of *Guise* had won a Battel against the Prince of *Conde*. And that which was made at *Thoulouse*, for some other event of the first Wars. It was also granted them, that in the Disputes of Jurisdiction, the Chambers should be Judges of their own Competency. The Judges Royal of *Brittany* were forbidden to exact from the *Reform'd*, who had any Affairs before them, a Renunciation of the benefit of the Edict, which allow'd them to Appeal from the Sentences of those Judges, to the Chambers of the Edict, or to the Great Council. They promis'd that the Creation of the Offices of Assistants of Inquisitors in all Royal Tribunals, which was an Invention of *Sullys* to get Money, should not derogate from the Priviledges the Edict granted them, of taking a *Reform'd* Adjunct in certain Cases; and they promis'd that all those of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, who should come to settle in *France*, both *Reform'd* and Catholicks, should be us'd as Natives.

Synod at
St. Maix-
ant.

A National Synod was held soon after at *St. Maixant*, in which they hardly treated about any thing besides their Discipline. Among the rest, main'd Soldiers were allow'd by them to receive a Pension the King had founded for their maintenance; and whereas those that enjoy'd it, were oblig'd to wear the figure of a Cross upon their Cloaks, they declar'd to them that they might do it without wounding their Consciences. It was observ'd also in the said Synod, that *Sully* had given such ill Assignments to the *Reform'd*, for the payment of the Sums the King was to pay them for the Years 1605, and 1606. that they could hardly make any thing of them. But the principal Affair that was treated of there, was that of Antichrist. They receiv'd the Book which *Vignier* had compos'd upon that matter, according to the desire of the preceding Synod, and committed it to the Examination of the Academy of *Saumur*, in order to have it Printed with the Name of the Author. The said Book appear'd soon after Entitul'd, *The Theatre of Antichrist*: Among the other effects it produc'd, it induc'd *Gontier*, a Jesuit, to Preach against the Thirty first Article of the Confession of Faith of the *Reform'd*; which he did before the King in so seditious and so insolent a manner, that the King reprimanded him severely for it: but lest the Catholicks should accuse him upon that account of favouring the *Reform'd*,

Theatre of
Antichrist.

form'd, and of suffering their Writings to pass unregarded, he al- 1609.
so suppress'd *Vignier's* Book.

The first Incroachment that was made upon the Royalty's
belonging to Reform'd Lords was made that Year by a Decree *Incroach-*
from the Chamber of the Edict of *Paris*. That Decree maintain'd *ment upon*
against the Widow of a Lord *de Vieille-vigne*, to whom those *the Rights*
Rights belong'd in a certain Parish of which she had the Presenta- *of Royalty.*
tion, a Gentleman who usurp'd them for this reason only,
That he was the only Catholick Gentleman in that Parish; and
that this Lady professing the *Reform'd* Religion, came never at
Church. The Advocate General maintain'd the Cause of the Ca-
tholick, and pretended that no wrong was done to the Lady by
the Sentence of which she was appealant; because she was only
depriv'd of her Rights, *for the Time being*; which preserv'd
them to her when she should be in a condition to reassume them.
This Decree was confirm'd by the Opinions of the King's Coun-
cil; and imported that the enjoyment thereof by the Catholick,
should in no wise prejudice the Lady, nor her Successors,
being qualify'd for the said Priviledges; that is, being *Roman*
Catholicks.

The Jurisdiction of the Party Chambers was also incroach'd up- *Jurisdic-ti-*
on that Year, upon pretence that it was abus'd. *Bordes*, an *Augu-* *on of the*
stine Monk, and *Giraud* a Councillor of *Thoulouse*, were accus'd of *Chambers.*
an Assassination, the Circumstances of which were very odious.
The Monk sought a shelter in the principal Cities of the *Reform'd*,
at *Tonsceins*, *Milhau*, and *Nimes*; and having embrac'd their Reli-
gion, he desir'd leave to be try'd before the Party-Chamber of
Languedoc. He affirm'd, that the only reason of his being persec-
uted at *Thoulouse*, was because they had observ'd Sentiments in
him contrary to the Catholick Doctrine: He alledg'd the usual
Cruelty of that Parliament, who in abhorrence to his change of
Religion, would sacrifice him without mercy. The thing being
heard before the Council of State, the King sent back the cogni-
zance thereof to the Parliament of *Thoulouse*. The *Reform'd*
complain'd of that Incroachment upon their Priviledges, belie-
ving themselves wrong'd every way by the said Decree. In case
the Monk was accus'd wrongfully, it was a piece of Injustice to
hinder equitable Judges from taking cognizance of it, to refer it

1609. to implacable Enemies : And if he were guilty, they wrong'd the Integrity of the *Reform'd* Judges, to think that they would favour an execrable Assassinate, on pretence of his having embrac'd their Doctrine for a Protection. But whether the Crime were too well known, and the Hypocrisy of the Monk too notorious ; or whether the Clergy had credit enough to carry it from the *Reform'd*, their Complaints did not hinder the Parliament from having the Case try'd before them, and from condemning the Accus'd rigorously.

A Book
found at
La Fleche.

But a thing happen'd that Year at *La Fleche*, which comforted them for that small Disgrace, the which gave a Lustre to their Fidelity, and shew'd how much the *Catholicks* were inclin'd to conspire against the State. A Book well bound and guilt was found in the House of an Inhabitant of *La Fleche*, a City where the Jesuits had their chief Residence, at one *Medor*, who taught some Children of Quality, whose House was scituated near an Inn, which had for Sign the *Four Winds*, in a Street of the same Name. Half the said Book was written, part of it with Blood, and abundance of Subscriptions to it written in the same manner. The Book was discover'd by a Woman who gave notice of it ; but that was not a proper time to see every thing : And tho the Circumstances might probably have given great suspicion against those that were concern'd in the Book, the Inquiries that were made about it were soon stopt.

Discourse of
Jeannin about
Liberty of Con-
science.

I cannot forget neither that *Jeannin*, formerly passionately in love with Leagues, but a man of great sense, who was greatly concern'd in Publick Affairs, being sent into *Holland*, where the King of *France* had for a time sent *Reform'd* Ambassadors, he propos'd to the States, from the King, to have a Toleration for the *Catholicks*, the number of which was considerable in their Provinces. He made a very fine Discourse to prove the Justice thereof ; and it is likely that he spoke his thoughts, since we find in his *Memoirs* a Discourse like it in favour of the *Reform'd*, under the Reign of *Lewis* the XIII. He said that the *Catholicks* had concurr'd with them for the service of the State, at that very time when they were depriv'd both of Liberty and Religion, the restitution of which they expected by means of the Peace : That no Servitude was so intolerable as that of Conscience : That the Pro-

vinces

1609.

vinces had shewn it by their Example, having had recourse to Arms to free themselves from that Slavery: That the same had been done in other parts of *Europe*, and even in *France*: That God seem'd to have allow'd the happy success of that War, to show that Religion was to be taught and persuaded by the Movements which proceed from the Holy Ghost, not by force, or constraint: That the King having found by experience that the means us'd by his Predecessors, had only serv'd to augment the Troubles in Religion, and in the State, endeavour'd to extinguish the Animosities which arise from diversity of Religion, by Peace: That he had deriv'd considerable Advantages by his moderation for the *Reform'd* Religion, which he allow'd in his Territories, and by the observation of his Edicts, whereas before they were only granted to be violated; that having found the benefit of that Counsel, he gave it freely to his Friends: That the United Provinces had found the *Catholicks* in their State, when they form'd it; for which reason they ought to suffer them there: That such Sovereigns as have not found the Two Religious in their Country, might well refuse to admit that which is not receiv'd there; but that it would argue no wisdom to oppose it, in case they endanger'd their state by it: That the rigour of the Provinces against the *Catholicks* that were there, would be a dangerous Example, and would prejudice the *Reform'd* in such Places where they were weakest; that there would be no danger in giving them some Liberty; since that if they had been faithful during the War without it, they would be so much the more so, after having obtain'd it again.

He afterwards answer'd divers Objections, which were partly the same that had been made in *France* against a Toleration for the *Reform'd*, only changing the Names. He deny'd that the State of the United Provinces was grounded upon the profession of the *Reform'd* Religion; By reason, said he, that the *Catholicks* had also concur'd towards the maintaining of it. He deny'd that it was a means to oblige the *Catholicks* to embrace the Doctrine of the *Reform'd*; by reason, said he, that constraint would rather serve to confirm them the more; that even their Death would not entinguish their belief; that they would commit it as *by Cabal* or Tradition to their Children; or that they would fall into Irreligion

1609. Irreligion : And that it was better to tolerate Superstition than Impiety. He said as to the permission of retiring, which might have been granted them, that it would be unjust to condemn people that had done no harm, to a kind of Exile, which made them renounce all the delights which the love one has for ones Country includes in it self: That they had contributed to the conquest of the Countrey they should be oblig'd to quit: That thereby they should depopulate the State, which would be attended with other great Inconveniences. He concluded, declaring that he did not desire the Liberty of a Publick Worship for them, but only that they might not be prosecuted for what they did in their own Houses; and he propos'd precautions to prevent the evil that might be fear'd by it. That Negotiation had the success of which we see the fruits to this day. No Edict of Liberty was granted to the *Catholicks*; but they were tolerated in some Provinces without being disturb'd. They have carry'd their Advantages in several places farther than was design'd, and no great efforts have been made to hinder it: And tho they are maintain'd by no Publick Law, they enjoy a Tranquility which others have been depriv'd of, tho their Sovereigns had promis'd it them by solemn Edicts.

During these Translations, the Affairs of the *Moors* grew worse in *Spain*, and finally they were order'd to retire in a short space of time, and upon hard conditions, which were not well kept neither. The King resolv'd to grant a Free Passage through his Kingdom to such as would accept it: And in order to derive a double Advantage by their misfortune, in strengthening his Kingdom, while their retreat weakened *Spain*, he invited them by an expresse Edict to come to live in *France*; but the Conditions of it were so little to their advantage, that few of them resolv'd to tarry there. It oblig'd them to settle on this side the *Dordogne*, to keep them at a distance from the Frontiers of *Spain*; to turn *Catholicks*, and to persevere in the *Roman* Faith, on pain of death. Perhaps a greater number of them would have prefer'd the sweet Climat of *France* to the Scorchings of the Coasts of *Africk*, had better Conditions been given them; and as they were for the most part good Merchants, expert Tradesmen, diligent Labourers, they would have been of great advantage to the State,

State, by their Industry ; besides their carrying great Riches a- 1609.
long with them, tho they had been forc'd to leave the best part
of them in *Spain*. Even in *France* they were forc'd to pay their
passage by a thousand violences and injustices that were exercis'd
against them. Those who were intrusted with the care of their
Conduct and Embarkment, plunder'd them, and reduc'd them to
great Extremities. The Deputies who brought their Complaints
to the Court, return'd back with a shadow of satisfaction, which
came to nothing: The Bigots who thought all things lawful
against Infidels, protecting those highly who prostituted the
Faith of *France* by their Injustices, in an occasion of that impor-
tance. Thus those Wretches carry'd away nothing from *Europe*
besides their Arts and Cunning, together with an implacable ha-
tred against the Christians, whom they have ever since look'd
upon as People without Faith or Probity: And their Children to
this day by their Infidelities and Piracies, revenge the Injustices
the Christians did to their Families at that time, by plundering of
their Forefathers.

The King did not see that Passage ; for as he was noble and
just, he would perhaps have hinder'd those miserable Wretches
from being us'd so barbarously. But an unexpected Death broke
all his Measures and Designs, depriv'd the Kingdom of its De-
liverer, the *Reform'd* of their Defender, and all *Europe* of its
Hopes. The Prince of *Conde* had lately marry'd the Daughter of
the late Constable. Before that Marriage the King had hardly
taken notice of her being the most beautiful Lady of the Court ;
but all of a suddain he fell in love with her, to that degree, that he
could not conceal his Passion. The Prince being jealous, and *The Prince*
dreading the Power of his Rival, fled with his Wife, who was *of Conde's*
willing to avoid the Snare that was laid for her Virtue, and got in- *Flight.*
to *Flanders* with her, without Attendance or Equipage. The
King either transported with his Passion, which he was no longer
Master of, or being willing to embrace that occasion to attack *War de-*
the House of *Austria*, as he had long design'd it, desir'd the Arch- *clared a-*
Duke, who had receiv'd them very kindly, to send them back ; *gainst the*
and upon his refusal declared War against him. Some of his *Arch-*
Councillors thought that Declaration a little too rash, be- *Duke.*
ing of opinion that the Prince who had neither Estate, Places of
strength,

1609. strength, nor Creatures, could not be formidable enough to oblige the King to make so much noise about his Flight: Besides that, without making use of that Pretence to wage a War, a very favourable one offer'd it self in the overture of the succession of *Cleves* to begin it, by reason of the King's alliance with some of the Pretenders. Moreover the Preparations of War were not ready, some of the Allies not being yet in a condition to act. But the King had his private Ends, and his Will decided the Question.

The King's
Formidable
Power.

It was high time for *Spain* to look to it self. Never had such great Preparatives been seen in *France*. The Civil Wars had almost made all the *French* good Soldiers. There was an incredible number of old Officers, signaliz'd by a long experience. They wanted no experienc'd Generals; and the King was acknowledg'd throughout *Europe* for the boldest and best Captain of his time. The Blood boil'd in the veins of the *Reform'd*, who expected the end of their fears, by the downfall of the House of *Austria*, and only desir'd an occasion to revenge themselves by a just War, of the Massacres and Violences they thought the Council of *Spain* had inspir'd to that of *France*. The *Catholicks* hop'd to advance, and to set a value upon themselves by the War. The oeconomy and vigilancy of *Sully* had put the King's Affairs in such an order, that the like had never been known. The *Arsenal* had never been so full of Arms: And that which was most to be wonder'd at, *France* had never had so much ready Money, nor so many recourses for several years. They had great and powerful Alliances: Besides that of the Unite Provinces, which had been renew'd, another had lately been concluded at *Hall* in *Suabia*, notwithstanding all the Emperor's opposition, with about 15 *Protestant* Princes. These Preparations made *Rome* tremble for its Religion, and *Spain* for its Greatness: And their Interests appear'd so much interwoven, that they seem'd to run the same hazards, and to stand in need of the same success.

The truth is, that the King's Design was not positively known: And whereas he had not time enough to pursue the Project of it long, nothing happen'd whereby one might penetrate into the secret of his Intentions. Such different Projects were propos'd to him, that it was impossible to divine his justly. Moreover, it is
very

very well known that tho Princes begin War upon a certain Plan, they soon forsake it, according as Occurrences more or less favourable inspire them with new thoughts. But there were two things that might be look'd upon as certain, or at least very probable. The one is, that *Sully* being his Confident, the Project that has been incerted in his *Memoirs*, which he had imparted to several people, was not altogether Chimerical: that according to that it was to be fear'd, that the King had a design to found the *Equilibrium* of the Powers of *Europe* upon the *Equilibrium* of the Religious: That consequently he would never consent to the exterminating of the *Protestants*, therefore he was not look'd upon at *Rome* as a good *Catholick*, and they did not doubt but he had retain'd from his first Religion the design of humbling that haughty See: A remainder of *Heresy*, which is more odious in that Countrey than the most detestable Errors. Moreover this fear was all grounded upon his having made almost all his Alliances with *Protestants*: From whence it follow'd naturally, that in case he should succeed in his Enterprizes, none but *Protestants* would enjoy the benefit of his Victories: The Damages whereof would consequently fall upon the *Catholick* Religion. It is true that the Pope was offer'd the reunion of the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the demean of the Church: But the Religion got nothing by it, since all the Inhabitants of that Kingdom were *Catholicks*; whereas it would lose whatever should fall under the Power of the *Protestants*. The other was, That the King design'd to humble the House of *Austria*, and that he only ingag'd divers Powers into his Interests, by promising to enrich them with the Spoils of *Spain*: Which was look'd upon in the Council of that Court as a Crime less to be forgiven than *Heresy*.

But while all *Europe* was attentive on the Revolutions that were preparing, and that all People were in suspense, between curiosity, hope, and terror, the Scene was chang'd by a fatal Catastrophe. The King had had the Complaisance to have the Queen crown'd before his departure. He omitted nothing to live peaceably with her: And whereas the War he was entering upon broke all the Queens Measures, for the double Marriage of the *Dauphin* with the *Infanta*, and of the eldest Daughter of *France* with the Infant, he was willing to remove that Vexation by

1609. a Ceremony, which seem'd material to that jealous mind, in order to secure the Crown to her Children. Some Persons of known wisdom had endeavour'd to dissuade the King from that Pomp, which engag'd him to Expenses no wise suitable to the beginnings of a War, the event of which was doubtful. Moreover *Ronzi* had prevail'd to break the Project of that Ceremony; which ruin'd him quite in the Queens mind, who was already animated against him for other Reasons. But finally, the King resolv'd to give his Wife that satisfaction at any rate whatever. The Ceremony of the Coronation was perform'd at *St. Denis* with great magnificence: But while a sumptuous Entry was preparing for the Queen, after which the King was to repair to the head of his Army which drew near the Frontiers, an execrable Assassinate killed him in his Coach, on the 10th of May, as he was going to the *Arsenal*, there to give some orders relating to his Enterprize. The Histories of the Time relate the Circumstances of his Death at large; several Relations being order'd to be written about it, to dissipate the Suspicions people had throughout the Kingdom, that some people at Court were privy to the Secret of that Parricide. But no other Victims were offer'd to the Shrine of that great Prince, but the Monster who had struck the blow: And those who were most oblig'd to discover and prosecute the Authors of that Crime, took no more care to revenge him, than he had done to revenge the Death of *Henry the III.* his Predecessor. That which prov'd most honourable for his memory, was, that all his good Subjects lamented him as their Father, foreseeing that it would be long before any King should ascend the Throne, deserving to be compar'd to him.

It is a very surprizing thing, that those who labour'd to destroy the *Reform'd*, should have pitcht upon the time of that great Kings death, for the Epact of a ridiculous Enterprize, which they have imputed to the City of *Rechel*. Not being certain at what time they invented that Calumny, I think I cannot chuse a more proper place to relate the Story of it, than the moment in which they pretend the thing happen'd. That Potent City is accus'd of a design to extend their Power farther, in making themselves Masters of *Brouage*. The design, *they say*, was to convey two Ships fill'd with Soldiers, disguis'd like Merchants, into the Port

at

at break of day, who under pretence of unlading their Merchandize, were to possess themselves of the Port-gate. It was usual for the convenience of Trade, to open it sooner than any of the rest; and those People were to make use of that advantage, to enter the City without hinderance. They were to kill all such as should make any resistance; and *Rochel* had promis'd to send them, as soon as they were Masters of the Place, a sufficient Reinforcement to maintain themselves there. Those Ships, *they say*, arriv'd at that appointed hour, but the little Gate was not open'd all that Morning, by reason that the Governor had receiv'd the news of the King's fatal Death in the Night by an Express. Infomuch, that the Ships were oblig'd to retire. Never was Calumny so ill invented; and I am at a loss which to wonder at most, the Impudence of the Inventor, or the Credulity of *Deagean* who has reported it. I appeal to all Persons of sense, whether it be not improbable, that during the King's greatest Prosperity, at a time when he was Potent enough to prescribe Laws to all *Europe*, such a City as *Rochel*, without Intestine Leagues, without Foreign Intelligence, should have been capable to declare a War to him, and to undertake Conquests upon him? I say, without Intelligence at home, or abroad; because, that if there had been any such thing, it were impossible but that some Tracts of it would have been found at least sufficient to ground Suspicion upon; or that some mention of such a Treaty would have been made in some *Memoirs* or other. It is also certain, that the rest of the *Reform'd* could not at that time have enter'd into so shameful a Conspiracy; and that, had it been true, *Rochel* would certainly have been disown'd by all the Party. The King was engaging into a War, which extreamly pleas'd the *Reform'd*, from the success of which they expected, as it were, to indemnify themselves for all their Miseries past. They imagin'd themselves upon the point of Triumphant over their Ancient Enemies. They had us'd the utmost of their skill to put the King upon that Enterprize. The Alliances of that Prince were partly contriv'd by them. It is natural to conclude from thence, that it was very unlikely they should share in any Designs capable to cross that of the War, which they were so much set upon; and that had *Rochel* dar'd to form the Project

Calumny against *Rochel*, and its Refutation.

1609. imputed to it, all the *Reform'd* would have abandon'd it to the King's Indignation; and perhaps, would have thought themselves oblig'd in honour to assist his Revenge. Those who govern'd that City, sufficiently understood the Interest of the *Reform'd*, to expect any thing else; and it is very unlikely, that knowing it, they should engage themselves in Enterprizes of such dangerous Consequence. It seems as unaccountable to me, that those who made *Rochel* form so ridiculous a Design, at such a time, should make them abandon it, when the King's unexpected Death, and the Confusion which follow'd it, might not only contribute to the Success of it, but also to the impunity of the Enterprize. People commonly chuse times of Disorder and Trouble to take the advantage of others Misfortunes. And yet they make *Rochel* pitch upon a time for an Enterprize of the utmost Impudence, where the King they were to offend, was most in a condition to punish them for it; and they make them desist from their Design at a time, when the misfortune of the State would have oblig'd it to wink at that insolence. It must needs be acknowledg'd, that this Calumny is very ill contriv'd. One Witness only appears to reveal that secret, and that very Witness carries his Reproach about him. It was a Man, as *Deagean* relates it in his *Memoirs*, who abandons his Religion, and betrays his Country, even so far as to give Intelligences to surprize *Rochel*, and those Intelligences so certain, that they could not have fail'd of Success, had they been made use of. That Man, in imitation of all those who embrace the *Roman* Religion out of interest, was desirous to signalize himself by an important discovery; and he had found nothing so proper to advance himself, as to impute scandalous, opprobrious Designs to the *Rochelois*; by reason that such Accusations were very well receiv'd at Court, where they impatiently indur'd the Power of that City. Let the Reader judge, whether it is possible that a design, which must needs have been communicated to so many, which must have been known throughout so large a City, the Preparations whereof must have been made by degrees, and at leasure, should notwithstanding have remain'd so secret for so many Years, that not one Man should have been found capable to reveal it. The Court had Creatures in all the Councils of *Rochel*. There were
Persons

Persons of Honour who lov'd the King, whose good Intentions often frustrated the Designs that City form'd for its own lawful Preservation. And yet it is neither those Creatures, nor those well-affected Persons, who reveal a Secret of that consequence. It is a Man, who changes his Religion, that gives the first knowledge of it; and a Man, who being ready to sell his Country to make his Fortune, might very well lay a false Accusation to its charge. Moreover, it is a Man of no consideration, to be believ'd in an affair of that consequence; *Deagean, who says*, That this Russian was concern'd in that undertaking, and that he was on board one of those Ships, would not have forgot his Quality, had he had any Command there; and as he says nothing of it, it implies, that he was only a private Soldier, or Seaman. I have insisted on the Refutation of this Calumny, a little at large, for two Reasons. The *First* is, That the Catholicks have laid a stress upon it, as if there had been truth in it. The *Second* is, That by the nature of this Accusation, it is easy to judge of several others, by which they endeavour'd to animate Princes, either in particular, against that Important City; or in general, against the whole Party of the *Reform'd*. They daily invented some or other, but seldom observ'd the Rules of likelihood any better.

The End of the First Volume.

A CATALOGUE of the BOOKS and
AUTHORS, out of which the Matter of the
First Volume of this History has been ex-
tracted.

THE History of James Augustus de * Thou.
History of Mezerai.

* Thua-
nus.

Chronological Abridgment of the same.

History of Matthieu.

— of Du Pleix.

— D' Aubigne.

— Novenaire.

— de la Paix.

— of the Progress and Decay of Heresy.

Latine History of Grammont.

Memorie recondite di Vittorio Siri.

Memoirs of the Duke of Nevers.

— of Du Plessis.

— of Jeannin.

— of Villeroi.

— of Sulli.

— of the Clergy.

— of Cardinal d' Ossat, or Letters.

— of Cardinal du Perron, or Embassies, &c.

— of Bassompierre.

— of Deagean.

— of Du Maurier.

Life of Admiral Chatillon.

— of James Augustus de Thou.

— of Henry the 4th.

— of the Duke d' Epemon.

- of the Duke de Rohan.
- of du Plessis.
- of L. sdiguieres.
- of Francis de la Noue.
- of Peter du Moulin.
- of Cotton the Jesuit, by Peter 7 seph d'Orleans.
- Another of the same in Latin, by
- Acts of the General Assemblies.
- Acts of the National Synods.
- Conference of the Edicts of Pacification.
- Royal Decisions of *Filleau*.
- Maldemar's* Letters to the Duke de Monpansier.
- Letter of P. Paul Scarpi.
- French Mercury.

I do not add the Names of those I refute, in this Place. No body can question, but I have read those I have undertaken to Answer. Neither do I mention those I have made use of for the first Book of this History in particular, because they are Authors known by every body.

I say nothing of the *Memoirs* I have read in Manuscripts, which I have had from private Persons. I could only mark them with the Name of their Authors who do not desire it.

All the Pieces and Titles, I cite in this Work, as Edicts, Declarations, Decrees, Breefs, &c. of which I do not give a Catalogue here, because I do not think it material; or which I do not set down among the Proofs, for fear of disgusting the Reader by the bulk of this Work, are still, or have been in my hands in due form; several of them Originals; the most part in Authentick Copies, either Manuscripts, or in Print.

Those I have not in my hands at present, have been return'd to those who had communicated them to me.

A
COLLECTION
OF
EDICTS, CONFERENCES,
AND
Other PIECES;

To serve in order to prove the FIRST PART
of the History of the EDICT of NANTES.

EDICT of Charles IX. about the most effectual means to appease the Troubles and Seditions in point of Religion, of the Month of January, 1561. Published in the Parliament of Paris, on the 6th. of March of the said Year.

Charles, by the Grace of God, King of France, to all those who these Presents shall see, Greeting.

It is sufficiently known what Troubles and Seditions have been, and are daily kindled, multiplied and augmented in this Kingdom, by the Malice of the Times, and the diversity of Opinions which reign in Religion; and that whatever Remedies our Predecessors have try'd to put a stop thereunto, either by the Rigor and severity of Punishments, or by Mildness, according to their usual and natural Benignity and Clemency; the thing has penetrated so far into our said Kingdom, and in the minds of our Subjects of all Sexes, Estates, Qualities and Conditions, that we have found our selves in a great perplexity at our new coming

H h h h

to

to this Crown, to advise and resolve what means we should use to apply good and wholesome Remedies thereunto. After long and mature consultation about the same, with the Queen our most honour'd, and most beloved Lady and Mother, our most dear and most beloved Uncle, the King of *Navar*, our Lieutenant General, representing our Person throughout all our Kingdoms and Territories, and other Princes of our Blood, together with our Privy-Council: We caus'd our said Uncle to assemble in our Court of Parliament, together with the Princes of our Blood, the Peers of *France*, and other Princes and Lords of our said Privy-Council.

All which, with the Members of our said Court, after several Conferences and deliberations, did resolve on the Edict of the Month of *July* last past; whereby we did forbid, among other things, on pain of confiscation of Body and Goods, all Publick Conventicles and Assemblies with Arms: As well as all Private ones, in which any body should preach, or administer the Sacrament in any form contrary to the Practice observ'd in the *Catholick Church*, from the first begining, and ever since the propagation of the Christian Faith, receiv'd by the Kings of *France* our Predecessors, by the Bishops, and Prelates, Curates their Vicars and Deputies: Being perswaded at that time, that the prohibition of the said Assemblies was the best way, until we could have the determination of a General Council, to put a stop to the diversity of the said Opinions: And by keeping our Subjects by that

means in union and concord, to put an end to the Troubles and Seditions. The which on the contrary, through the disobedience, obstinacy, and evil Intentions of the People, the execution of the said Edict proving difficult and dangerous, have been much more increas'd, and Cruelly practic'd, to our great grief and trouble, than they had been before. Therefore in order to remedy the same, and in consideration that our said Edict was only provisional: We have been advis'd to summon another Assembly in this Place, compos'd of our said Uncle, the Princes of our Blood, and the Members of our Privy-Council; there to advise with a considerable number of our Presidents, and chief Counsellors of our Sovereign Courts by Us summon'd to that end, who are able to give us a faithful account of the State and Necessities of their Provinces, in relation to the said Religion, Tumults and Seditions; about such means as may be most proper, useful and convenient, to appease and put an end to the said Seditions:

Which has been done: And all things having been duly and maturely digested and deliberated in our Presence, and in that of our said Lady and Mother, by so great and so notable an Assembly, We have by their advice and mature deliberation said and ordain'd, do say and ordain what followeth.

I. That all those of the New Religion, or others that have taken possession of Temples, shall be oblig'd after the Publication of these Presents, to quit and depart from the same; as well

well as from all Houses, Estates and Revenues belonging to Ecclesiasticks, where ever they are situated or seated; leaving them the full and entire possession and enjoyment of the same, to enjoy them with the same liberty and safety they did before their being dispossess'd thereof. That they shall return and restore what they have taken of the Shrines and Ornaments of the said Temples and Churches; and that it shall not be lawful for those of the said New Religion to take or build any other Temples either within or without the Cities, Towns, &c. nor to occasion the least Trouble, Let, or Molestation to the said Ecclesiasticks, in the enjoyment or gathering of their Tythes and Revenues, and other Rights and Estates whatever, at present, or for the future. Which we have inhibited and forbidden them to do, and do by these Presents inhibit and forbid; as also to beat down and demolish Crosses, Images, or the committing other scandalous and seditious acts: On pain of death, and without the least hope of pardon or remission.

II. Likewise not to assemble in the said Cities, there to preach either publicly or privately, either by Day or Night.

III. However, in order to keep our Subjects in peace and quietness, until it be God Almighty's pleasure to enable us to reunite them, and put them all into the same Fold again, which is our earnest desire, and chief intention: We have by Provision, until the Determination of the said General Council, or New Orders

from us; *Surceas'd*, suspended, and superceded; do surcease, suspend, and supercede the Inhibitions and Punishments appointed, both in the Edict of *July*, and others that have preceded it, in relation to the *Assemblies* that shall be made in the day-time without the said Cities, in order to their Preaching, Praying, and performing other Exercises of their Religion.

IV. Forbidding on the same Penalties and Punishments, all Judges, Magistrates, and other persons, however qualifi'd or distinguish'd, to hinder, disturb, molest, or fall upon those of the said New Religion, in any wise, whenever they shall go, come and *assemble* without the said Cities, to exercise their said Religion. But on the contrary, in case any persons should attempt to abuse them, We do command our said Magistrates and Officers in order to prevent all Troubles and Seditions, to hinder the same, and summarily, and severely to punish all the Seditious, whatever Religion profess'd by them, according to the Contents of our said precedent Edicts and Ordinances, even in that which is made against the said seditious Persons, and for the bearing of Arms; which we will and expect to have fulfill'd in all Points, and to remain in full force and vertue.

V. Enjoyning a new, according to the same, all our said Subjects, of what Religion, Estate, Quality and Condition soever, not to make any *Assemblies whatever in Arms*, or to abuse, reproach, or provoke each other

other upon the account of Religion, or to make, stir, procure, or favour the least Sedition; but on the contrary to live and behave themselves one towards another, gently and quietly, without making use of Pistols great or small, or other Fire-Arms, either in going to the said Assemblies, or elsewhere; or any other prohibited or forbidden Weapons, excepting only Swords and Daggers for Gentlemen, which are the Arms they commonly wear.

VI. Moreover, forbidding the Ministers and Chiefs of those of the said Religion, *to receive any Persons in their said Assemblies*, without being first inform'd of their Qualities, Lives and Conversations; to the end that in case they should be condemn'd for non-appearance, or Contempt upon the account of Crimes deserving punishment, they should deliver them into the hands of our Officers, to receive a condign Punishment.

¶ That whenever our said Officers shall be willing to go into the said Assemblies to assist at their Predications, and to hear what Doctrines they teach there, they shall be receiv'd and respected according to the dignity of their Places and Offices. And in case it be to take or apprehend any Malefactor, that they shall obey, favour and assist them in the same, as need shall require.

VII. That they shall make no Synods or Consistories, unless with leave, and in presence of one of our said Officers; nor likewise any creation

of Magistrates among themselves, Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, that belonging to us only. But that in case they shall think it necessary to constitute some Regulations among them, for the exercise of their said Religion, they shall show them to our said Officers, to have their approbation, provided they be things they ought and can reasonably do; otherwise to give us notice of the same, to obtain our leave, or to know our Intentions therein.

VIII. That they shall *lift no men*, either to fortifie and assist one another, or to offend others; nor make any Impositions, Gatherings, and Railings of Money among themselves. ¶ And that as to their *Charities* and *Alms*, they shall neither be made by Assessments or Impositions, but voluntarily.

IX. Those of the said New Religion shall be oblig'd to keep our *Political Laws*, even those that are receiv'd in our Catholick Church, as to *Holydays*, *Days of rest*, and *Marriage*; for degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity; in order to avoid all Debates and Law-Suits that might insue to the ruin of several of the best Families of our Kingdom, and the dissolving of the Bonds of Friendship, which are acquir'd by Marriage and Alliances among our Subjects.

X. The Ministers shall be oblig'd to repair before our Officers to swear the observance of these Presents, and to promise to preach no Doctrine contrary to the pure Word of God, according as it is contain'd in the

Nicene

Nicene Creed, and in the Canonical Books of the *O/d* and *New-Testament*, lest they should fill our Subjects with new Heresies. Forbidding them most expressly, and on the Penalties above mention'd, not to use reproachful or scoffing Expressions in their Sermons against the Mass, and Ceremonies receiv'd and kept in our said Catholick Church; or to go from place to place, there to preach by force, against the will and consent of the Lords, Curates, Vicars and Church-Wardens of Parishes.

XI. In the same manner forbidding all *Preachers* to use in their Sermons or Predications, injurious or reproachful Expressions against the said Ministers, or their Sectators; by reason that such proceedings have hitherto contributed much more to excite the people to Sedition, than to provoke them to Devotion.

XII. And all Persons, of what Estate, Quality and Condition soever, from receiving, concealing, or harbouring in their Houses, any person accus'd, prosecuted, or condemned for Sedition: under the penalty of 1000 Crowns applicable to the Poor: And in case of not being solvable, on pain of being wipt and banish'd.

XIII. Furthermore it is our Will and Pleasure, that all *Printers*, *Dispersers*, and such as sell Defamatory Libels and Satyrs, shall be Whipt for the first fault of that kind, and lose their lives for the second.

XIV. And whereas all the effect and observance of this present Ordinance, which is made for the preservation of the general and universal quiet of our Kingdom, and to prevent all Troubles and Seditions, depends on the duty, care and diligence of our Officers. We have ordain'd, and do ordain, that the Edicts by us made about *Residence*, shall be inviolably observ'd, and the Offices of such as shall be wanting therein, vacant and forfeited; and that they shall neither be restor'd or kept in the same, either by Letters Patents, or otherwise.

XV. That all Bayliffs, Seneschals, Provosts, and other our Magistrates and Officers shall be oblig'd, without bidding or requiring, to repair forthwith to the Place where they shall be inform'd that any Misdemeanor has been committed; in order to inform, or cause to be inform'd against Delinquents and Malefactors, and to secure their persons in order to their Tryal, on pain of forfeiting their Places, without hopes of restitution, and of all cost and damages towards the Parties. And in the case of Sedition shall punish the Seditious, without deferring to an Appeal according (calling to their assistance such a number of our other Officers, or famous Advocats) as it is order'd by our Edict of *July*, and in the same manner, as if it were by a Decree from one of our Sovereign Courts.

XVI. Forbidding our dearly belov'd and trusty Chancellor, and our belov'd and trusty the Masters of Request

quest in Ordinary of our Palace, keeping the Seals of our Chanceries, to grant any Relief of Appeal; and our Courts of Parliament to relieve them, or otherwise to hinder our said Inferior Officers from taking cognizance of the same, in case of Sedition: By reason of the dangerous consequence thereof, and that it is necessary to proceed with speed against the same by exemplary Punishment.

Therefore we will and require by these Presents, our Beloved and Trusty, the Persons holding our said Courts of Parliament, Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts, or their Lieutenants, and all our other Justices and Officers, and every one of them, as unto them shall appertain; To cause our present Ordinances, Will and Intention, to be read, publish'd and register'd, kept, preserv'd, and inviolably observ'd, without any infringement; and to constrain, and cause to be constrain'd; this to do and suffer, all such to whom it shall belong, and shall want to be constrain'd for the

same: And to proceed against the Transgressors in the manner aforesaid. And that the said Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts, and other our Officers, shall give us notice within a Month after the Publication of these Presents, of their proceeding in the execution and observation thereof. For such is our Pleasure. All Edicts, Ordinances, Commands, or Prohibitions thereunto contrary notwithstanding. To which we have in respect to the Contents of these Presents, and without prejudice to them in others, derogated, and do derogate. In witness whereof, we have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd to these Presents.

Given at St. Germain en Laye, the 17th Day of January, in the Year of our Lord, 1561: and of our Reign the Second.

Thus sign'd by the King, being in his Council, *Bourdin*, and seal'd upon a double Label with Yellow Wax.

The King's Declaration and Interpretation upon some Words and Articles, 6 and 7 contain'd in the present Edict of the 17th of January, 1561.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God King of France, to our Trusty and well beloved the Persons holding our Courts of Parliament, Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts, or their Lieutenants, and to all our other Justices and Officers, and to every one of them, according as it may concern them, Greeting.

By our Ordinance of the 17th of January last past, join'd hereunto under the Counter Seal of our Chancery, made for the repose and Pacification of our Subjects, and to appease and put an end to the Troubles and Seditions occasion'd in this our Kingdom, by the diversity of Opinions that reign in our Religion:
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It is said among other things, [Article 6.] *That whenever our Officers shall be desirous to go into the Assemblies of those of the New Religion, to assist at their Sermons, and to hear what Doctrine is taught there, they shall be receiv'd in the same, and respected according to the Dignity of their Places and Offices: And in case it be to take and apprehend some Malefactors, they shall be obeyed, and assisted; according as it is contain'd more at large, in the Article of the said Ordinance, which mentions it.*

And whereas some difficulty might arise about the Interpretation of this Word *Officers*, thus couch'd in general, in the said Article, to know whether all our Officers of Judicature are indifferently meant and included under the same, we in order to make our said Ordinance as clear and intelligible as can be, and to leave nothing dubious or difficult, have said and declar'd for the interpretation thereof, do say and declare, that by the said Word *Officers*, and the permission we have granted them to go into the said Assemblies, for the Reasons contain'd in our said Ordinance, we only intend, as we do still intend to give the said Power to our Ordinary Officers, to whom the cognizance of the *Policy* of Civil Government belongs; as Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provoosts, or their Lieutenants, and not to those of our Sovereign Courts, nor to our other Officers of Judicature, which we expect to live in the Faith of us, and of our Predecessors. And the said Power shall extend no farther than when occasion shall offer it self to inspect and remedy what is mention'd in the said Ordinance.

¶ Moreover, We have ordain'd, and do ordain, in relation to what is said afterwards [Article 7.] in the said Ordinance, *That those of the New Religion shall hold neither Synods, nor Consistories, unless by leave, or in presence of one of our said Officers.* That if their said Assemblies which they call *Synods* and *Consistories*, are General of the whole Government and Province, they shall not be allow'd to hold them, unless by leave, or in presence of the Governor, or our Lieutenant General of the Province, of his Lieutenant General, or others by them appointed: And in case the said *Assembly* is *Particular*, by leave, or in presence of one of our Magistrate Officers, who shall be elected and deputed by the said Governor, or his said Lieutenant General. ¶ Provided always that the said Assemblies which they call *Synods* and *Consistories*, shall only be held for the regulation of Religion, and upon no other account. ¶ And all this by way of Provision, until the determination of the General Council, or till new Orders from us. Neither have we by our said Ordinance, and the present Declaration, design'd, or do design, to approve two Religions in our Kingdom, but only one, which is that of our Holy Church, in which the Kings our Predecessors have liv'd.

Therefore we will and require you, that in proceeding to the reading, publishing, and registering of our said Ordinance, you shall at the same time, and in like manner cause this our present *Declaration* and *Interpretation* to be read, published, and registred, and the same inviolably

to maintain, keep and observe, without the least Infraction: For such is our Pleasure, the Contents of our said Ordinance, and all other Edicts, Mandats, or Prohibitions thereunto contrary notwithstanding.

Given at St. Germain en Laye, on the 14th of February, in the Year of our Lord 1561. and of our Reign the Second.

Thus Sign'd by the King, being in his Council; with the Queen his

Mother, the Duke of Orleans, the King of Navar, the Cardinal of Bourbon, and the Prince De la Roche Sur-Yon; the Cardinals of Tournon, and Chatillon, You the Sieurs de St. Andre, and de Montmorency Marshals, and de Chastillon, Admiral of France, du Mortier, and the Bishop of Orleans, d'Avançon, and the Bishop of Valence, de Selve, de Gonnor, and Dandelot, and several others were present.

Bourdin.

First Mandamus from the King to the Court of Parliament at Paris, for the publishing of the Edict of the Month of January.

Charles, by the Grace of God, King of France, to our Trusty and well-beloved the persons holding our Court of Parliament at Paris Greeting. We have seen the Remonstrances you have sent us by our Trusty and well beloved Christopher de Thou, President, and William Violle, Councillor in our said Court, your Brethren, about the Ordinance we have given on the 17th. of January last past, for the peace and tranquillity of our Subjects, and to put a stop to the Troubles and Seditions occasion'd in this Kingdom by the diversity of the Opinions that reign in Religion. And after having caus'd the said Remonstrances to be read, Article after Article, and word for word, in presence of us, and of the Queen our most dear, and most beloved Lady and Mother, of our most dear and most beloved Brother, the Duke of Orleans, of our most dearly beloved

Uncle, the King of N. our Lieutenant General, representing our Person throughout all our Kingdoms and Territories, of the other Princes of our Blood, and our Privy Council: We by their Advice, and in consideration of the great, reasonable and necessary Causes and Occasions which have been our Motives for making the said Ordinance, do hereby desire, command, and expressly enjoin you to proceed to the reading, publishing, and registering of the said Ordinance, and the Declaration by Us made, affix'd to the same. And that you shall cause both the one and the other to be receiv'd, kept, and inviolably observ'd, without the least infringement: The whole by way of Provision, until the determination of the General Council, or New Orders from us: And according as it is more at large directed by the said Ordinance and Declaration, without

without any farther delay or difficulty, not to oblige us to send you any other, or more expresse Command than these Presents, which you shall take for second, third; and all other Mandates, which you might require from us in this case; for such is our Pleasure. What is above said, all Edicts, Ordinances, Mandates, and

Prohibitions thereunto contrary, Notwithstanding.

Given at St. Germain en Laye, the 14th Day of February, in the Year of our Lord, 1561. and of our Reign the Second. Thus sign'd by the King being in his Council.

Bourdin.

The Second MANDAMUS.

Charles, by the Grace of God, King of France, To our Trusty and well beloved the Persons holding our Court of Parliament at Paris, Greeting. Whereas we did heretofore send you, our Ordinance of the 17th. of *Jannary* last past, upon which several good Remonstrances have been made to us by you, which we have imparted to our Privy Council, we being there in Person: and whereas several great and urgent Occasions have anew occur'd since, and daily do occur concerning the Tranquility of the State of our Kingdom, which induce us more and more to desire the reading, publishing and registering of the said Ordinance: We have again referr'd the deliberation of the said Affair to our Privy-Council; in presence of our most dear and most beloved Lady and Mother, our most dear and most beloved Uncle, the King of Navar, our Lieutenant-General, representing our Person in all our Kingdoms and Territories, and several other Princes of our Blood,

and Members of our said Council, by the common advice of which, it has been thought fit, and resolv'd, that it is more than necessary for our service, and for the peace and quietness of our Subjects, that the reading, publishing and registering of the said Ordinance should be perform'd in our said Court.

Therefore in pursuance of the said Advice, and in consideration of the necessity of the Time, and the consequence of the Affair, We require, command, and expressly enjoin you, that laying aside all Delays and Difficulties, you should cause the said Ordinance and Declaration to be read, publish'd register'd from Point to Point, according to their Form and Tenor, and the same to receive, keep and observe: The whole provisionally until the determination of the General-Council, and new Orders from Us. All Ordinances, Mandates, or Prohibitions thereunto contrary, Notwithstanding.

Given at St. Germain en Laye, the 1st of March, in the Year of the Lord

Lord 1561. and of our Reign the Second.

Thus sign'd by the King being in his Council, with the Queen Mother, and the King of Navar his Lieutenant-General, representing his Person in all Kingdoms and Territories, the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Prince of Conde, and the Prince

de la Roche-sur-Yon, the Cardinals of Tournon, and de Chaulmon. You le sieur, de St. André Marshal of France, le sieur du Mortier, and the Bishop of Orleans, le Sieur d'Avanson, and the Bishop of Valence, and les Sieurs de Selve, de Gonnor, and de Cypierre, all Counsellors in the said Council, and several others were present.

Bourdin.

Publication of the Edict of January, and of the Declaration, and Interpretation of the same.

LEdicta, Publicata & Registrata, auditore, Procuratore Generali Regis, respectu habito literis patentibus Regis, primæ diei hujus mensis, urgenti necessitati temporis, & obtemperando voluntati dicti Domini Regis, absque tamen

approbatione novæ Religionis: & id totum per modum provisionis, & donec aliter per dictum Dominum Regem fuerit ordinatum. Parisiis in Parlamento Sexta die Martii Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo primo.

Sic signatum,

Du Tillet.

The Edict of King Charles the IX. of the Year 1570. about the pacification of the Troubles of this Kingdom.

CCharles, by the Grace of God, King of France, to all those present and hereafter to come, Greeting. Considering the great Evils and Calamities occasion'd by the Troubles and Wars wherewith our Kingdom has been long, and is still afflicted; and foreseeing the desolation that might ensue, unless by the grace and mercy of God the said

Troubles were speedily pacifi'd. We in order to put an end to the same, to remedy the Afflictions that proceed from thence, to restore and make our Subjects live in Peace, Union, Quiet and Tranquility, as it has always been our intention. Let it be known, that after having taken the good and prudent Advice of the Queen our most dear and most honour'd

nour'd Lady and Mother, of our most dear and most beloved the Duke of *Anjou*, our Lieutenant General, and the Duke d' *Alencon*, Princes of our Blood, and other great and notable Persons of our Privy-Council; We have by their good Counsel and Advice, and for the Causes and Reasons aforesaid, and other good and great Considerations Us thereunto moving, by this our present Edict, perpetual, and irrevocable, said, declar'd, enacted, and do ordain, will and resolve what followeth.

I. That the remembrance of all things past on both sides, from the very beginning of, and since the Troubles happen'd in our said Kingdom, and on the account of the same, shall be extinguish'd and laid aside, as of matters happen'd that had never; and that it shall not be lawful for our Attorney-General, neither for any Publick or Private Persons, whatever at any time, nor on any occasion soever to mention the same, or to commence any Process, or suit thereof in any Court or Jurisdiction.

II. We forbid all our Subjects of what Estate or Quality soever, to revive the remembrance thereof; to injure or provoke each other by Reproaches for what is past. To dispute, contest, quarrel, wrong or offend one another in Word or Deed, but to forbear, and live peaceably together like Brethren, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens; on pain, for the Delinquents, of being punish'd as Infractioners of the Peace, and Perturbators of the Publick quiet.

III. It is our Will and Pleasure that the *Roman* Catholick Religion

shall be restor'd in all parts and places of this our Kingdom and Countrys under our Obedience, where the exercise of the same has been interrupted, there to be freely and peaceably exercis'd, without the least trouble or hindrance, on the Penalties above mention'd. And that all those who during the present War have seiz'd on Houses, Goods or Revenues belonging to Ecclesiasticks, or other Catholicks, who detain and possess the same, shall surrender them the intire possession, and peaceable enjoyment thereof, with the same freedom and safety they enjoy'd them before their being dispossest'd of the same.

IV. And that there may remain no occasion of difference and contention among our Subjects, We have and do allow those of the said Pretended Reform'd Religion, To live and inhabit in all the Cities and parts of this our Kingdom, and Territories under our Obedience, without being urg'd, vex'd, or molested, or constrain'd to do any thing against their Conscience, in point of Religion: Nor examin'd in their Houses, or places where they shall inhabit upon the said account, provided they behave themselves according to what is contain'd in the present Edict.

V. We have also given leave to all Gentlemen, and other persons, actual Inhabitants, and others possessing in our Kingdom and Territories under our Obedience, High Jurisdiction, or Full * *Fief d' Haubert*, as in Normandy, whether in Proper, or Use-Frinf, in the whole, or in a part, to have in such their Houses of the said High-Jurisdiction, or

An Inheritance held immediately by and in Capite of the King.

Fief which they shall nominate for their Principal abode to our Bailiffs and Seneschals, every one in his Precinct the Exercise of the Religion they call *Reform'd*, as long as they reside there; and in their absence their Wives or Children, whom they shall answer for; and they shall be oblig'd to name the said Houses to our Bailiffs and Seneschals, before they shall enjoy the benefit thereof: They shall also enjoy the same in their other Houses of High Jurisdiction, or of the said *Fief de Hubert*, as long as they shall be actually there, and no otherwise, the whole as well for themselves as their Families, Subjects and others, who shall be willing to go there.

VI. In Houses of *Fief*, where the said *Reform'd* shall have no High Jurisdiction, and *Fief de Hubert*, they shall only be allow'd the said Exercise of Religion for their Families: Yet in case any of their Friends should chance to come there to the number of Ten, or some Christning happen in haste, the Company not exceeding the said Number of Ten, they shall not be prosecuted or troubled for the same.

VII. And to gratifie our most dear and most beloved Aunt the Queen of *Navar*, we have allow'd her, besides what has been above granted to the said Lord's High Justicers, over and above in every one of her Dutchys d' *Albert*, County's d' *Armagnac Foix & Biggore*, in a House belonging to her, in which she shall have High-Jurisdiction, which House shall be by us chosen and nominated, there to have the said Exercise perform'd for all such as shall desire to assist thereat, even in her absence.

VIII. Those of the said Religion shall also be allow'd the Exercise thereof in the following Places, viz. For the Government of the *Isle of France*, in the Subburbs of *Clermont* and *Beauvoisis*, and in those of *Crépi in Laonnois*. For the Government of *Champagne* and *Brie*; besides *Vezelai* which they possess at this time, in the Subburbs of *Villeneuve*. For the Government of *Burgundy*, in the Subburbs of *Arnai-le-Duc*, and in those of *Mauli la ville*. For the Government of *Picardy* in the Subburbs of *Mondidier*, and in those of *Riblemont*. For the Government of *Normandy*, in the Subburbs of *Ponteau de Mer*, and in those of *Carentan*. For the Government of *Lyonnois*, in the Subburbs of *Charlieu*, and in those of *St. Geni de Laval*. For the Government of *Bretagne*, in the Subburbs of *Becherel*, and in those of *Kerbez*. For the Government of *Dauphine*, in the Subburbs of *Crest*, and in those of *Chorges*. For the Government of *Provence*, in the Subburbs of *Merindol*, and in those of *Forcalquier*. For the Government of *Languedoc*, besides *Aubenas*, which they are in possession of, in the Subburbs of *Montagnac*, for the Government of *Guienne*, at *Bergerac*, besides *S. Sever* which they are also in possession of. And for that of *Orleans*, *Le Maine*, and the Country of *Chartrain*, besides *Sencerre* which they have, in the Town of *Mailly*.

IX. Moreover, We have also granted them to continue the exercise of the said Religion in all the Cities in which it shall be publickly perform'd on the first Day of this present Month of *August*.

X. For-

X. Forbidding them most expressly to make any Exercise of the said Religion, either as to the Ministry, Regulation, Discipline, or publick Institution of Children or others, in any Places besides those above granted and allow'd.

XI. Neither shall any exercise of the said Pretended *Reform'd* Religion be perform'd, in our Court, or within two Leagues round about it.

XII. Neither do we allow the Exercise of the said Religion, within the City, Provostship and Vicecomty of *Paris*, nor within Ten Leagues of the said City, which ten Leagues we have and do limit to the following Places, *viz.* *Senlis* and the Suburbs; *Meaux* and the Suburbs; *Melun* and the Subburbs, a League beyond *Chartres*, under *Mount-le-Heri*, *Downdan* and the Suburbs; *Rembouillet Houdan* and the Suburbs; a long League beyond *Melun*, *Vigni*, *Meru*, *S. Leu de Serens*; in all which abovesaid places we do not allow any exercise of the said Religion: Nevertheless those of the said Religion shall not be disturb'd in their Houses, provided they behave themselves as abovesaid.

XIII. We do enjoin our Bailiffs, Seneschals or ordinary Judges, each in their Precincts, to appoint Places for them of their own, either such as they have heretofore acquir'd, or such as they shall purchase, there to bury their Dead; and that at the time of their decease, one of the House or Family shall go to acquaint the Captain of the Watch therewith, who shall send for the Grave-Digger of the Parish, and order him to go with such a number of Serjeants of

the Watch as he shall think fit to allow to accompany him, and to prevent Scandal, to remove the Corps in the Night, and so carry it to the place appointed for that purpose, only allowing Ten persons to accompany it: And in such Towns as have no Captain of the Watch, the Judges of the Place shall appoint some other Ministers of Justice.

XIV. Those of the said Religion shall not be allow'd to marry, in such degrees of Consanguinity or Affinity as are prohibited by the Laws receiv'd in this Kingdom.

XV. All Scholars, the sick and Poor shall be receiv'd in the *Universities*, *Schools*, *Hospitals*, &c, without difference or distinction upon the account of Religion.

XVI. And to the end that no question may be made of the good Intention of our said Aunt, the Queen of *Navar*, of our most dear and most beloved Brother and Cousins, the Princes of *Navar* and of *Conde*, Father and Son, we have said and declar'd, do say and declare, That we hold and repute them our good Relations, faithful Subjects and Servants.

XVII. As also all Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers and other Inhabitants of the Cities, Corporations, Villages and Hamlets, and other Places of our said Kingdom and Territories under our Obedience, who have follow'd and assisted them in any part whatever, for our good loyal Subjects and Servants.

XVIII. And likewise the Duke of *Deux-Ponts*, and his Children, the P. of *Orange*, Count *Ludovic* and his Brothers, Count *Wolrat* of *Mansfeld*, and

and other Foreign Lords, who have aided and assisted them, for our good Neighbours, Relations, and Friends.

XIX. And our said Aunt, as well as our said Brother and Cousin, Lords, Gentlemen, Officers, Corporations of Cities, Communities, and others who have aided and assisted them, their Heirs and Successors, shall remain *acquitted and discharged*, as we do acquit and discharge them by these presents for all Sums of Money by them or their Order taken and rais'd out of our Offices of Receipt and Treasures, whatever Sums they may amount to, as well as out of Cities, Communities, or from particular persons, Rents, Revenues, Plate, Sale of Goods, both Ecclesiastical and others, Forests belonging to us or others; Fines, Booties, Ransoms, or other kind of Sums taken by them, upon the account of the present as well as precedent Wars: Neither shall they, or those by them appointed for the raising of the said Sums, or those that have given and furnish'd the same, be any ways troubled or called to an account for the same either now or hereafter; and both they and the said Clerks shall be *discharg'd* for all the Management and Administration thereof, only producing for a full discharge, Acquittances from our said Aunt, or from our said Brother and Cousin, or from those that shall have been appointed by them, for the examination and passing of the same. They shall also be acquitted and discharged for all Acts of Hostility, Levies, Marching of Soldiers, Coining, Casting and Taking of Artilleries and Ammunition,

either out of our Magazines, or from particular persons; making of Powder and Saltpeter; Taking, Fortifying, Dismantling, and Demolishing of Cities and Towns; Enterprizes upon the same; Burning and Demolishing of Temples and Houses; Establishing of Courts of Justice, Judgments and Executions by them; Voyages, Intelligences, Treaties, Negotiations, and Contracts made with all Foreign Princes and Communities; introducing of the said Strangers into the Cities and other parts of our Kingdom. And generally, For all that has been done, manag'd, and negotiated during and since the present, first, and second Troubles, tho neither particularly express'd nor specified.

XX. And those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, shall depart and desist from all *Affociations* they have made either at home or abroad; and henceforward shall raise no Money without our Leave, or list any Men; neither shall they hold Congregations or Assemblies, otherwise than aforesaid, and without Arms; all which we prohibit and forbid them, on pain of being rigorously punish'd, as Contemners and Infractors of our Commands and Ordinances.

XXI. All *Places*, Cities, and Provinces, shall remain and enjoy the same Privileges, Immunities, Liberties, Franchises, Jurisdictions, and Seats of Justice, they had before the Troubles.

XXII. And to remove all Cause of Complaint for the future, we have declar'd and do declare, Those of the said Religion *capable* to hold and exercise all *Estates*, *Dignities*, and *Publick Employments*, both Seignorial, and

and of the Cities belonging to this Kingdom; and to be admitted and receiv'd without distinction into all Councils, Deliberations, Assemblies, Estates, and Functions, depending on the things above said, without being any ways reject'd or hindred from enjoying the same. immediately after the Publication of this present Edict.

XXIII. Neither shall the said of the Pretended *Reform'd* Religion be *overcharg'd* or burthen'd with any ordinary or extraordinary Taxes, more than the Catholicks, and according to their Estates and Substance. Moreover, in consideration of the great Charges those of the said Religion take upon themselves, they shall be free from all other Taxations the Cities shall impose for the Expences past; but they shall contribute to all such as shall be impos'd by us; as also for the future to all those of Cities, like the Catholicks.

XXIV. All *Prisoners* that are detain'd either by the Authority of Justice or otherwise, even in the Gallies, on the account of the present Troubles, shall be released and put at liberty on both sides, without paying any *Ransom*: But yet the Ransoms that have been paid already, shall not be re-demanded or recovered of those that have receiv'd them.

XXV. And as to the *Differences* that might arise upon the account of the fore said Sales of Lands, or other Immoveables: Bonds, or Mortgages given on the account of the said *Ransoms*; as also, for all other Disputes belonging to the case of Arms that might occur, the Parties concern'd shall repair to our said most Dear and most Beloved Brother the Duke of *Anjou*, to summon the

Marshals of *France*, and he shall decide and determine the same.

XXVI. We Order, and it is our Will and Pleasure, that all those of the said Religion, as well in general as in particular, shall be restor'd, *preserv'd*, maintain'd, and kept under our Protection and Authority, into all and every their Estates, Rights, and Actions, Honours, Estates, Places, Pensions, and Dignities, of what quality soever they be, except the Bayliffs and Seneschals of the long Gown, and their Lieutenant-Generals; in the room of which others have been plac'd by us during the present War; to whom, Assignations shall be given to reimburse them of the true value of their said Offices, out of the clearest Money of our Revenue; unless they had rather be Counsellors in our Courts of Parliament, within their Precinct, or of the Great Council, at our Choice; in which case, they shall only be reimburs'd of the Overplus of the Value thereof, in case it fall out so; as they shall also pay the Surplus, if their Offices were of less Value.

XXVII. The Moveables that shall be found in being, not having been taken by way of Hostility, shall be restor'd to the Owners, however returning the Purchasers the Price they have been sold at by Authority of Justice, or by other Commission, or publick Order, as well belonging to Catholicks, as to those of the said Religion. And for the Performance of the same, the Detainers of the said Moveables shall be constrained to make immediate restitution thereof without delay, all oppositions or exceptions notwithstanding; and to
return.

return and restore them to the Owners for the Price they have cost them.

XXVIII. And as for the *Fruits or Revenues of the Immoveables*, every one shall re-enter into his house, and shall reciprocally enjoy the Income of the gathering of the present year. All Seizures or oppositions made to the contrary during the Troubles notwithstanding. As also every one shall enjoy the Arrears of Rent that shall not have been taken by us, or our Order, Permission, or Ordinance from us or our Justice.

XXIX. Also the Forces and Garrisons that are or shall be in Houses, Places, Cities, and Castles, belonging to our said Subjects of whatever Religion, shall immediately retire out of the same, after the Publication of the present Edict, to leave them the free and intire Possession thereof, as they enjoy'd it before their being dispossest'd.

XXX. It is also our Will and Pleasure, That our Dear and Well-beloved Cousins the Prince of *Orange*, and Count *Ludovic of Nassau* his Brother, shall be actually restor'd and re-establish'd into all the Lands, Lordships, and Jurisdictions they have in our said Kingdoms and Territories under our Obedience; as also to the Principality of *Orange*, the Rights, Titles, Papers, Informations, and Dependancies of the same, taken by our Lieutenant-Generals, and other Ministers by us employed to that end; the which shall be to the said Prince of *Orange*, and the Count his Brother, restor'd in the same condition they enjoyed them before the Troubles; and shall enjoy the same henceforward, accord-

ing to the Letters Patent, Decrees, and Declarations granted by the late King *Henry* of most laudable Memory, our most Honoured Lord and Father, whom God absolve, and other Kings our Predecessors, as they did before the Troubles.

XXXI. We also Will and Require, That all *Titles, Papers, Instructions, and Informations*, that have been taken, shall be restored and returned on both sides to the true owners.

XXXII. And in order to extinguish and lay aside as much as can be the Remembrance of all Troubles and Divisions past; we have declar'd and do declare, All *Sentences, Judgments, Decrees, and Proceedings, Seizures, Sales, and Statutes*, made and given against the said of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion, as well dead as alive, since the Death of our said most honoured Lord and Father, King *Henry*, on the account of the said Religion, Tumults, and Troubles happen'd since, together with the Execution of the said Judgments and Orders, from this moment Void, Revok'd, and Annul'd; and therefore order the same to be raz'd and taken out of the Registers of our Courts both Sovereign and Inferior, as also all Marks, Tracts, and Monuments of the said Executions, defamatory Books and Acts against their Persons, Memories, and Posterities; and order the whole to be raz'd out. And the Places that have been demolish'd and raz'd on that account, restor'd to the owners thereof, to be us'd and dispos'd of according to their pleasure.

XXXIII. And as for the *Procedures made, Judgments and Decrees given*, against

against those of the said Religion upon other accounts than the said Religion and Troubles; together with Prescriptions, and Feodal Seizures accruing during the present, last, and precedent Troubles, beginning the Year 1567. they shall be void, as never having been made, given, nor happen'd; neither shall the Parties derive any advantages by them, but shall be put again into the same condition in which they were before the same.

XXXIV. We also ordain, That those of the said Religion shall keep to the Political Laws of our Kingdom, in observing Festivals; neither shall they labour, or sell in open Shops on the said days; nor yet open their Shambles to sell meat on such days in which the use of meat is prohibited by the *Roman-Catholick Church*.

XXXV. And to the end that Justice may be render'd and ministr'd to all our Subjects, without Partiality, Hatred, or Favour, we have and do Ordain, Will, and it is our Pleasure, That Suits and Differences mov'd or to be commenc'd among Parties being of contrary Religion, as well in being Plaintiffs as Defendants in any Civil or Criminal Causes whatever, shall be heard in the first place before the Bailiffs, Seneschals, and other our ordinary Judges, according to our Ordinances: And where Appeals shall lye in any of our Courts of Parliament, in relation to that of *Paris*, which is compos'd of Seven Chambers, The great Chamber, *La Tournelle*, and five Chambers of the Inquests, it shall be lawful for those of the pretended

Reform'd Religion, if they please, in the Causes they shall have depending in each of the said Chambers, to demand that four, either Presidents or Counsellors, may abstain from the Judgment of their Processes, who without alledging any Cause, shall be bound in this case to abstain, notwithstanding the Ordinance by which the Presidents and Counsellors cannot be excepted against without just Cause. And besides that, all Refusals of Right shall be allowed them against all others Presidents and Counsellors according to the Ordinances or Statutes.

XXXVI. As for the Suits they shall have depending in the Parliament of *Toulouse*, if the Parties cannot agree about another Parliament, they shall be return'd before the Masters of Request of our *Hôtel*, in their Court in the Palace at *Paris*; who shall judg their Suits Impartially and Sovereignly, without Appeal, as if they had been judg'd in our said Parliaments.

XXXVII. And as to what relates to those of *Roan*, *Dijon*, *Provence*, *Bretagne*, and *Grenoble*, they shall be allowed to challenge Six Presidents or Counsellors to abstain from the Judgment of their Suits, that is three out of each Chamber. And in that of *Bordeaux* four out of every Chamber.

XXXVIII. The Catholicks shall also be allow'd to challenge, if they think fit, all such Members of the said Courts as have been discharg'd of their Offices upon the account of Religion by the said Parliaments, to abstain from the Judgment of their Suits; also peremptorily; and they

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shall

shall be oblig'd to abstain from the same. They shall also be allow'd all usual Recutations against allover Presidents and Counsellors, according as they are of Right allow'd by the Statutes.

XXXIX. And whereas several persons have receiv'd and suffer such Injuries and Damages in their Estates and Persons, that it will be difficult for them to lose the remembrance thereof, so soon as it should be requisite for the execution of our Intention, being desirous to avoid all Inconveniences that might arise from peoples being disturb'd in their Houses, until all Grudges and Animosities are allay'd, we have given in keeping to those of the said Religion, the Cities of *Rochel*, *Montauban*, *Coignac*, and *La Charité*, in which all such as shall be unwilling to repair so soon to their own Houses, shall be free to retire, and to inhabit. And for the surety of the same, our said Brother and Cousin the Princes of *Navar* and *Condé*, together with Twenty Gentlemen of the said Religion, who shall be by us nominated, shall swear and promise one and for the whole, for themselves, and for those of their said Religion, to preserve the said Cities for us; and at the end of two years to deliver them again into the hands of such a one as we shall think fit to depute, in the same condition they now are in, without innovating or altering any thing in the same; and that without any delay or difficulty, upon any account or occasion whatever: At the expiration of which term, the exercise of the said Religion shall be continued there, as while they held

them. It being nevertheless our Will and Pleasure, that in the same, all Ecclesiasticks shall freely re-enter and perform Divine Service in all Liberty, and enjoy their Estates as well as all the Catholick Inhabitants of the said Cities; which said Ecclesiasticks and other Inhabitants, shall be taken into the Protection and Safeguard of our said Brother and Cousin, and other Lords, to the end that they may not be hindred from performing the said Divine Service, molested nor disturb'd in their Persons, or in the enjoyment of their Estates; but on the contrary restored and reintegrated into the full possession of the same. Willing moreover, that in the said four Cities our Judges shall be re-established, and the exercise of Justice restor'd, as it us'd to be before the Troubles.

XL. It is also our Will and Pleasure, That immediately after the Publication of this Edict made in the Two Camps, Arms shall strait be laid down every where; the which shall only remain in our hands, and those of our most Dear and most Beloved Brother the Duke of *Angou.*

XLI. A Free Commerce and Passage shall be re-established through all Cities, Towns, Villages, Bridges, and Passages of our said Kingdom, in the same condition as they were before the present and last Troubles.

XII. And in order to avoid the Violences and Transgressions that might be committed in several of our Cities, those who shall be by us appointed for the Execution of the present Edict, in the absence of one another,

ther, shall make the chief Inhabitants of the said Cities of both Religions, whom they shall chuse, swear to keep and observe our said Edict; shall make them guard each other, charging them respectively and by publick Act, to answer for the Transgressions that shall be made to the said Edict in the said City, by the Inhabitants thereof respectively, or else to secure and deliver up the said Transgressors into the hands of Justice.

XLIII. And to the end that our Justices and Officers, as well as all other our Subjects, may be clearly and with all certainty inform'd of our Will and Intention, and to remove all Doubts and Ambiguities and Cavillings that might be made in relation to the precedent *Edicts, Letters, Declarations, Modifications, Restrictions, and Interpretations, Decrees, and Registers*, as well secret as all other Deliberations heretofore made in our Courts of Parliament, and others that might hereafter be made to the prejudice of our said present Edict, concerning the case of Religion, and the Troubles occasion'd in this our Kingdom, to be void and of no effect. To all which and the Derogatories therein contained, we have by this our Edict derogated, and do derogate, and from this very time as for then, do cancel, revoke, and annul them: Declaring expressly, That it is our Pleasure, that this our said Edict should be sure, firm, and inviolable, kept, and observed by our said Justices, Officers, and Subjects, without respecting or having the least regard to

whatever might be contrary and derogating to this.

XLIV. And for the greater assurance of the maintenance and observation we desire of this, it is our Will, Command, and Pleasure, That all Governors of our Provinces, our Lieutenant-Generals, Bailiffs, Seneschals, and other ordinary Judges of the Cities of this our Kingdom, immediately upon receipt of this our said Edict, shall swear, The same to keep and observe, cause to be kept, and observ'd, and maintain'd, every one in their Precinct; as also the Mayors, Sheriffs, Capitouls, and other Officers Annual or Temporal, as well the present, after the reception of the said Edict, as their Successors, in taking the Oath they are used to take when they are admitted into the said Places and Offices; of which Oaths, publick Acts shall be expedited to all such as shall require it.

We also require our Trusty and Well-beloved, the Persons holding our Courts of Parliament, immediately upon receipt of this present Edict, to cease all their Proceedings; and on pain of Nullity of the Acts they should pass otherwise, to take the like Oath, and to cause our said Edict to be Published and Registered in our said Courts, according to the Form and Tenor thereof, purely and plainly, without any Modifications, Restrictions, Declaration, or secret Register; and without expecting any Mandamus or Order from us: And our Attornies-General to require and pursue the immediate Publication thereof, without any delay; the which we will have perform'd

in the Two Camps and Armies, within six Days after the said Publication made in our Court of Parliament of *Paris*, in order to send back the Strangers forthwith. Injoyn- ing likewise our Lieutenants-Gen- eral, and Governors, speedily to Publish, and to cause this our said Edict to be published by the Bai- liffs, Seneschals, Mayors, Sheriffs, Capitouls, and other ordinary Judges of the Cities of their said Govern- ment where-ever it will be necessary: As also the same to keep, observe, and maintain every one in his Precinct, in order to put a speedy stop to all Acts of Hostility, and to all Imposi- tions made, or to be made upon the account of the said Troubles after the Publication of our present Edict. Which from the Moment of the said Publication we declare liable to Pun- ishment and Reparation; viz, a- gainst such as shall use Arms, Force, and Violence, in the Transgression and Infractions of this our present Edict, hindering the Effect, Execu- tion, or Injoyment thereof, with Death without hope of Pardon or Remission. And as for the other In- fractions that shall not be made by way of Arms, Force, or Violence, they shall be punish'd by other Cor- poral Inflictions, as Banishments, *Amende Honourable*, and other Pe- cuniary Punishments, according to the Nature and Exigency of the Of- fences, at the Will and Pleasure of the Judges to whom we have assign'd the Cognizance thereof: Ingaging their Honours and Consciences to pro- ceed therein with all the Justice and Equality the Cause shall require, with- out respect or exception of Persons or Religion.

Therefore we command the said Persons holding our Courts of Par- liament, Chambers of our Accounts, Courts of Aids, Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts, and other our Justices and Officers whom it may concern, or their Lieutenants, this our present Edict and Ordinance to cause to be Read, Publish'd, and Register'd in their Courts and Jurisdictions, and the same to maintain, keep, and ob- serve in all Points, and all whom it may concern, the same fully and peaceably to use, and to enjoy; ceasing, and causing all Troubles and Hinder- ances thereunto contrary to cease. For such is our pleasure. In witness where- of we have sign'd these presents with our own hand; and to the same, to the end that it may be firm and last- ing for ever, we have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd.

Given at St. Germain en Lays, in the Month of August, in the Year of our Lord, 1570. and of our Reign the Tenth.

Sign'd

Charles.

And beneath it, by the King being in his Council.

Sign'd

De Neuville.

And on the side, *Visa*, and Seal'd with the great Seal with green Wax, upon Knots of red and green Silk.

Read, Publish'd, and Registred, at the request and desire of the King's Attorney General, at *Paris* in Parlia- ment on the 11th of August 1570.

Sign'd

Tu Tillet.

Edict

Edict of Pacification made by King Henry the 3d, in order to put an end to the Troubles of his Kingdom, and to make all his Subjects thenceforward live in Peace and Quietness, Union, and Concord, under his Obedience; Read and Publish'd in the Court of Parliament, the 8th of October, 1577.

HENRY by the Grace of God, King of France and Poland, to all present and to come, Greeting. God who is the Searcher of the hearts of Men, and sees the bottom of their thoughts, shall always be Judge for us, that our Intention has never been other than to Reign according to his Holy Commandments, and to govern our Subjects in all uprightness and Justice; approving ourself a Common Father to all, who has no other end but their welfare and quiet. In order thereunto, we have always us'd our utmost endeavours to do whatever we judg'd most proper according to the occasions and times; even with a design to establish a certain Peace in this our Kingdom, and to provide against the Disorders and Abuses that have crept in to the same through the License of such long Troubles; and to restore it to its Pristine Dignity and Splendor. To which end we did convene our Estates General in our City of *Blois*, where several things were treated of, and particularly upon matter of Religion; it being propos'd by some, that one of the best Remedies was, to forbid the Exercise of all Religion besides the Catholick. However, it has not been God Almighty's Pleasure to let us reap the fruit we desir'd thereby; but as it is sometimes his pleasure to visit

Kingdoms and Princes, with his Rod of Rigor for the Offences and Sins of Men, the Troubles were kindled a new in our Kingdom more than ever, to our great Grief and Sorrow. And that which troubled us more, was that the Innocent, that is, our poor People endur'd the greatest Hardships, Oppression, and Injuries. All which things having consider'd day and night; and experience in our majority of twenty five years, having convinc'd us that the Continuation of Arms and War could not afford us the advantage we have so much desir'd and endeavour'd; and being fully perswaded that God Almighty will finally convert his Rigor into Mercy; and that his said Visitations are salutary Admonishments to acknowledg him, and to return into the right way of our Duty: After having implor'd his Aid and Assistance, to inspire us with means to find the most necessary and most proper Remedies for the good of our State: And thereupon taken the Advice of the Queen, our most Honour'd Lady and Mother, of our most dearly Beloved Brother, the Duke of *Anjou*, of the Princes of our Blood, and others; of the Officers of our Crown, and other Lords and Notable Persons of our Council: We have, until it please God, by means of a good, free, and lawful

General

General Council, to reunite all our Subjects to our Catholick Church, by this our present Edict perpetual and irrevocable, said, declared, enacted, and ordain'd: Say, declare, enact, and ordain what followeth,

I. *First*, That the Remembrance of all things past on either side, from the beginning of the Troubles happen'd in our Kingdom to this present time, and upon the account of the same, shall be extinguish'd and laid aside, as of things that had never been. Neither shall it be lawful for our Attornies-General, or any other Persons, publick or private, at any time, or on any occasion whatever to mention, or make any Prosecution of the same, in any Court or Jurisdiction whatever.

II. We forbid all our Subjects of what Condition or Quality soever, to renew the Remembrance thereof, to affront or provoke each other by Reproaches of what is past, upon any account or pretence whatever: To dispute, contend, quarrel, abuse, or offend one another by Word or Deed, but to forbear and live peaceably together as Brethren, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens, on pain for the Delinquents of being punish'd as Infractioners of the Peace, and Disturbers of the Publick Good.

III. It is our Will and Pleasure, that the Catholick Religion shall be restor'd and re-establish'd in all Places and Parts of this our Kingdom, and Territories under our Obedience, where the Exercise thereof has been interrupted, there to be freely and peaceably perform'd without the least Trouble and Molestation. Forbid-

ing most expressly all Persons of what State, Quality, or Condition soever, on the pains above-mention'd, to trouble, molest, or disturb the Ecclesiasticks in the Celebration of Divine Service, enjoyment and gathering of their Tythes, Fruits, and Revenues of their Benefices, and all other Rights and Immunities to them appertaining. And that all such, who during the present and precedent Troubles have taken Possession of Churches, Houses, Estates, and Revenues belonging to the said Ecclesiasticks; and who detain and occupy the same, shall yield them the entire Possession, and peaceable Enjoyment thereof, with such Rights, Liberties, and Immunities, as they enjoy'd before their being dispossest'd of the same.

IV. And to remove all occasion of Contentions and Differences among our Subjects, We have allow'd and do permit those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, to live and inhabit in all the Cities and Places of this our Kingdom and Territories under our Obedience, without being troubl'd, vex'd, molested, or constrain'd to do any thing against their Conscience, or disturb'd in the Houses and Places where they shall think fit to inhabit, they behaving themselves according to the Contents of this our present Edict.

V. We have also given leave to all Lords, Gentlemen, and others, as well actual Inhabitants, as others professing the pretended *Reform'd* Religion, possessing in our said Kingdom, high Jurisdiction, or full *Fiet de Haubert* as in *Normandy*, either in proper, or * *Use-Fruit*, in the whole,

or

or half, or third part, to have in such their Houses of the said High Jurisdiction, or abovesaid Fiefs, which they shall be oblig'd to name to our Bailiffs and Seneschals, every one in his Precinct, for their chief Abode, the Exercise of the said Religion, as long as they shall be resident there; and in their absence their Wives or Families which they shall answer for. We also allow them the said Exercise in their other Houses of High-Jurisdiction, or abovesaid Fiefs of *Haubert*, as long as they shall be present there; the whole as well for themselves, their Families, Subjects, as others, who shall be desirous to go to it.

VI. In such Houses of *Fief*, where those of the said Religion shall not possess the said High-Jurisdiction of *Fief de Haubert*; they shall only be allow'd the said Exercise for their Families. Yet, in case any of their Friends should chance to come there to the number of Ten, or any Baptism happen in haste, the Company not exceeding the said number of Ten, they shall not be disquieted or prosecuted for the same. Provided also, That the said Houses are neither situated within Cities, Towns, or Villages belonging to Catholick Lords, High-Justicers other than us, in which the said Catholick Lords have their Houses. In which case those of the said Religion shall not be allow'd to perform the said Exercise in the said Cities, Towns, and Villages, without leave and permission of the said Lords High-Justicers, and no otherwise.

VII. We also allow those of the said Religion to perform and conti-

nue the Exercise thereof in all the Cities and Towns, where it shall be publickly perform'd on the 17th day of the present Month of *September*. However, excepting such Towns as belong to Catholicks, possess'd at present by those of the said Religion, in which those Exercises were not perform'd before the last taking up of Arms, even in the time of the former Peace.

VIII. Moreover, in every one of the Ancient Bailiwicks, Seneschalships and Governments, holding the Place of a Bailiwick, referring directly, and without mediation to the Courts of Parliament; we ordain, That in the *Suburbs of one City*, there being several Cities in the Bailiwick, or for want of Cities, in a Town or Village, the Exercise of the said Religion shall be allow'd for all comers.

IX. Forbidding all those of the said Religion, most expressly to perform any Exercise thereof, either as to Ministry, Regulation, Discipline, or publick Institution of Children, and others, in this our said Kingdom and Territories under our Obedience, in whatever relates to Religion, excepting in the places above granted and allow'd.

X. As also to perform any Exercise of the said Religion in our Court and Attendance, nor within Ten Leagues about it, nor in our Lands and Countries beyond the Mounts, nor also in our City, Provostship, and Vice-County of *Paris*, nor within Ten Leagues round about the same; the which Ten Leagues we have limited, and do limit to the following Places, *Meaux*, and the Suburbs

Suburbs; *Meulan*, and the Suburbs; a League beyond *Chartres*, under *Mont-le-bery*; *Dourdan*, and the Suburbs; *Rambouillet*, *Houdan*, and the Suburbs; a long League beyond *Meulan*, *Vigni*, *Mern*, and *S. Leu de Sraus*. In all which places we do not allow any exercise of the said Religion. Nevertheless those of the said Religion, living in the said Lands and Countries beyond the Mounts, and in our said City, Provostship, and Vice-County of *Paris*, extended as abovesaid, shall neither be disturb'd in their Houses, nor constrain'd to do any thing on the account of Religion contrary to their Consciences, provided always they behave themselves according to the Rules prescrib'd in our present Edict.

XI. We do injoyne all Preachers, Readers, and others, who speak in Publick, not to use any Words, Discourses, and Expressions, tending to excite the People to Sedition; but on the contrary to content and behave themselves modestly, saying nothing but what may tend to the Instruction and Edification of the Hearers, and to maintain the Peace and Tranquility by us establish'd in our said Kingdom, on the pains mention'd in our precedent Edicts. Commanding our Attornies General, and other our Officers most expressly to see the same perform'd.

XII. Those of the said Religion shall no wife be constrain'd, neither shall they remain bound upon the account of the Abjurations, Promises, and Oaths, heretofore made or taken by them or security by them given upon the account of the said Reli-

gion; and shall never be molested or troubled for the same in any kind whatever

XIII. They shall be oblig'd to keep and observe the Festivals established in the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Church: Neither shall they be allow'd on such days to Labour, Work, Sell, or expose Goods to sale in open Shop: Neither shall the Shambles be open'd on such days, in which the use of Flesh is forbidden.

XIV. No Books shall be allow'd to be sold in our Kingdom, Countries, Territories, and Lordship under our Obedience, without being first examin'd by our Officers residing there; and such as are written in Relation to the said pretended Reform'd Religion, by the Chambers hereafter by us ordain'd in every Parliament, to judge of the Causes and Differences of those of the said Religion. Prohibiting most expressly the Impression, Publication, and Sale of all Defamatory Books, Libels, and Writings, on the pains contain'd in our Ordinances: Injoyning all our Judges and Officers to have an eye upon the same.

XV. We also order, That no Difference or Distinction shall be made upon the account of Religion: To receive Scholars to be instructed in the Universities, Colleges, and Schools: And the Sick and Poor into the Hospitals, &c. and publick Alms.

XVI. Those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion, shall be obliged to observe the Laws of the Catholick, Apostolick, Roman Church, receiv'd in this our Kingdom, in respect

spect to Marriages contracted, or to be contracted, as to the Degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity, to avoid the Debates and Suits that might be thereby occasion'd, to the ruin of most of the best Families of the same, and the dissolution of the Bonds of Friendship that are acquir'd by Marriage, and alliance among our Subjects.

XVII. Those of the said Religion shall be oblig'd to pay the Rights of Entrance, as is usual for the Places and Offices they shall be admitted into, without being oblig'd to assist at any Ceremonies contrary to their said Religion. And being called to their Oath, they shall only be oblig'd to hold up their Hand to swear, and promise to God that they will speak the Truth, without being bound to take a dispensation of the Oath by them taken, in passing the Contracts and Bonds.

XIX. It is also our Will and Pleasure, that all those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, of what Degree, Quality or Condition soever, shall be bound and constrain'd by all due and reasonable Ways, and under the Penalties contain'd in our precedent Edicts made upon this Subject, to pay and acquit the Tithes due to Curates and other Ecclesiasticks, and to all others to whom they may belong, according to the Use and Custom of Places.

XIX. And in order the better to reunite the Wills of our Subjects, which is our Intention, and to remove all cause of complaint for the future, we do declare all those of the said preten-

ded *Reform'd* Religion, and others our aforesaid Subjects that have been engag'd in their Party, *Capable to hold and exercise all Estates, Dignities, Offices, and Publick Employments whatever, Royalties and Lordships, and such as belong to the Cities of our said Kingdoms, Countries, Territories and Lordships under our Obedience.* and to be admitted and receiv'd into the same without distinction, and without being oblig'd to take any Oath, or lie under any Obligation, but well and faithfully to discharge their Employments, Dignities, Places and Offices, and to observe the Ordinances. And when any vacancie of the Employments, Places, and Offices within our disposal shall happen, they shall be by us reimplac'd without distinction of Religion, by able persons, as we shall think proper for the good of our Service. We also allow those of the said Religion to be admitted and received in all Councils, Deliberations, Assemblies and Functions depending on the aforesaid things, and that they shall neither be rejected, or debar'd the enjoyment thereof on the account of the said Religion.

XX. We also order, that for the interring of the Dead of those of the said Religion, within all the Cities and places of this Realm, our Officers and Magistrates shall speedily provide a convenient Place in every place for that end. The which we enjoin our said Officers to do; and to take care that no Scandals may be committed at the said Burials.

XXI. And to the end that Justice may be done and ministred to all our Subjects, without partiality, ha-

tered or favour, which is one of the principal means to maintain them in peace and concord; We have and do ordain, that in every one of our Courts of Parliament of *Paris*, *Roan*, *Dijon* and *Renner*, there shall be a Chamber establish'd, compos'd for that of the Parliament of *Paris*, of a President and 16 Councillors: For that of *Roan* of a President and twelve Councillors, and for those of *Dijon*, and *Renner*, of one President, and ten Councillors: Which said Presidents and Councillors shall be selected and taken by us out of the number of those of the said Courts.

XXII. And as for the Courts of Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, *Grenoble* and *Aix*, a Chamber shall also be establish'd in every one of them, compos'd of two Presidents, the one a Catholick, and the other of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and 12 Councillors, of which eight shall be *Catholicks*, and the other four of the said Religion. Which Catholick Presidents and Councillors shall be by us selected, and nominated out of the number of the Presidents and Councillors of the said Courts. And as to those of the said Religion, such shall be employ'd, as shall be found at this very time in possession of the said Offices in the said Courts. And in such places where their number shall not be sufficient, we shall erect other Offices, as much as shall be necessary to accomplish the aforesaid number, with the same Salaries, Honours. Authorities and Prerogatives as the others of our said Courts, for persons of the said Religion.

XXII. A Chamber shall also be establish'd for the Jurisdiction of our Court of Parliament of *Thoulouse*, compos'd as the others of two Presidents, the one a Catholick, and the other of the said Religion; and of twelve Councillors, eight Catholicks, and the other four of the said Religion. Which Catholicks shall be by us chosen out of our other Courts of Parliament, and out of the Great Council: And as for those of the said Religion, such shall be employ'd there as shall be found still at this present time provided with Offices in the said Parliament of *Thoulouse*, besides which a sufficient number shall be created to supply the said Chamber, as is above said, for the others. Which Chamber being thus compos'd, shall by us be sent into the City of ——— And as for that of *Dauphine*, it shall sit six Months in our City of *Grenoble*, and the other six Months in such another City as we shall hereafter order.

XXIV. The said Chambers compos'd as abovesaid, and establish'd in all our said Parliaments, shall take cognisance, and judge sovereignly, and definitively, by Decree, exclusively to all others, of Suits and Differences mov'd or to be mov'd: In which Suits those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others that have been engag'd in their Party, shall be Principals, or Warrantees, either Plaintiffs or Defendants in all Causes, Civil or Criminal, whether the said Processes be by Writ, or Verbal Appeals, in case the said Parties like it so, and one of them requires it before any Plea in the Cause, in respect to Suits to be commenc'd.

XXV. It

XXV. It is also our Pleasure by way of Care and Circumspection, until we have otherwise ordain'd it, that in all Processess mov'd, or to be mov'd in which those of the said Religion shall stand as Plaintiffs or Defendants, Principals or Warrantees in Civil Causes, in which our Officers of Presidial Seats have power to judge Sovereignly and definitively; they shall be allow'd to demand that two of those of the Chamber, where the said Cause is to be try'd, shall abstain from the Judgment of the same: Who without alledging any cause, shall be oblig'd to abstain in this case: Notwithstanding the Ordinance by which the Judges cannot be excepted against without a just cause, besides their still retaining the Refusals of Right against the others. And in Criminal matters in which they also judge Sovereignly, the accus'd of the said Religion shall be allow'd to demand, that three of the Judges may abstain from the Judgment of their process, without shewing cause. And the Provosts of the Marshals of *France*, Vice-Bailiffs, Vice-Seneschals, Lieutenants of the Short Robe, and other Officers of the like Quality, shall judge according to the Ordinances and Rules heretofore given in respect to Vagabonds. And as for Householdiers charg'd and accus'd of Provostal or Criminal cases, if they be of the said Religion, they shall be allow'd to demand that three of the Presidial Judges, before whom the said Cases are to be try'd by the Statutes, may abstain from the Judgment of their Process: And they shall be oblig'd to abstain from the same without shewing cause;

except when in the Chamber of the said Presidial Seats, where the said Processess are to be judg'd, there be to the number of Two in Civil Cases, and Three in Criminal matters of the said Religion: In which Case it shall not be allow'd to refuse without shewing cause. But yet we do not mean that the said Presidial Tribunals, Provosts Marshals, Vice-Bailiffs, and Vice-Seneschals, by vertue hereof should take cognisance of the Troubles past.

XXVI. It is farther our Will and Pleasure, that our most Dearly Beloved Brother the King of *Navor*, our most Dearly Beloved Cousin the Prince of *Conde*, as well as all other Lords, Knights, Gentlemen and others, of what Quality and Condition soever of the said Religion, and others that have been engag'd in their Party, shall be restor'd, and effectually preserv'd in the possession of their Governments, Places, Estates, and Royal Offices, which they enjoy'd before the 24th of *August* 1572. the said to hold and to use in the said form and manner, as other Governors and Officers of this our same Kingdom, without being oblig'd to take new Letters Patents; all Decrees and Judgments given against them and Letters Patent obtain'd by others for the said Employments notwithstanding. As also that they shall re-enter in possession of all and singular their Estates, Rights, Names, Dues and Actions, all Judgments and Sentences given upon the account of the said Troubles notwithstanding. The which Decrees, Judgments, Letters Patent, and all that may have follow'd, we have to that end declar'd,

and

and do declare null, and of no effect and value.

XXVII. Not intending however that those of the said Religion, and others that have been engag'd in their Party, who have resign'd their Employments and Offices by vertue of our Letters Patent, or of the Late King our most honour'd Lord and Brother, whom God absolve, should recover the same, and re-enter into the possession thereof; reserving to them however, all Actions against the Possessors and Titularies of the said Offices, for the payment of the price agreed on between them, upon the account of the said Relinquishments And as for those who have been constrain'd by particular persons by Fact and Force to resign their said Employments and Offices, we do permit them and their Heirs to sue for the same by Law, in a civil manner, both against those that have us'd the said Force, and against their Heirs and Successors.

XXVIII. And as for those of the said Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, and had the grant of the said Offices before the 24th of August, 1572. and were not yet receiv'd into the same: It is our will and pleasure that they be receiv'd into the said Employments, and that all necessary Patents be expedited them to that End.

XXIX. It is also our will and pleasure, That in case any *Commanderships of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, belonging to those of the said pretended *Reform'd Religion*, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, shall be found seiz'd by Authority of Justice, or otherwise, barely upon the account and pretence of

the Troubles, and they any wise dispossest of the same, they shall be immediately restor'd to the said Commanders, and they again put into the same possessions of the said Commanderships, as they were before the 24th of August, 1572.

XXX. The Outcries, and Publick Sales of Inheritances, against which a Decree is prosecuted, shall be perform'd in, and at the usual hours and places, if possible, according to our Ordinances, or in the Publick Market-places, in case there be a Market in the place where the said Heritages lie: And in case there be none, it shall be done in the next Market-place belonging to the Jurisdiction of the Court, where the Judgment is to be pass'd. And the Paper of Notice shall be affix'd to the Post of the said Market-places, and at the Entrance of the Auditory of the said place. And in so doing the said Publications shall be good and valuable, and they shall proceed to the Interposition of a Decree, without regard to the Nullities that might be alledg'd in that respect.

XXXI. The *Acquisitions of Churchlands* made by those of the said pretended *Reform'd Religion*, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, without our Authority, shall be void, and of no effect: And therefore we ordain, and it is our will and pleasure, that the said Ecclesiasticks shall be restor'd without delay, and confirm'd into the real and actual possession and enjoyment of the Estates thus alienated, without being oblig'd to pay back the Price of the said Sales: The said Contracts of Sale notwithstanding. The which to that end

end we have cancell'd and revok'd as null, saving a Redress to the Purchasers, against such as it may concern. And in order to the Reimbursement of the Purchasers of the said Lands, for the Mony by them really and truly disburs'd, we will grant our Letters Patent for leave to those of the said Religion, to impose and equal upon themselves the Sums to which the said Sales may amount, without the Purchasers being allow'd to pretend any Action of Damage or Interest, for want of enjoyment, but shall rest satisfi'd with the reimbursement of the Money laid out by them, for the price of the said Acquisitions, abating upon the said price, the Fruits gather'd and receiv'd by them, in case the said Sale be adjudg'd to have been made at an unreasonable and too low Rate.

XXXII. All *Disinheritances*, or *Privations*, either by way of disposing among Living Persons, or by Wills, barely out of hatred, or upon the account of Religion, shall not be allow'd, neither for the time past, nor for the future, among our Subjects. Yet notwithstanding all Military Wills made during the said present and precedent Troubles on either side; shall be valid, and shall hold according to the Disposition of Right.

XXXIII. The *Disorders* and *Excesses* committed on the 24th of *August*. and the following Days in consequence of the said Day, in our good City of *Paris*, and other Cities and parts of our said Kingdom, were done to our great regret and displeasure. And therefore as a singular Demonstration of our goodness and

kindness towards our Subjects, we do declare the Widows and Children of those that were kill'd on the said Days, in any part of our said Kingdom, free from contributing towards the Impositions that shall be laid for the *Ban* and *Arriereban*, if their Husbands or Fathers were Nobles: Or if their said Husbands or Fathers were not Gentlemen, and consequently liable to pay the **Taille*; We for the same Considerations discharge the said Widows and Children of all *Tailles* and Impositions, the whole, for and during the term of six Years next coming: Forbidding all our Officers, every one in his Precinct, to comprehend them in the same, contrary to our present Will and Intention.

XXXIV. We likewise declare all *Sentences*, Judgments, Decrees, Proceedings, Seizures, Sales and Orders made and given against those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion; whether alive or dead, since the Death of the late King *Henry*, our most honour'd Lord and Father, upon the account of the said Religion, Tumults, and Troubles happen'd since, together with the execution of the said Judgments and Sentences from this very time to be raz'd, void and null, as we do hereby raze, revoke and annul the same. And order the same to be raz'd and taken out of the Registers of the Registries of the Courts, as well Sovereign as Inferior: As also our pleasure is, that all Marks, Signs and Monuments of the said Executions, Books and Acts, defamatory to their Persons, Memories and Posterities, should be remov'd and defac'd. And that

* *A heavy Tax upon such as are not Gentle men.*

that all Places where Demolishments or Railings have been made on that account, shall be restor'd, such as they are, to the true owners thereof, to enjoy the same, and dispose of them as they shall think fit. And we have generally cancell'd, revok'd and annull'd all Proceedings and Informations made for any Enterprizes, pretended Crimes of Lese Majesty, or others; the said Proceedings, Decrees and Judgments containing Reunion, Incorporation, and Confiscation notwithstanding, willing that those of the said Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, should be restor'd to the real and actual possession of all and every their Estates.

XXXV. And whereas by vertue of our aforesaid Declaration, all Decrees and Judgments given against the late *Sieur de Chatillon*, Admiral of *France*, and the execution of the same, remain void and of no effect, as things never done nor happen'd: We in consequence of the said Declaration, Order that all the said Decrees, Judgments, Proceedings, and Acts made against the said *Sieur de Chatillon*, be rac'd, and taken out of the Register of the Registries as well of our Courts of Parliament, as of all other Jurisdictions: And that the memory of the said Admiral shall be untainted; and that his Children shall remain in full possession of their Honours and Estates, in that respect, notwithstanding the said Decrees, importing reunion and incorporation of the said Estates, to the demeanour of our Crown, of which we will cause a larger and more particular Declaration to be given to the said Children, if necessary.

XXXVI. We will have the same done in relation to the *Sieurs de Montgomery, Montbrun, Briquemaut, and Cavaignes*.

XXXVII. We forbid the making of any *Processions*, either for the Death of our late Cousin the Prince of *Conde*, or for what happen'd on *St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572*. and all other Acts that might refresh the memory of the Troubles.

XXXVIII. All *Proceedings* made, *Judgments* and *Decrees* given against those of the said Religion bearing Arms, either absent from our said Kingdom, or retir'd into any Cities and Countries of the same, held by them, but not upon the account of Religion and the Troubles; together with all *Nonsuits*, *Prescriptions* as well *Legal*, *Conventional*, as *Customary*; all *Feodal Seisures* accrued during the present or precedent Troubles, shall be esteem'd as not perform'd, happen'd, nor granted, and as such we have and do declare them to be; have and do annihilate them, without any redress to the Parties, but they shall be restor'd to the same condition in which they were before, notwithstanding the said Decrees, and the execution thereof; and the possession of the same, shall be restor'd to them as they had it on the said 24th of *August, 1572*. What is above written shall also hold good for others who have been engag'd in the Party of those of the said Religion, since the last taking up of Arms, or that have absented from our said Kingdom upon the account of the Troubles, and for the Minor Children of those of the Quality aforesaid, who died during the said Troubles.

Troubles. Restoring the Parties to the same Condition in which they were before, without paying Charges, or being oblig'd to consign the Fines.

XXXIX. All Prisoners that are detain'd, whether by Authority of Justice, or otherwise, even upon the Gallies, on the account of the present or precedent Troubles, shall be freed and set at liberty on both sides, without paying any Ransom. Cancelling and annulling all past Obligations on that subject, discharging the securities thereof; inhibiting and forbidding most expressly all such, in whose keeping the said Prisoners are, to use any force or violence against them, to abuse or misuse them any wise in their Persons, on pain of being severely punish'd and chastis'd. However not meaning that the Ransoms that have already been disburs'd and paid by those who were Prisoners of War only, should be redemanded of those that have receiv'd them. And as to what relates to the Differences concerning the said Ransoms of those that have been made Prisoners on both sides during the said Troubles, the Cognizance and Judgment thereof is reserv'd, as we do reserve it to us, and to our Person, forbidding the Parties to sue for the same any where but before us: And all our Officers and Magistrates to take the least cognizance thereof.

XL. And as to what has been done or taken, without hostility, or in an hostile manner, contrary to the publick or particular Regulations of the Chiefs; and of the Communalities and Provinces that had a Command;

it shall be lawful to sue for it, according to the common Practice of the Law.

XLI. It is also our Will and Pleasure, that all Crimes and Offences committed between persons of the same Party in times of Troubles, Truces and Suspensions of Arms, shall be punish'd, unless in Actions commanded by the Chiefs of either part, according to the Necessity, Law, and Order of War: And as for all Ransoms and Exactions of Money, bearing of Arms, and other Warlike Exploits, done by private Authority, and without being warranted so to do; the persons having so done, shall be prosecuted according to Law.

XLII. The Goods that shall be found in being, and that shall have been taken by way of hostility, shall be restor'd to the Right Owners, in case they be, and are found to be at the time of the publication of the present Edict, in the possession of those that have taken them, or of their Heirs, without paying any thing for the Restitution thereof. And where the said Goods shall have been sold or alienated by Authority of Justice, or by Commission or Publick Order, belonging either to Catholics, or to those of the said Religion, they shall have leave to redeem them, returning the price thereof to the purchasers; declaring that what was committed at Paris and elsewhere, on the 24th of August, 1572. and the following Days in consequence of that, was no Act of Hostility.

XLIII. As to what relates to the Fruits of the Immovables, every one shall

shall retake possession of his Houses and Estates, and shall reciprocally enjoy the fruits or products of the present Year, that shall not have been taken or gather'd on the 17th Day of this present Month of *September*. Even the Ecclesiasticks. All Seizures and hinderances made to the contrary, during the said present and precedent Troubles notwithstanding: As also every one shall enjoy the Arrears of the Rents that shall not have been taken by us, or by our Orders and permissions, or by order of Justice, or by command of our said Brother and Cousin, the King of *Navar*, and Prince of *Conde*, or by others authoris'd by them.

XLIV. All *Titles, Papers, Instructions, and Informations that have been taken*, shall be return'd on both sides, to the right owners, altho the said Papers, or the Castles and Houses in which they were kept, have been taken and seiz'd, either by our special Commissions, or by order of the Governors, and Lieutenants-General of our Provinces, or by the authority of the Chiefs of the other Party, or under any pretence whatever.

XLV. Those of the said Religion shall not be overcharg'd for the future, nor oppress'd with any ordinary or extraordinary Charges, more than the *Catholicks*, and according to the proportion of their Estates and Substance; and it shall be lawful for such as shall think themselves overburthen'd, to seek for a Redress before the Judges to whom those Matters shall be refer'd. And all our Subjects of what Religion or Quality soever, shall be indifferently discharg'd of the Char-

ges that have been impos'd on both sides, on those who were absent, and did not enjoy their Estates by reason of the Troubles, but still without restitution of the Fruits that shall have been employ'd for the payment of the said Charges.

XLVI. Neither shall those of the said Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, nor the *Catholicks*, who inhabited in the Cities and places by them detain'd and occupy'd, and who have paid Contributions to them, be liable to be sued for the payment of the Taxes, Subsidies, Grants, Increases, Assessments, Wastes, Reparations, and other Impositions and Subsidies accruing and impos'd since the 24th of *August*, 1572. until now, either by our Orders, or by the advice and deliberations of the Governors and Estates of the Provinces, Courts of Parliament, and others, which we have and do discharge them of, commanding the Treasurers of *France*, Generals of our Revenues, Receivers General and Particular, their Clerks and Deputies, and other Intendants and Commissioners of our said Revenues, neither to sue, molest or disquiet them for the same, directly or indirectly, in any wise whatever.

XLVII. The Forces and Garisons that are or shall be in Houses, Places, Cities and Castles belonging to our Subjects, shall march out of them immediately after the publication of the present Edict, and leave the free and absolute enjoyment thereof to the true owners, as they enjoy'd them formerly; notwithstanding all the pretensions of right that might be alledg'd by those that detain them;

them; which pretensions they shall be free to prosecute according to the Common Course of Law, after having quitted the said possession, which we will have effected, especially in respect to the Benefices the Titularies shall have been dispossest'd of.

XLVIII. *Free Commerce and Passage* shall be restor'd through all the Cities, Towns, Villages, Bridges and Passages of our Kingdom, Countries, Lands and Lordships under our command and protection, both by Sea and Land, Rivers and Fresh-waters, as they were before the present and precedent Troubles; and all new Tolls and Subsidies impos'd by any Authority but our own, during the said Troubles, shall be remov'd.

XLIX. All *Places, Cities and Provinces* of our said Kingdom, Territories, Lands and Lordships under our Obedience, shall use and enjoy the same Priviledges, Immunities, Liberties, Franchises, Fairs, Markets, Jurisdictions and Seats of Justice, as they did before the present and precedent Troubles; all Letters to the contrary, and the removing of any of the said Tribunals notwithstanding; provided those things have only been done upon the account of the Troubles, the which Tribunals shall be restor'd and re establish'd into the Cities and Places where they were before.

L. In such *Cities as have been dismantled*, during the pass'd and present Troubles, it shall be lawful for the Inhabitants to rebuild and repair the Ruins and Dismantlings of the same with our leave, at their own cost and charges.

LI. Such of the said pretended *Reform'd Religion*, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party, which had taken to *Farm* before the present Troubles, any Registries, or other Demean and Rights to us belonging, which they have not been able to enjoy, by reason of the said Troubles, shall remain discharg'd, as we do hereby discharge them of what they have not receiv'd of the said Farms, since the 24th of August 1572. as also of what they have paid without fraud in places not belonging to the Receipt of our Revenues; all Obligations pass'd by them upon the same notwithstanding.

LII. And to the end that no body may doubt of the good Intention of our said Brother the *King of Navar, and of our said Cousin, the Prince of Conde*; We have said and declar'd, do say and declare, that we hold and repute them our good Kinsmen, faithful Subjects and Servants.

LIII. As also all the *Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers, and other Inhabitants* of Cities, Corporations, Villages and other places of our said Kingdom and Countries under our command, who have follow'd, succour'd and favour'd them in any part whatever for our good and loyal Subjects, declaring all Decrees, Informations, and proceedings made and given against them upon the account of the said Troubles, void and of no effect, as things never done nor happen'd; willing the same to be raz'd out of the Registers of the Chief Clerk's Offices, both of our Courts of Parliament, and other Jurisdictions, where they have been recorded.

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LII.

LIV. We also declare, that we hold and repute our Cousin Duke *John Cazimir* for our good Neighbour, Kinsman and Friend.

LV. We do also acquit and discharge our said Brother and Cousin the King of *Navar*, and Prince of *Conde*, as well as all the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers, Corporations of Cities and Communities, and all others that have abetted and succour'd them, their Heirs and Successors, for all Sums taken and rais'd by them or their Orders, out of our Offices of Receipt and Revenues, to whatever sum or sums they may amount, as well as out of Cities, Corporations, and from particular persons, Rents, Revenues, Plate; Sales of Estates, Goods, both Ecclesiastical and others: Forests belonging to us or others: Fines, Booties, Ransoms, or other Sums taken by them, upon the account of the present and precedent Troubles; and that neither they, nor any that have been employ'd by them for the raising of the said Sums, or that have given and furnish'd them by their Ordinances, shall any wise be liable to be call'd to an account for the same; either at present, or for the future: And that both they and their Clerks shall remain acquitted for all the management and Administration of the said Sums, only producing for a full Discharge within four Months after the publication of our present Edict, given in our Court of Parliament at *Paris*, acquittances duly expedited by our said Brother and Cousin the King of *Navar*, and Prince of *Conde*, or by such as shall have been by them committed for the audit and closing of

their Accounts, or from the Corporations of the Cities that have been employ'd and intrusted during the said Troubles. They shall also remain acquitted and discharg'd for all Acts of Hostility, Levies, and marching of Soldiers, Coining and Rating of Species made according to the order of the said Chiefs, Casting and taking of Artillery and Stores, both out of our Magazine, and from particular persons; making of Powder and Saltpeter; taking, fortifying, dismantling and demolishing of Cities, Castles, Towns; Enterprises upon the same, Burning and demolishing of Churches and Houses, establishing of Courts of Justice, Judgments and Executions of the same, either in Civil or Criminal Causes, Civil Government and Regulations made among themselves, Voyages, Intelligences, Negotiations, Treaties and Contracts made with all Foreign Princes and Communities, introducing of the said Strangers into the Cities and other parts of this our Kingdom, and generally for all that has been done, manag'd and negotiated during the present or past troubles, since the Death of our late Lord and Father, by those of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others that have been engag'd in their Party, although it be not particularly express'd and speci'd.

LVI. And those of the said Religion, and others that have adhered to them, shall give over, and desist from this time forward, from all Practices, Leagues and Intelligences they hold out of our said Kingdom; as also all other our Subjects that might have held any. And all Leagues, Associati-

Associations, Fellowships contracted, or to be contracted, under any pretence whatever, to the prejudice of our present Edict, shall be cancell'd and annul'd, as we do cancel and annul them, forbidding our Subjects most expressly to make any Assessments, or raise Money without our leave, Fortifications, lifting of men, Congregations, and Assemblies, other than such as are allow'd them by our said present Edict, and without Arms: Which we do prohibit and forbid them on pain of severe punishment, as contemners and infracters of our Commands and Orders.

LVII. All Prizes taken both by Sea and Land, by vertue of the Licenses and Warrants given, which have been judg'd by the Judges of the Admiralty, and other Commissioners deputed to that end by those of the said Religion, shall remain dormant under the benefit of our present Edict, for which no prosecution shall be made, neither shall the Captains, their Securities, and the said Judges, Officers and others, be call'd to an account for the same, nor molested in any kind whatever: All Letters of Mark and Seisures depending, and not judg'd, notwithstanding, of which we will have them absolutely discharged and releas'd.

LVIII. It is also our will and pleasure, *That the Children of such as have retir'd out of our said Kingdom, since the Death of the late King Henry, our most honour'd Lord and Father, upon the account of Religion and the Troubles altho the said Children are born out of our said Kingdom, shall beacknowledg'd as true Natives of*

France, and actual Inhabitants thereof; and such we have and do declare them to be, without their being oblig'd to take any Letters of Naturalization, or other provisions from us besides the present Edict: All Ordinances thereunto contrary notwithstanding, the which we have and do derogate from.

LIX. We also order, that immediately after the publication of this our Edict, all Forces and Armies both by Sea and Land, shall disband and retire. Those of the said Religion, and such as have been engag'd in their Party, shall be oblig'd to remove all Garisons out of the Cities, Places, Castles and Houses they are possess'd of, belonging either to us, to the Clergy, or other private persons; to quit, restore, and surrender them in full liberty, as they were in full peace before the present and precedent Troubles. Nevertheless, whereas several private persons have receiv'd and suffer'd during the Troubles, so many Injuries and Damages in their Estates and Persons, that it will be difficult for them to lose the remembrance thereof so soon as it should be requisite for the execution of our Intentions; we being desirous to avoid all inconveniencies that might arise from thence, until the Heart burnings and Animolities are allay'd, have thought fit to give in keeping to those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion, for the time and Term of six years, the Cities following, viz. in *Languedoc*, those of *Moutpellier* and *Aiguemortes*: in *Dauphine*, *Nyon* and *Serre*, City and Castle: in *Provence*, *Seine*, *La Grand-tour*, and the Circuit thereof: In *Gu-*

rienne, Perigueux, La Reolle, and the Mas of Verdun; which Cities our said Brother and Cousin the King of *Navar*, and Prince of *Conde*, and twenty Gentlemen of the said Religion, or others that have been engag'd in their Party, who shall be by us nominated; Besides such as shall be committed for the Guard of the said Cities and Castles, shall swear and promise, one and for the whole, for themselves, and for those of the said Religion, and others of their Party, well and faithfully for us to keep them; and at the expiration of the aforesaid Term of Six Years, to reckon from the day and date of the present Edict, to redeliver them into the hands of such as shall be by us deputed, in the same condition they now are in, without the least Innovation or Alteration, and without the least delay or difficulty, upon any pretence whatever; at the end of which Term, the exercise of the said Religion shall be continu'd there, as while in their Possession: Nevertheless it is our Will and Pleasure, That in them all Clergy-men shall freely return, perform Divine Service in all Liberty, and enjoy their Estates; and likewise all the Catholick Inhabitants of the said Cities. The which Clergy-men and other Inhabitants, our said Brother and Cousin, and other Lords, together with the Governors of the said Cities and Garisons, shall take into their Protection and Safeguard, to the end that they may not be disturbed in the said Divine Service, molested nor disquieted in their Persons, and in the enjoyment of their Estates; but on the contrary, restor'd

and re-established into the full Possession of the same: Willing moreover, that our Judges shall be also re-established into the said Cities, and the exercise of Justice restor'd, as it us'd to be before.

LX. Forbidding strictly all our Subjects, of what Quality or Condition soever, to form any Enterprizes or private Conspiracies to surprize the said Cities given in keeping to those of the said Religion, or to take or seize any other Cities, Castles, and Places of our said Kingdom, and Territories thereunto belonging, on pain of being punish'd and chastis'd as Infractors of the Peace, and Disturbers of the Publick Quiet.

LXI. *No Governors or Garisons shall be put by us into the Cities at present in Possession of those of the said Religion, which are to be quitted by them, unless they have always had such, and even in the Reign of the late King Henry our said Lord and Father.* Likewise, desiring to ease our Subjects in all our Cities, as much as in us lies, it is our Will and Pleasure, That the Governors, Captains, and Soldiers, that have been put in Garison there, shall be remov'd out of the same, excepting out of such as are Frontiers of our said Kingdom, which are fit to be kept there for the Defence and Safety thereof. Neither shall any other Garisons be kept in the Cities, Castles, Houses, and Estates, belonging particularly to our Subjects, than such as us'd to be kept there in time of Peace.

LXII. And to the end that our Justices, Officers, and other our Subjects, may be clearly, and with all certainty, inform'd of our Will and

Intention; and to remove all Ambiguities and Doubts that might arise on the account of the precedent Edicts, by reason of the diversity of the same, we have and do hereby declare all other *Precedent Edicts*, secret Articles, Letters, Declarations, Modifications, Requisitions, Restrictions, Interpretations, Decrees, Registers, as well such as are secret, as other Deliberations by us made in our Courts of Parliament, and elsewhere, concerning the Case of Religion, and the Troubles happen'd in our said Kingdom, to be void, and of no effect and value: To which, and to the derogatories therein contain'd, we have by this our Edict derogated, and do derogate, and from this time as well as then, cancel, revoke, and annul the same; declaring expressly, That this our Edict shall be firm and inviolable, kept and observed by our said Justicers and Officers, as well as by our other Subjects, without minding or regarding whatever may be contrary or derogating to the same.

LXIII. And for the better Assurance of the maintaining and observation we desire to have of the same, it is our Will and Pleasure, That all our Governours, and Lieutenant-Generals of our Provinces, Bailiffs, Seneschals, and other common Judges of the Cities of this our said Kingdom, immediately upon receipt of this our said Edict, shall swear to cause it to be observed in their several Precincts; as also the Mayors, Sheriffs, Capitouls, Consuls, and Jurats of Cities, Annual or Perpetual. Enjoining also our said Bailiffs, Seneschals, or their Ligu-

tenants, or other Judges, to swear the chief Inhabitants of the said Cities, of either Religion, to the keeping and maintaining of the present Edict, immediately after the Publication of the same, putting all the Inhabitants of the said Cities under our Protection and Safeguard, to guard each other; charging them respectively and by Publick Acts, to be responsible for the opposition that shall be made to our said Edict in the said Cities by the Inhabitants thereof, or to represent and deliver the said Opposers into the hands of Justice.

LXIV. We also charge our Trusty and Well-beloved the Members of our *Courts of Parliament*, immediately upon receipt of the present Edict, to forbear all manner of Proceedings, on pain of Nullity of the Acts they should otherwise pass, and to take the Oath above-mention'd; to cause our said Edict to be Publish'd and Recorded in our said Courts, according to the Form and Tenor thereof, purely and barely, without using any other Modifications, Restrictions, Declarations, or secret Registers, and without staying for any other Order or Command from us; and our Attorneys-General from them to require and prosecute forthwith, without the least delay, the said Proclamation. Likewise enjoining the said Governours and Lieutenants-General of our said Provinces, to cause it immediately to be published in their several Districts, through all the places in which it is usual in those cases: To cause it to be kept and observed, without tarrying for the publication of our said.

said Courts of Parliament, to the end that no persons may plead ignorance. And that all Acts of Hostility, Raisings of Money, Payments and Contributions due, and drawing on, Takings, Demolishings, Fortifying of Cities, Places, and Castles, may the sooner cease on both sides. Declaring all such raisings of Money, Fortifications, Demolishings, Contributions, Takings, and Forcing of Goods, and other Acts of Hostility, that shall be made or done after the said Publication and Verification, made by the said Governors and Lieutenants-General of our said Provinces, liable to Restitution, Punishment, and Reparation. To wit, against such as shall make use of Arms, Force, and Violence, to oppose our said Edict, hindering the Effect and Execution thereof, with Death, without hopes of Pardon or Remission. And as for other Oppositions, that shall be made without Arms, Force, or Violence, they shall be punished with other Corporal Inflictions, as Banishments, and the like; according to the Nature and Exigency of the Offence, which shall be left to the Arbitration and Moderation of the Judges, to which we refer the taking the Cognizance thereof. In this place, charging their Honours and Consciences to proceed therein with the Justice and Equality that is requisite, without any regard to the difference of Persons or Religion.

Therefore we charge and require the said Persons holding our said Courts of Parliament, Chambers of Accounts, or Exchequers, Courts of Aids, Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts,

and others our Justices and Officers whom it may concern, or their Deputies to cause our present Edict and Ordinance to be Read, Publish'd, and Recorded in their Courts and Jurisdictions, and the same to maintain, keep, and observe in every particular, to the end that all those that are concern may fully and peaceably enjoy and use the Contents thereof; ceasing, and causing all Troubles and Hinderances to the contrary to cease. For such is our Will and Pleasure. In witness whereof we have sign'd these Presents with our own hand; and to the end that it may be firm and lasting for ever, we have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd to the same.

Given at Poictiers in the Month of September, in the Year of our Lord, 1577. and of our Reign the Fourth.

Sign'd Henry.

And Lower, by the King be being in his Council.

Sign'd De Neuville.

And on the side, Visa.

And Seal'd upon Knots of red and green Silk, with green Wax, with the Broad Seal.

Read, Publish'd, and Recorded, Heard, the same being requir'd and approv'd of by the King's Attorney-General, at Paris in Parliament on the 8th of October, in the year 1577.

Sign'd De Hvez.

Read,

Read likewise, Publish'd and Recorded in the Chamber of Accounts, or Exchange, heard, the same being requir'd and approv'd by the King's Attorney-General in the same, on the 11th of October, 1577.

Sign'd,

Danes.

Read and Publish'd by Sound of Trumpet, and Publick Cry through the

Streets of the City of Paris, Places, and Parts appointed for Cries and Publication, by me Paquier Rossignol, his Majesty's Crier in the City, Provostship, and Vice County of Paris, accompanied by Michel Noiret, Sworn Trumpeter to the said Lord in the said Places, and four other Trumpeters, on the 8th of October, 1577.

Sign'd,

Rossignol.

Secret Articles of the 17th of September, 1577.

I. **H**IS Majesty to gratify the King of Navar, shall allow him, besides what is granted by the General Articles to the Sieurs high Justicers of the said Religion, to cause Divine Service to be perform'd for all such as shall be willing to assist at it, altho he be absent himself, in the Houses belonging to him in the following places; viz. in the Dutchy of Vendemoir, in the City of Montoire.

II. His said Majesty shall likewise allow the Prince of Condé to have the said exercise perform'd in his house of La Ferte, upon the River Loire and Anguien, tho absent from thence himself.

III. Upon the Article which mentions Baliwicks, has been declar'd and granted what follows. First, That under the Denomination of Ancient Bailiwicks, his Majesty means such as were held under the Reign of the late King Henry, for Bailiwicks, Seneschallships, and Governments, referring directly, and without Mediation to the Courts of Parliament.

Secondly, That in Bailiwicks, and Seneschallships, in which those of the

said Religion possess at this present two Cities or Towns, belonging to his said Majesty, or to Catholick Lords, High Justicers, in which they are allowed to continue the Exercise, of their Religion, no other Place shall be provided for them to perform the said Exercise in, as in the other Bailiwicks of this Kingdom.

Thirdly, That his Majesty shall only provide two Cities in the Government of Piccardy, in the Suburbs of which, those of the said Religion shall be allow'd the exercise of their said Religion, for all the Bailiwicks, Seneschallships, and Governments belonging thereunto; and in default of Cities, they shall be allow'd two convenient Towns or Villages.

Fourthly, In consideration of the large Extent of the Seneschallships of Provence and Poitou, those of the said Religion are allow'd another City in every one of them, in the Suburbs of which, or in default of a City, a convenient Town or Village, they shall have the exercise of the said Religion, besides those that shall

shall be allow'd them by the said Article.

IV. It has also been agreed, That no place shall be allow'd by virtue of the said Article, on the Territories belonging in proper to the Queen Mother to his Majesty, for the publick Exercise of the said Religion: Nevertheless, such Gentlemen as have high Judicatures, or *Fiefs de Hubert* in the said Territories, shall be free to enjoy and make use of the permission that shall be allow'd them by the Edict, as elsewhere.

V. Neither shall any place be provided in the Bailiwick of *Beaujolois*, belonging to the Duke of *Montpencier*; but the said High Justicers shall enjoy the Privilege of the Edict there as elsewhere.

VI. A place shall be appointed for all the Isles of *Marennes*, and another for the Isle of *Oleron*, in which two places those of the said Religion shall be allow'd the exercise thereof, for all such Inhabitants of the two Isles, as shall desire to assist at it.

VII. Provision shall also be made for the County of *Messin*, and others that are under the King's Protection, as it was done by the secret Articles made with the Edict of the Year 1570.

VIII. As for the Marriage of Priests and Religious Persons that have been contracted heretofore, his Majesty for divers good Reasons and Considerations him thereunto moving, will not allow them to be prosecuted or troubled for the same; upon which subject silence shall be impos'd to his said Attorney-Generals and other Officers. His Majesty declaring however, that the Children proceed-

ing from the said Marriages, shall only succeed to the Movables, Acquisitions, and Purchas'd Estates of their Fathers and Mothers; not willing that the said Profess'd Religious Persons should be capable of a direct or collateral Succession. Neither will his Majesty allow, that those of the said Religion having heretofore contracted Marriages in the third or fourth degree, should be molested for the same, or the Validity thereof call'd to question, nor likewise the Succession taken from, or disputed against the Children born or to be born, descending from the said Marriages: And in order to judge of the Validity of the said Marriages made and contracted by those of the said Religion, and to decide whether they are lawful or not, if the person of the said Religion is Defendant, in that case the Judges Royal shall take cognizance of the Fact of the said Marriage; and he being Plaintiff, and the Defendant a Catholick, the Cognizance thereof shall belong to the Official and Ecclesiastical Judge; for which Letters-Patent shall be granted by his said Majesty, to be verified in his Courts of Parliament.

IX. And as to Marriages already treated of, either of second or others, among those of the said Religion, those that shall have contracted Marriages in such a degree, in that kind applying themselves to his Majesty, such Letters-Patent shall be granted them, as shall be necessary to hinder them or their Children from being prosecuted or molested for the same.

X. Upon what has been granted by the General Articles, That in each of the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Roan*, *Dijon*,

Dijon, and *Rennes*, a Chamber shall be establish'd, compos'd of a President and a certain number of Counsellors, taken and chosen out of the said Courts; it has been thought fit and agreed upon, in order to remove all cause of Jealousy from those of the said Religion, and therein to gratifie the most humble Petition they have made to his Majesty about it; That the Presidents and Counsellors shall be chosen by his said Majesty upon the Register of the Officers of the said Parliaments, among the most equitable, most peaceable, and most moderate; the List whereof shall be communicated to the Deputies of the said King of *Navarre*, and to those of the said Religion who shall be near his Majesty, before their being ordain'd to serve in the said Chambers; and that in case they shall suspect any of them, it shall be lawful for them to acquaint his Majesty therewith, who shall chuse others in their stead.

XI. The same shall be observ'd in the Election of the Catholick Officers that are to serve in the Chambers, that shall be establish'd in the Countries of *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, *Dauphine*, and *Provence*.

XII. As to what relates to the Election of those of the said Religion, for the Offices of Presidents, and Counsellors that shall be erected by the said Edict to serve in the said Chambers, it has been agreed, That it shall be made by his Majesty upon the Attestation of the said King of *Navarre*, for the first time, and without taking any Money for the same; and that upon any Vacation, his said Majesty shall provide other capable persons in their room, being of the said Religion.

XIII. And whereas those of the said Religion have alledg'd several reasons for which they suspect those of the Court of Parliament of *Roan*, which made them very solicitous to have a Chamber establish'd there, as in the Parliaments of *Bordeaux*, *Thoulouse*, and *Dauphine*; in order not to make that Parliament differ from those of *Paris*, *Dijon*, and *Rennes*, it has been granted to those of the said Religion, having any Suits depending in the said Parliament, in case they will not receive those of the Chamber that shall be erected there for Judges, to apply themselves to his said Majesty, and Letters of Transference shall be allow'd them by him, in the Chamber of the Parliament of *Paris*, ordain'd for the Administration of Justice to those of the said Religion, or to the Great Council, for Processes mov'd, or to be mov'd, before any Plea in the Cause; bringing good and due Attestations along with them, of their being of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion.

XIV. His said Majesty also wills and means, That the said Chambers, compos'd and establish'd in the said Parliaments, for the distribution of Justice to those of the said Religion, shall be reunited and incorporated in the said Parliaments, when need shall require; and when the Causes which have mov'd his said Majesty to establish them shall cease, and shall no longer subsist among his subjects.

XV. To those ends, the Presidents and Counsellors who shall be invested with the Offices newly created into the said Chambers, shall be

nam'd Presidents and Counsellors of the Courts of Parliament, each in that into which they shall be establish'd, and reckon'd in the number of the Presidents and Counsellors of the said Courts; and shall enjoy the same Salaries, Authorities, Prerogatives as the Presidents and Counsellors of the other Courts.

XVI. The Examination of which Presidents and Counsellors newly chosen, shall be made by his Majesty's Privy Council or by the said Chambers, each one within its Precinct, when there shall be a sufficient Number of them; and yet the accustomed Oath shall be taken by them in the Courts where the said Chambers shall be establish'd; except those of the said Chamber of *Languedoc*, who shall take it before the Lord Chancellor, or in the said Chamber when it shall be establish'd.

XVII. In the said Chamber of *Languedoc*, there shall be two Substitutes of his Majesties Attorney and Advocate. The Attorney's shall be a Catholick, and the other of the aforesaid Religion, who shall have sufficient Salaries from his said Majesty.

XVIII. There shall also be two Committees of the Parliament of *Thoulouse*; the one Civil, the other Criminal, which the Registers shall be responsible for.

XIX. Moreover some Messengers shall be appointed, who shall be taken out of the said Court, or elsewhere, according to the King's pleasure, as many as shall be necessary for the Service of the said Chamber.

XX. The Session of which shall be appointed by his Majesty, and re-

mov'd to such Cities and Parts of the said Country of *Languedoc*, as his said Majesty shall think fit, for the convenience of his Subjects.

XXI. Whereas those of the said Religion have made complaints, that from the Publication of the Edict made in the year 1572. to the day of the Publication of this that shall be now, there have been several Prescriptions, Nonuits, or Judgments, given against those of the said Religion, in places where the Suits have neither been heard, nor defended; and that tho they have desired a removal to the Party-Chambers, it has been denied them: It is granted them, that in case they can give sufficient proof of the same, they shall be receiv'd in their first Condition again.

XXII. Likewise upon the Remonstrances that have been made by the King of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde*, that they are sued by several of those, who during the Troubles, have bought Temporal Estates belonging to the Church, requesting that no Actions may be allow'd the Purchasers against them, or any of those, who by their Command have made the Contracts of the said Sales. It is granted to them in his said Majesties Name, that all necessary Letters Patent, to discharge and indemnify them for the said Sales, shall be particularly expedited for them; on condition that the money shall be reimburs'd, as it is specifid. in the General Articles of the Edict.

XXIII. His Majesty shall promise and swear to observe and maintain the Edict that shall be made upon the

the said General Articles, and to let those of the said Religion, and others that have been engag'd in their Party, enjoy the benefit of the same: He shall also oblige the Queen his Mother, and the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, to promise and swear to keep and observe the said Edict.

XXIV. The same shall be done by the King of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde*.

XXV. All which Promises and Oaths shall be made in writing, sign'd by the Hands, and seal'd with the Arms of those that shall make them, the which shall be reciprocally put and deliver'd into the hands of his Majesty, and of the said King of *Navar*, or such as shall be by them deputed to receive them.

XXVI. The said King of *Navar* shall be allow'd, after the Conclusion of the Peace, to send to the Queen of *England*, and to Duke *John Casimir*, to acquaint them therewith, and Passes and Convoys shall be given by his Majesty to those that shall be sent thither by the King of *Navar*.

XXVII. All such of the said Religion as are still in possession of Benefices, shall be oblig'd to resign them within the space of Six Months to Catholicks; and those who have promises of Pensions upon the said Benefices, dated before the 24th of *August*, 1572. shall be henceforward paid for the same, and the payment of the said Pensions continued; and those who owe the said Pensions, shall be oblig'd to pay the Arrears, in case any are due, provided they have actually enjoy'd the Fruits of the said Benefices, excepting the

Arrears due in the time of the Troubles.

XXVIII. And as for those who are not of the said Religion, yet have follow'd them during the time of the Troubles, they shall re-enter into the same Possession and Enjoyment of their Benefices, as they had before the 24th of *August*, 1572. And those who by private Authority, without order, or gift from his Majesty, have enjoy'd and receiv'd the Fruits of the said Benefices belonging to the abovemention'd, shall be oblig'd to return it to them, and to resettlement them into the same.

XXIX. Upon the Request of those of the said Religion, and others, who have been engag'd in their Party, to annihilate all the Bonds, Notes, and Promises made by them; together with all Judgments given upon the same against them, upon the account of the Employments, Places, and Offices resign'd unto them before the last Troubles, or since; for which they have not been able to obtain Letters Patents, by reason of the said Troubles, the which said Employments and Offices have in the mean while been granted to others; they also requesting the reimbursement of the Money paid by them for the same, either into his Majesty's Exchequer, or to the Relinquers. It has been declar'd, That upon their giving his Majesty an account of the particulars of the Cases in question, his said Majesty will remedy the same, and cause Justice to be done unto them.

XXX. The Officers of Justice shall also decide the particular Debate and Request of the Parties, about the

Annihilation desir'd by those of the said Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party of the Leases, made by them of their Estates and Inheritances, since the said 24th of *August*, in order to re-enter into the Premises, returning the Fines by them receiv'd.

XXXI. His Majesty's Officers in the City of *Rochel*, the Mayor, Sheriffs, Consuls, Common-Council, and other Inhabitants of the said City shall be continu'd and maintain'd in their Ancient Rights and Privileges; and shall neither be prosecuted, molested, or troubled for their Orders, Decrees, Imprisonments, both within and without the City, the Execution of their Judgments afterwards, as well upon the account of some pretended Enterprizes attempted against the said City, in *December 1573*. as by a Ship, call'd the *Swallow*, and the Execution of the Judgments given against those that were on Board of her, or for any other Acts whatever, of all which they shall be absolutely discharg'd. They shall have no other Governor but the Seneschal, neither shall any Garison be put into the said City and Government.

Neither shall any be put into the Cities and Places belonging to the Government of *Languedoc*, except such as had Garisons in the time of the late King *Henry*.

XXXII. His Majesty shall confirm the Declaration granted by the late King to the Inhabitants of *Pamiers*, professing the said Religion, for the Annihilation of the Decrees given for some Excesses committed in the said

City, in the Month of *June, 1566*. and the said Declaration shall be presented to that end to his said Majesty.

XXXIII. The keeping of Eight hundred men, to be paid by his said Majesty, has been granted to the said King of *Navar*, and others of the said Religion, to put into the Cities that are allow'd them for their safety; in which his said Majesty shall not be allow'd to put any Governor, or other Garison. And he shall also Charge the Governors and Lieutenant-Generals of his Provinces, that whenever they shall pass through the same to visit them, they shall avoid all occasion of dispute with those of the said Religion.

XXXIV. The said King of *Navarre* shall present unto his said Majesty, those he shall design to employ for the guarding of the said Cities, the which shall be employ'd there accordingly by him: And in case any of the said persons so employ'd, should behave themselves insolently there, and abuse their said Office, not observing the said Edict of Pacification, the said King of *Navarre* shall be obliged to turn them out, and to present others to his said Majesty, to be put in their place.

XXXV. The City of *St. John d' Angeli* shall be left to the Prince of *Condé* for his Abode, during the Time and Term of Six Years, until he may effectually enjoy his Government of *Picardy*, in which his Majesty will have him continued.

XXXVI. The said Prince shall promise unto his said Majesty, well and faithfully to keep the said City of *St. John*; and at the end of the time

time abovesaid, the same to redeliver, together with the Castle, into the hands of the person deputed by his Majesty to that end, in the same condition it now is, without any innovation or alteration, and without the least delay or difficulty, upon any account whatever. Moreover, it is his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, That all the Ecclesiasticks shall freely return into the said City, perform Divine Service freely, and enjoy their Estates, together with all the Catholick Inhabitants; and the said Prince shall take all the said Ecclesiasticks and other Inhabitants under his Protection and Safeguard, to the end that they may not be hindred from performing the said Divine Service, molested or troubled in their Persons, or in the enjoyment of their Estates, but on the contrary, restor'd to the full possession of the same.

XXXVII. The said Prince of *Condé* shall present and nominate unto his said Majesty, the Person to whom he shall trust the keeping of the said City, to the end that Letters-Patent may be granted him for the same by his said Majesty, as it has been done heretofore.

XXXVIII. For the Guard and Safety of the said City, shall be allow'd to the said Prince 50 men, maintain'd at his Majesty's Charge, besides the Dividend the said King of *Navarre* shall allow him out of the 800 men that are left to him for the Guard of the other Cities; his said Majesty willing that the 850 men allow'd as aforesaid to the said King of *Navarre*, and Prince of *Condé*, shall be employed for the Garison of the said Cities, as it has been agreed;

and that they shall be employ'd nowhere else; without expresse Command from his said Majesty, to avoid oppressing of his people, and to remove all cause of Jealousie from among his Subjects: His said Majesty also meaning, that the said 850 men shall be disbanded at the expiration of the Term allow'd, and the time of the Restitution of the said Cities.

XXXIX. By the General Articles, the City of *Montpellier* is left in keeping to those of the said Religion, for the Retreat and Safety of those of the County of *Languedoc*; but his said Majesty means it, in case the said City be still in the hands and in the power of those of the said Religion, on the day these Articles shall be granted and sign'd in this City of *Bergerac*, and not otherwise; in which case, instead of the said City, his Majesty shall allow them another, of those that are at present within their Power in the said Countrey of *Languedoc*, at their Choice.

XL. His said Majesty shall write to his Ambassadors, to require and desire for all his Subjects of whatever Religion they be, That they may not be troubled as to their Conscience, nor be liable to the Inquisition, in going and coming, Negotiating and Trading throughout all *Spain*, *Italy*, and other Foreign Countries; Allies, and Confederates of this Crown, provided they do not offend the Civil Government.

XLI. All Pieces of Ordinance belonging to his said Majesty, that have been taken during the present or precedent Troubles, shall be immediately restor'd, and put into his said Majesty's

jeſty's Magazines; except ſuch as are in the Cities given for Surety, which ſhall remain in them; an Inventory being made of the ſame, in order to their being reſtor'd at the Expiration of the aforeſaid Term of Six Years.

XLII. Whereas, if all that has been done againſt the Regulations on both ſides, were indifferently excepted out of the General Pardon, there is no man in the Army but might be proſecuted and troubled, which might occasion new Troubles; it has been thought fit to grant, that none but execrable Crimes ſhall be excepted out of the ſaid General Pardon; viz. Ravifhments of Women, Incendiaries, Murthers, Robberies committed treacherouſly, and out of private Revenge, againſt the Laws of War, Infraction of Paſſports and Safeguards, together with Murthers and Plunders without Command; out of conſideration to thoſe of the ſaid Religion, and others who have been engag'd in the Party of the King of *Navarre*, or the Prince of *Condé*, grounded upon particular occasions that have oblig'd them to command and order it.

XLIII. It ſhall be ordain'd, That whatever ſhall be taken on either ſide by way of Hoſtility or otherwiſe, upon any account whatever, proceeding from the preſent Troubles, from and upon the 17th. of the preſent month, on which the Articles have been granted, agreed upon, and ſign'd, in this City of *Bergerac*, ſhall be liable to Reſtitution and Civil Reparation.

XLIV. As for the City of *Avignon*, and *Venaiffin* County, his Majeſty de-

ſiring that the Inhabitants thereof may ſhare and enjoy the fruit of the Peace he hopes to ſettle in his Kingdom by the aſſiſtance of God, both out of conſideration to our Holy Father the Pope, and becauſe the ſaid City and County have always been under the Protection of the Kings his Predeceſſors, and that it is a thing very material towards the eſtabliſhing of the ſaid Peace in the adjacent Provinces; his ſaid Majeſty will intreat his ſaid Holineſs to allow the Subjects of this Kingdom, who have Eſtates in the ſaid City of *Avignon*, and County, as alſo to the Subjects of the ſaid City and County, who are of the ſaid Religion, to be reſtor'd and reeſtabliſh'd into the entire and peaceable Injoyments of their Eſtates, which they have been depriv'd of upon the account of the Troubles paſt, and of the ſaid Religion, without their being liable to be troubled in the ſaid Poſſeſſion upon the ſaid account. Which being done, thoſe who occupy and detain at preſent in the ſaid Country, Cities, and Places, belonging either to his Holineſs; or his Subjects, ſhall be oblig'd to deliver them forthwith, and without delay, into the hands of ſuch as ſhall be nominated by his ſaid Holineſs for that purpoſe: For the effecting of which the King of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Condé* ſhall diſpatch a Gentleman on purpoſe to thoſe that are detainers of the ſaid places, to ſignify the ſame unto them, and to require and order them to obey; which in caſe they reſuſe to do, the ſaid King of *Navar*, and Prince of *Condé*, do promiſe both in their Names, and in the Names of thoſe

those of the said Religion, and others, who have been engag'd in their Party, neither to Aid, Comfort, or Assist them. His Majesty also promises, That in case after the Restitution and delivery of the said Places in the hands of such as shall be ordered by his said Holiness, any of his Majesty's Subjects having Estates in the said Cities and County, or of his Holiness's Subjects professing the said Religion, should be disturb'd in the injoyment of their said Estates upon the account of the said Religion, he will grant them Letters of Mart and Reprisal upon the Estates that are possess'd by the Subjects of the said City and County of *Avignon*, in the Countries under his Obedience, which Letters shall be directed to that end to the Judges to whom of Right the Cognizance of such things appertains.

XLV. The Sums that are necessary to be rais'd for the payment of what is due to the *Reisters, both for the present and precedent Troubles, shall be impos'd equally upon all his Majesty's Subjects. And whereas those of the said Religion pretend that the main part of the Money destin'd for the payment of the said Reisters for the precedent Troubles was rais'd before the 24th of *August*, 1572. and was taken from them and remitted, and that his Majesty might by surprize have made a Gift of the said Money to some particular Persons; It is his Majesty's Pleasure, that those who have had the said Money on any account, and under any pretence, shall be oblig'd by lawful and reasonable means to restore the same: And that whatever Receivers, and

others, who have still Money of that kind in their hands, shall also be oblig'd to deliver it forthwith into the hands of his Majesty's Receivers-General, and that by Imprisoning of them if necessary: Upon the account of which his said Majesty has, and does discharge those of the said Religion, of all Obligations and Promises made and given by them upon that account, both to his said Majesty, the Reisters, and all others.

XLVI. The said King of *Navar*, and those of the said Religion having made Application to his said Majesty for the payment of the Reisters due to the said *John Casimir*, his Colonels and Rent-masters: His said Majesty has declar'd, That he will endeavour to do it as soon as ever the necessity of his Affairs will permit him.

XLVII. And as to the Six hundred thousand Livers which those of the said Religion say were allow'd them by the last Peace, to impose upon, and raise among themselves, in order to pay some Sum due by them; It has been granted them, That in case they can produce the said permission, and make it appear, that nothing has been rais'd by them by Virtue thereof, and that the Sums for which it had been granted are still due, the said permission shall be confirm'd by his said Majesty.

XLVIII. The Prince of *Orange* shall be restor'd to all the Lands, Jurisdictions, and Lordships he has in this said Kingdom and Territories, under his said Majesty's Obedience. In like manner shall be restor'd to him all Titles, Instructions, and other Papers.

Papers concerning his Principality of *Orange*; in case any have been taken and remov'd by the Governors, and Lieutenants-General, and others his said Majesty's Officers, if what is above-said has not been done already.

The present Articles have been made and granted by express Command from the King, in his Majesty's Name, and by his pleasure, by the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the *Siens de Biron*, *Descars*, *S. Sulpice*, *de la Mothe-Fenelon*, by virtue of the power given unto them by his said Majesty, to conclude and agree about the pacification of the Troubles of this Kingdom on the one part. And by the King of *Navar*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Deputies of those of the said pretended *Reform'd Religion*, the said King of *Navar*, Prince of *Conde*, and Deputies answering for all those of the Provinces of this Kingdom, Countries, Territories and Lordships under the obedience of his said Majesty, who profess the said Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party on the other Part. In Witness whereof the said Articles have been sign'd with their own hands, in the City of Ber-

gerac, the 17th Day of September, 1577.

Thus sign'd in the Original, *Henry de Bourbon*, *Lewis de Bourbon*, *Biron*, *Descars*, *S. Sulpice*, *de la Mothe-Fenelon*, *La Noue*, *L. Dufaur*, Chancellor to the King of *Navar*; *S. Genis Chauvin*, *Dufaur*, *Claufone* Deputy of *Languedoc*, *M-rin* Deputy of *Guyenne*, *Scorbion* Deputy of *Montauban*, *Payan* Deputy of *Languedoc*, and according to his power *Thore* for the *Isle of France*, *De Signo* Deputy of *Dauphine*, *Durand* Deputy of *Guienne*, *Guyet* and *St. Beignon* for *Rochel*, *Courtois*, Deputy of *Vendomis*, *Roux*, Deputy of *Provence*, *T. Davaux* for *La Rovergue*. Thus sign'd, compar'd *de Neufville*, and is written, extracted from the Registers of Parliament.

Sign'd.

De Pontac.

Compar'd with the Manuscript which is in the King's Library by Me. Counsellor and Secretary of the King, House and Crown of France, and of its Exchequer, of the Ancient College.

Sign'd.

Gon.

The Articles of the Conference made at Nerac by the Queen Mother, with the King of Navar, and the Deputies of the Pretended Reform'd Religion.

IN order to facilitate the last Edict of pacification made in the month of September, 1577. and to clear and resolve the Difficulties that have interpos'd, and that might still retard

the good Effect of the said Edict; It has been resolv'd at the Request, Supplication and Articles presented by those of the said pretended *Reform'd Religion*, and agreed upon as follow-

followeth, in the Conference held at *Nerac*, in this present Month of *February*, 1579. between the Queen Mother, assisted by some Princes and Lords of the King's Privy-Council, and the King of *Navar*, also assisted by the Deputy of the Prince of *Conde*, Lords and Gentlemen, and the Deputies of those of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion.

I. That the *High Justicers*, or those that hold full *Fief d' Hautbert*, either in Proper, or *Use-Fruit*, in the whole, Moietie, or third, shall be allow'd to continue the Exercise of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, in the places by them nam'd for their principal abode, although they and their Wives are absent from the same, provided part of their Families remain in the said places, and though the Right of Justice, or full *Fief d' Hautbert*, be in Controversie, yet the Exercise of the said Religion shall be continu'd there, provided the above-said persons are still in actual possession of the said Justice. And as for the Publick Exercise of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, in the places ordain'd by the King, in case any of the said places prove inconvenient, they petitioning the King to have it remov'd elsewhere, his Majesty shall provide them another that shall be convenient for them.

II. That according to certain Letters-Patent granted by the King, given at *Paris* on the 13th of *Nov* 1677. conformably to the eleventh Article of what was agreed on at *Bergerac* on the 16th of *September* of the said year, 1577. which through inadvertency had been omit-

ted in the last Edict of pacification: those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion are allow'd to buy, build, or construct places to perform the said Exercise of Religion, in the Suburbs of Cities, or in Towns and Villages that are or shall be allow'd them in every Baliwick and Seneschallship, or Government, and in the places where the Exercise of the said Religion is allow'd them by the Edict. And such as shall be found in the said places, that have been built by them, shall be restor'd to them in the same condition they now are.

III. Those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion are allow'd to assemble before the Judge Royal, and by his Authority to equal and raise among themselves such sums as shall be thought necessary to be employ'd for the maintenance of those who are employ'd to perform the Exercises of their said Religion, of which an account shall be given to the said Judge-Royal for him to keep.

IV. That according to the 20th Article of the Edict of pacification, the Judges and Magistrates of Cities shall forthwith provide convenient places for the interment of the Dead, of those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion. And the said Officers and others are forbidden to ask any thing for the Transportation of the said Corps, on pain of Extortion.

V. And to prevent all Differences that might arise between the Courts of Parliament, and the *Chambers* of the said Courts ordain'd by the said Edict, the King shall speedily make a good and large Regulation between

the said Courts of Parliament, and the said Chambers: Inſomuch that thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion ſhall fully enjoy the benefit of the ſaid Edict: The eſtabliſhment of the Chamber of *Languedoc* ſhall alſo ſpeedily be perform'd in purſuance of the ſaid Edict. And in caſe at any time hereafter the Number of Judges ſhould not be ſufficient in the ſame, by reaſon of the affluency of Cauſes, thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall apply themſelves to his ſaid Maſteſty, who will make ſufficient proviſion for it. As to what relates to the King's Council, the ſecret Articles of the Year 1577, ſhall be obſerv'd, both as to what relates to the Chamber of *Languedoc*, and that of *Guienne*. Nevertheleſs, the ſaid King's Council ſhall be continu'd in their Places, without being liable to revocation, unleſs in the caſes of the Ordinance, although they bear the Title of Subſtitutes, of Advocates and Attorneys-General in the ſaid Courts of Parliament. The Committees of the Registers Civil and Criminal in the ſaid Chamber, ſhall exerciſe their places by the King's Commiſſion, and ſhall be call'd Committees of the * Registry Civil and Criminal, and therefore ſhall not be liable to be turn'd out, or to be revok'd by the ſaid Registers of Parliament, and that they ſhall be bound to yield the emolument or profit of the ſaid Registries to the ſaid Registers; and the ſaid Committees ſhall receive Salaries from the ſaid Registers, according as it ſhall be thought fit, and agreed upon by the ſaid Chambers. And as for the Meſſengers, beſides thoſe that ſhall be taken out of the ſaid Parliament, who

ſhall be Catholicks, two more ſhall be erected in every Chamber, who ſhall be of the ſaid Religion. And the ſaid Meſſengers ſhall be directed by the ſaid Chambers, both as to the execution of their Places, their Diſtrict, and the Fees they ſhall take. In the Cities where the ſaid Chambers ſhall be erected, there ſhall alſo be two Offices of Serjeants, to be kept by thoſe of the ſaid Religion. And as to Attorneys, the Attorneys of the ſaid Parliament ſhall be allow'd to plead in the ſaid Chambers. And in caſe their number ſhould not be ſufficient, the King ſhall create ſome without paying of Fees, who ſhall be nominated by the ſaid Chambers, in ſuch a number as they ſhall think fit, provided it does not exceed ten; of which they ſhall ſend a Roll, according to which their Patents ſhall be made and ſeal'd. The Expeditions of the Chanceries, or Seal-Offices ſhall be made in preſence of two Counſellers of the ſaid Chambers, of which the one ſhall be a Catholick, and the other one of the aforeſaid Religion: In the abſence of one of the Maſters of Requeſts belonging to the King's Hoſtel, one of the Notaries and Secretaries of the ſaid Courts of Parliament ſhall reſide in the places where the ſaid Chambers ſhall be eſtabliſh'd, or one of the Secretaries in ordinary of the Chancery, to ſign the Expeditions of the ſaid Chancery. And it has been agreed that the Chamber of *Languedoc* ſhall be ſetled in the City of *L' Isle in Albigeois*.

VI. As to the Decrees given in the Court of Parliaments ſince the ſaid Edict, in which Courts the Parties have

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have not proceeded voluntarily, that is, have alledg'd and propounded ends declinatory; or that have been denounc'd through default, both in matters civil and criminal, notwithstanding which the said Parties have been constrain'd to go forward, they shall be deem'd and reputed as those that have been given before the Edict, and revok'd by the same. The same is ordain'd for the presidial Judgments given since the Edict, and for the Cases abolish'd by the said Edict, and by the present Conference. And as for the Decrees given against those of the said pretended *Reform'd Religion*, who have proceeded voluntarily, without proposing ends Declinatory, the said Decrees shall remain in force. Yet nevertheless without prejudice to the execution of the same, they shall be allow'd, if they think fit, to take some course by way of Civil Request before the said Chambers. And until the said Chambers and their Chanceries are establish'd, Verbal Appeals, and those in Writing interpos'd by those of the said Religion, before Judges, Registers or Committees, Executors of Judgments and Decrees, shall have the same effect as if they had been sued out by Letters-Patent. And as for Processes not yet determin'd, depending in the said Courts of Parliament, of the Quality aforesaid, they shall be return'd, whatever condition they are in, into the said Chambers to which they have their reference, if requir'd by one of the Parties, and according to the Edict, within four Months, in such Provinces where the Chambers are establish'd, after the Registering of these present Articles:

And as for the other Provinces in which they are not yet establish'd, four Months after the establishment thereof, before the Registers of the said Courts of Parliament, and that for Suits that are ready for tryal. And as for such as shall be discontinu'd, and are not in a state to be judg'd, the above-mention'd of the pretended *Reform'd Religion* shall be oblig'd to make the said Declaration, at the first intimation and signification that shall be made unto them of the pursuit; and the said term being expir'd, they shall no more be admitted to demand the said Returns. And as for the Suits remov'd either in the Courts of Parliament, Great Council, or elsewhere, those of the said Religion giving a particular account of the said Suits, provision shall be made for the same.

VII. All Sovereign Courts, and others within this Kingdom, are prohibited and forbidden, (before the installation or setting of the said Chambers) to take cognisance of, and to judge the Processes either Civil or Criminal of those of the said Religion, and others who have been engaged in their Party, the cognisance whereof by the last Edict of Peace is referr'd to the said Chambers. The Prohibitions contain'd in the 26th Article of the said Edict of pacification about the cognizance of matters relating to the Troubles until now, shall also be reiterated: And generally all Judgments and Decrees given contrary, and to the prejudice of the Edict, shall be annihilated and revok'd, together with all that has follow'd thereupon.

VIII. That henceforward in all *Instructions* other than Informations of criminal processes in the Seneschalships of *Thoulouse*, *Carcaffonne*, *Rovergue*, *Lauragais*, *Beziers*, *Montpellier* and *Nîmes*, the Magistrate, or Commissary deputed for the said Instruction, if he be a Catholick, shall be oblig'd to take an Associate of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, which the Parties shall approve of: And in case they cannot agree about it, the above-nam'd Magistrate or Commissary, shall take one of the said Religion out of the Office; as in like manner if the said Magistrate or Commissary be of the said Religion, he shall be oblig'd in the form aforesaid, to take a Catholick Assistant. And when any occasion of Criminal Tryal shall occur before the Provost Marshals, or their Lieutenants-against any one of the said Religion, being an Householder, who shall be charg'd and accus'd of any publick Crime, the said Provosts, or their Lieutenants, if they be Catholicks, shall be bound, to call to the hearing of such a matter an Assistant of the said Religion: The which Associate shall assist also at the Judgment of the Competency, or Validity of the Indictment, as well as at the Definitive Judgment of the process. The Validity of which Indictment, shall only be judg'd at the nearest presidial Seat or Tribunal, in an Assembly, before the principal Officers of the said Tribunal, who shall be found there, on pain of Nullity.

IX. In putting the said Edict of pacification in execution, the Seats of Justice shall be re-establish'd at *Montauban*, *Montpellier*, *Nîmes*, and in all

other places where they us'd to be before the Troubles.

X. The Mint shall be re-establish'd in the City of *Montpellier*, as it us'd to be before the Troubles.

XI. The King in order to remove all occasion of Dissentions that might create the least Division among his Subjects, ordains that whatever has happen'd since the publication of the said last Edict, until now, against, and to the prejudice of the said Edict, on either side, shall remain extinguish'd and be forgotten as if no such thing had been. And that no body shall be prosecuted upon the account of the Assembly of Soldiers, made in Cities, or in the open Fields, establishment and maintaining of Garrisons, Enterprizes and Seizures of Cities, Places, Castles and Houses, Murthers, Imprisonments, Ransoms, or any other Excess; neither for destroying of Churches, Houses, and Buildings belonging to Ecclesiasticks and others; of all which, the said Subjects on both sides shall be and remain acquitted and discharg'd: Neither shall his Majesty's Attorney-General, or any other persons publick or private, at any time, or on any occasion, be allow'd to make any prosecutions of the same in any Court of Jurisdiction, nor in any wise whatever. The whole in the same form and manner as it is express'd by the 55th Article of the last Edict of Pacification; excepting Ravishments of Women, &c. Incendiaries, Robberies, Murthers committed treacherously, and with premeditation, and not by way of Hostility, upon the account of private revenge, and other

ther Crimes and Misdemeanours reserv'd by the last Edict of pacification, which shall be prosecuted according to Law, and punish'd according to the nature of the same. And as to what relates to the Money that has been taken, either out of his Majesty's Exchequers, or out of Cities and Commonalties, and from other private persons; and the Sums that have been impos'd and rais'd of any kind whatever, and howsoever rais'd by those of the said Religion, and other who have been engag'd in their Party since the said Edict of pacification, they are and shall remain absolutely discharg'd for the same, without their being any wise liable to be prosecuted upon the said account; nor those who shall have order'd it, Corporations of Cities and Communalities, nor yet their Clerks. Nevertheless those of the said Religion shall be oblig'd to assemble with the Corporations of those Cities; to make a true estimate among them, on the last Day of *April* next at farthest, both of their Receipts and Expences: The which Estimate they shall be oblig'd to sign, and jointly to affirm, and to deliver the same within the said time of two Months, into the hands of those that are appointed to execute the said Edict of Pacification in *Languedoc*, to the end that upon the said Estimate the Chamber of accounts may pass into receipt, and allow in expence what shall be contain'd in the said Estimate, and no more. And in order to check the insolence of several, and to prevent those Evils for the future, the King declares that hereafter he will no more grant any Pardons for the above said, or the

like Transgressions of the Edict: And forbids his Chancellor or Lord Keeper to seal any such, and his Judges to have the least regard for the same. And in case any of those to whom this Pardon is granted, should relapse into the same Fault, they shall not only be punish'd for the new Fault, but shall also be depriv'd of the fruit and benefit which is granted them by this Article.

XII. That all the processses and causes concerning the case of the said Troubles that have been return'd by the Commissioners, Executors of the preceding Edict of pacification, before the presidial Judges, or other Judges, shall be return'd in the State they now stand to the said *Chambers of the Edict*. The King not intending that any of his Subjects should be prosecuted for what has been done since the last Troubles, according to the 55th Article of the said last Edict: And in case any of the said processses should already be judg'd, the Parties shall be allow'd to apply themselves for redress, by the ways of Right to the said Chambers of the Edict.

XIII. Whereas at the beginning of the 42d Article of the said last Edict of pacification, in several Common Impressions that have been made of the same, these Words are found: *And that shall have been taken by way of hostility*, by way of affirmation; altho it should be conceiv'd negatively, and in this manner: *And that shall not have been taken by way of hostility*: As it is written in the Original agreed on; and sign'd at *Bergerac* on the 17th of *September*, 1577. It is ordain'd, that it shall be corrected by the said Original; And all Judges are enjoin'd to judge.

judge conformably to this present Correction.

XIV. That all Assessments, Impositions, Gatherings, raising of Money and new Subsidies, by whomsoever, and on any account whatever, unless by the King's express Commission, shall cease, and that none shall be made otherwise hereafter, on the Penalties mentioned in the Ordinances.

XV. The General Assemblies of Cities and Corporations, shall be made according to the Ancient Customs, and such Inhabitants as us'd to come to the same, shall be summon'd thither, without distinction of Religion, according to the last Edict of pacification, Article 19.

XVI. That the Edict of pacification, and what has been resolv'd in this Conference, shall be executed in every Article, according to its Form and Tenor, and that the said Execution thereof shall begin on the 1st Day of *March* next coming at farthest, and shall be continu'd in *Guyenne* without interruption on either side. And as for *Languedoc*, the said Execution or Performance shall begin on the 1st Day of *April* next coming at farthest: But that in the meantime all Prisoners of War shall be put at liberty without paying any Ransom: And all Acts of Hostility, and other Transgressions of the Edict in general shall cease, according to the Commissions that have been issu'd out to that end, which shall be sent every where in the Governments of *Guyenne*, *Languedoc*, and other Provinces when it shall be necessary.

XVII. It has also been agreed by the said Lady Queen, Mother to his

Majesty, the King of *Navar*, and all the above-mention'd, that all the Cities and Places kept by those of the said Religion, shall be restor'd in the Governments of *Guyenne*, and *Languedoc*, at the time declar'd by the preceding Article: And the Edict of pacification shall be put entirely in execution in the same, as also, and by the same means, in the other Cities where the *Catholicks* are more numerous, neither Parties being allow'd to put Garisons into them: And thus the Inhabitants of the same, of both Religions shall remain under the special safeguard of the King our Sovereign Lord, it being forbidden on pain of Death, to wrong them, or to undertake any thing against the Liberty and Safety of the said Cities. Nevertheless, for surety of what is above written, and for an assurance of the execution of the said Edict, the King leaves and gives in keeping to the said King of *Navar* the following Cities; In the Government of *Guyenne*, *Bazas*, *Puymerol* and *Figeac*, until the last Day of *August* next ensuing, and no longer: And in the Government of *Languedoc*, *Ravel*, *Briatete*, *Aleth*, *Santei*, *Agreve*, *Baiz sur Baiz*, *Baignols*, *Alletz*, *Lunel*, *Sommieres*, *Aymargues* and *Gignac*, until the first Day of *October* also next ensuing, and no longer: On condition, and no otherwise, that they shall make no Fortifications there, nor demolish Churches and other places, nor act any thing else contrary to the Edict.

XVIII. That the Ecclesiasticks, and other Catholick Inhabitants shall be receiv'd again into the said Cities without any difficulty, and shall fully enjoy all their Estates, and the Fruits,

Fruits, or the Revenues of the same: That they shall perform Divine Service in the same, according to the use of the Catholick Church: That Justice shall also be freely administered there; That the King's Money as well ordinary as extraordinary, shall be rais'd and receiv'd there: And that the Edict shall be intirely kept and observ'd there. And the same shall be done, according to the said Edict, in relation to those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, in the other Cities where the Catholicks are more in number. It is also resolv'd, That the Magistrates and Officers of the Cities, shall take care to see it perform'd, on pain of being suspended of their Officers for the first times, and on forfeit of them for the second.

XIX. That the said Cities during the time heretofore declar'd, shall be govern'd by Persons of Integrity, Lovers of the Peace and Publick Good, who shall be nominated by the King of *Navar*, and approv'd by the said Lady, Queen Mother to the King; who shall engage, and be bound with Six in the chief, and Four in the other of the said Towns, the same well to preserve in their Obedience to the King, and to cause the Edict to be well maintain'd, and what has been now resolv'd between the said Lady Queen Mother to the King, and the said King of *Navar*, to maintain all the Inhabitants thereof in Safety, according to the said Edict, and namely to restore the said Cities, viz. those of the Government of *Guyenne* on the First day of *September* next coming; and those of the Government of *Langue-*

doc, on the First day of *October* also next coming, into the Hands of the Person the King shall be pleas'd to Depute to go to the said Cities, to see them forthwith restor'd in the Condition set down in the said Edict of Pacification, without putting any Governor, or Garison into the same, and without removing the Ammunitions and Artillery that is in the said Cities, belonging either to the King, or to the Communalities of the said Cities.

XX. The said King of *Navar* has also remitted the *Mur de Barais*, to the said Lady Queen, who upon his Nomination has agreed to Trust the keeping thereof to Monsieur *d'Arpajon*, to have it in Charge until the said First day of *August* next. At which time the said Monsieur *d'Arpajon* shall be oblig'd to Surrender it into the hands of the Commissary, who shall repair to the other Cities, to leave them in the Condition mention'd by the Edict, as the other Fourteen Cities aforementioned.

XXI. And to avoid all manner of Burthening and Oppressing of the Inhabitants of the said Cities, and Adjacent Parts, the said Lady has and does promise to the said King of *Navar*, and to the said of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion to furnish Thirty six thousand *Livers Tournois*, which shall be deliver'd into the hands of those the said King of *Navar* shall nominate at the beginning of every one of the said Months, *pro Rata*, and by equal Portions, according to the Division they shall make of it.

XXII. And therefore it has been expressly resolv'd, That the said of the

the pretended *Reform'd* Religion; those who shall Command in the said Cities, and those who shall be committed for the Guard thereof, shall not be allow'd to Quarter in the Houses of Catholicks, as least as few as possible can be, neither shall they raise, or exact any thing from the Inhabitants thereof, or others, nor from the Adjacent Places, under any colour and pretence whatsoever, without the Kings leave. The Consuls of the said Cities shall be oblig'd during the said Term of Six Months to furnish the Candles for the Guard, and the Wood for *Corps de Guard*; which cannot amount to much, considering the Summer-season: Allowing them however at the first Sessions to impose and raise upon the Diocesses and Seneschalships, the Sums to which the said Candles and Wood shall amount, without consequence. And as for the Garisons lying at present in the Cities of the said Country of *Languedoc*, held by those of the said Religion, they are allow'd to raise, if it has not been done already, what is barely necessary for their Maintenance until the last day of *March* next, and no more. In order to which, they shall give the Commissaries who are now going to put an end to all Acts of Hostility, the true estimate of what the Payment of the said Garisons will amount to. And the said Estimate shall be drawn without Fraud, upon the old Roles: In which shall not be included in the upper Country of *Languedoc*, *Dornbe*, *S. Germa*, *Pechaudie*, *Pierrefièle*, *Carlus*, *Frigerolles*, *Myeules*, and *Poltrims*, which shall be speedily dismantled and quitted.

And to that end, those who detain them, shall forthwith deliver them into the hands of those who are sent to cause the Acts of Hostility to cease, if they design to enjoy the benefit of the General Pardon, granted to those who have been Infractioners of the Edict of Pacification, since the Publication thereof. And in case they do not obey what is abovesaid, they shall be depriv'd of the benefit of the said Pardon, and punish'd like Disturbers of the Common Peace, without hope of any Favour. And a Nomination shall also be made to the Executors of the Edict, both in *Guienne*, and in *Lower Languedoc*, of the Cities, Towns, and Castles, it will be fit to dismantle, according to the Advice of the Inhabitants of the Country of both Religions; and what the King shall afterwards be pleas'd to order upon the said Advice, without including the Places belonging to private Lords. And as for the *Upper Languedoc*, according as abovesaid, the said Executors shall consult, whether there are any Places of those that are possess'd by the Catholicks, requisite, and not to be dismantled, according as abovesaid, to the Advice of those of the Country of both Religions; and also according to what the King shall be pleas'd to order about it.

XXIII. And for a good, firm, true, and sincere Assurance of what is abovemention'd, the said King of *Navar*, together with the Prince of *Cond.*, and Twenty of the Principal Gentlemen of the said Pretended *Reform'd* Religion, such as the Queen Mother shall be pleas'd to nominate, together with the Deputies that are
here

here, in the Name of the Provinces that have sent them; besides those who are to Command in the said Cities, that are left in their hands for the said Six Months, shall promise and swear upon their Faith and Honour, and ingage their Estates, to cause all the Garisons to march out of the said Fourteen Cities, and Citadels thereof, and to deliver the said Cities and Citadels, without delay, excuse, evasion, or any other pretence whatever, on the above-said 1st days of *September* and *October* next coming, into the hands of the above-said Commissary, to leave them in the Condition specif'd by the said Edict of Pacification, as is afore-said.

XXIV. It has been resolv'd, That in case any Attempt should be made on either side, to the prejudice of the last Edict of Pacification, and of all that is above-said, The Complaint and Prosecution thereof shall be made before the King's Governours and Lieutenants-General, and by way of Justice in the Courts of Parliament, or Chambers Establish'd, in regard of both, according to the Edict. And what shall be ordain'd by them, shall forthwith be put in execution, at farthest, within a Month after it, by the diligence of the King's Council, in relation to the Judgements that shall intervene, without using any Connivence or Dissimulation. And the said Governours and Lieutenants-General are expressly order'd, together with the Bailiffs and Seneschals, to further, give Aid and Comfort, and to employ all the King's Forces for the execution of what shall have been ad-

vis'd and order'd for the reparation of the said Attempt. Thus the Attempts on either side shall neither be taken, or reputed as Infractions of the Edict in respect to the King, and the King of *Navar*, the General of the Catholicks, and the General of those of the said Religion. It being his Majesty's true and firm Intention, at the request of the said King of *Navar*, to have them immediately redress'd, and the Guilty severely and exemplarily punish'd.

XXV. And to that end, the Gentlemen and Inhabitants of the Towns, of both Religions, shall be obliged to accompany the Governors, and the King's Lieutenants-General, to aid them with their Persons and Means, if necessary and requir'd so to do, in order forthwith to repair the said Attempts. The said Governors and Lieutenants-General, together with the Bailiffs and Seneschals, shall be oblig'd to apply themselves about it, without delay or excuse, and to use their utmost Endeavours and Diligence for the Reparation of the said Attempts, and to punish the Guilty according to the Pains specif'd in the Edict. Moreover, it has been resolv'd, That such as shall make any Attempts upon Cities, Places, or Castles, or that shall Abet, Assist, or Favour them, or give them Counsel, or that shall commit any Attempt against, and to the prejudice of the Edict, and all that is above-said: Also such as shall refuse to obey, or shall oppose themselves, or by others, directly or indirectly, the Effect and Execution of the said Edict of Pacification, and of all that

is aboveſaid, are from this moment declar'd guilty of High-Treaſon, both they and their Poſterity, Infamous, and for ever incapable of enjoying any Honours, Employments, Dignities, and Succeſſions; and liable to all the Punishments inflicted by the Law againſt thoſe that are guilty of High-Treaſon in the high-eſt degree: His Maſteſty declaring moreover, That he will grant no Pardon for it; forbidding his Secretaries to ſign them, and his Chancellor, or Lord-Keeper to paſs them: And the Courts of Parliament to reſpect them for the future, whatever expreſs or reiterated Commands they might receive about it.

XXVI. It has alſo been reſolv'd, That the Lords deputed for the Execution of the ſaid Ediſt of Pacification, together with the Secret Articles made at the time of the ſaid laſt Ediſt of Pacification, and of all that is aboveſaid, proceeding to the ſaid Execution, ſhall reſtore the Houſes and Caſtles of the ſaid King of Navar, as they paſs along the Senefchalſhips, where the ſaid Caſtles and Houſes of the ſaid King of Navar are Situate; which ſhall be left without Garifons on either part, and put into the Condition mention'd by the Ediſt of Pacification, and according to the Ancient Priviledges.

XXVII. That all that is above ſpecific'd, and what is contain'd in the laſt Ediſt of Pacification, ſhall be inviolably kept and obſerv'd on both ſides, under the Penalties ſet down in the ſaid Ediſt. That the Courts of Parliament, and Cham-

bers ordain'd for Juſtice, according to this ſaid Ediſt; the Chambers of Accounts; Courts of Aids, Bailiffs, Senefchals, Provosts, and all other Officers, to whom it may concern, ſhall cauſe to Register the Letters-Patent, that ſhall be iſſued out for all that is aboveſaid; and the Contents thereof to follow, keep, and obſerve in every particular, according to their Form and Tenor. And the Governours and Lietenants-General of all the Provinces of this Kingdom ſhall be enjoyn'd, in the mean time, forthwith to publiſh, every one within his Diſtriſt, the ſaid Letters-Patent, to the end that no body may pretend to plead ignorance, and the Contents of the ſame alſo inviolably to keep and obſerve, under the Penalties ſpecific'd by the ſaid laſt Ediſt of Pacification, and others here above declar'd.

Done at Nerac on the laſt day of February, 1579.

Thus Sign'd *Katherine. Henry.*

Bouchart, Deputy from the Prince of Conde, *Biron*, *Joyeuſe*, *Janſac*, *Pybrac*, *de la Mothe Fenelon*, *Clairmont*, *Duranti*, *Turrenne*, *Guitry*, *Du Faur*, Chancellor to the King of Navar; *Scorbiae*, deputed by the Generality of *Bordeaux*; *Tolet*, and *de Vaux*, Deputies for *Rovergue*.

The King having ſeen, and maturely conſider'd word by word, the intire Contents of theſe preſent Articles, agree on in the Conference which the Queen his Mother has held at Nerac, with the King of Navar,

Navar, and the Deputies of those of the pretended Reform'd Religion, who were assembled there, to facilitate the Execution of the last Edict of Pacification: The said Articles agreed on, and sign'd on both sides at the said place of Nerac, on the last day of the Month of February last past: His Majesty has approv'd, confirm'd and ratify'd the same; wills and requires that they shall be put in execution according to their Form and Tenor, and to that end

that the Letters-Patent, and all necessary Dispatches of the same shall be forthwith made and sent.

Done at Paris on the 14th Day of March, 1519.

Sign'd,

Henry.

And lower,

De Neuville.

The King's Edict about the Pacification of the Troubles, containing a Confirmation, Amplification, and Declaration, as well of the precedent Edicts made upon the same Subject, even in the Year 1577. as of the Articles agreed on at the Conference held at Nerac, published at Paris in Parliament, on the 26th of January, 1577.

Henry by the Grace of God King of France and Poland, to all those present, and hereafter to come, Greeting.

Notwithstanding that since the Agreement and publication of our Edict of pacification, made in the year 1577. we have us'd our utmost endeavours for the putting of the same in execution, and to oblige our Subjects to follow and observe it, even so far as to put the Queen our most honour'd Lady and Mother, to the trouble of repairing to the principal Provinces of our Kingdom, to remedy and provide against, according to her usual prudence, the Difficulties and Obstacles which depriv'd our said Subjects of the benefit of our said Edict, whereupon follow'd the Articles of the Conference at Nerac, between the said Lady accompany'd with some of the principal Princes of

our Blood, and Lords of our Privy-Council; and our most Dear and most Beloved Brother the King of Navar, assisted by the Deputies of our Subjects, who profess the pretended Reform'd Religion: Yet not having been able, to our great regret, to avoid the Troubles, being renew'd in our Kingdom, we have endeavour'd and us'd all the most proper and most agreeable means we have been able to devise, to extinguish them, and to deliver our said Subjects from the evils of War; having to that end by our Letters Patent impow'd our most Dear and most Beloved only Brother, the Duke of Anjou, to cause our said Edict of pacification to be entirely executed, together with the Articles of the said Conference of Nerac: Who being since, according to our Intention, gone into our Country and Dutchy of Guyenne, and there having,

having, upon the said Subject, conferr'd at large with our said Brother the King of *Navar*, and the Deputies of our said Subjects of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion there conven'd and assembled; The Articles annex'd to these Presents under the Counter Seal of our Chancery, were there propos'd: Which said Articles being sent to us by our said Brother, we having examin'd and consider'd the same, out of a singular desire to banish out of our Kingdom, the Impieties, Extortions, and other Accidents occasion'd by the said Troubles; to re-establish the Honour and Service of God, make way for Justice, and to relieve our poor people: Have out of our own Inclination, full Power and Authority Royal, approv'd and ratify'd the said Articles: The same do approve and ratifie by these Presents sign'd by our own Hand: And it is our will and pleasure that the same shall be follow'd, kept, executed, and inviolably observ'd, according to their Form and Tenor in the same manner as our said Edict of pacification.

Therefore we command and require our Trusty and well-beloved the Persons holding our Courts of Parliament, Chambers of our Accounts, Courts of our Aids, Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts, and other our

Justices and Officers to whom it may concern, or their Lieutenants, to cause the said Articles hereunto, as aforesaid, annex'd, to be read, publish'd, register'd, kept, executed, and inviolably observ'd in the same manner as our said Edict of Pacification, and the Articles granted in the said Conference of *Nerac*, making all those that are concern'd, fully and peaceably enjoy and receive the benefit of what is contain'd therein, putting a stop to all Troubles and Impediments to the contrary. For such is our pleasure; and to the end that it may be firm and lasting for ever, we have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd to these Presents.

Given at Blois in the Month of December, in the Year of our Lord, 1580. and of our Reign the 7th.

Sign'd.

Henry.

*And upon the Fold, by the King,
Pinart.*

And seal'd upon Knots of Red and Green Silk, with the Great Seal, and Green Wax.

And it is also written upon the Fold of the said Letters,

Visa.

Articles

Articles propounded, and set forth in the Assembly and Conference held at Flex, near the City of Sainte-Foy, between the Duke of Anjou the King's only Brother, by vertue of the power given unto him by his Majesty, and the King of Navar, assisted by the Deputies of those of the pretended Reform'd Religion, he answering for all the King's Subjects of the said Religion, to be presented to his Majesty, to be by him, if such be his pleasure, granted and approv'd. And in so doing to put an end to the Troubles and Disorders happen'd in this Kindom since the last Edict of Pacification made in the Month of September, 1577. and the Conference held at Nerac on the last day of February, 1579. and to restore the King's Subjects in Peace and Union under his Obedience, and so to provide by a good and speedy execution, that henceforward nothing may happen among them to the prejudice of the said Pacification.

Article I. **T**HAT the said last Edict of Pacification, and secret and particular Articles granted with the same; together with the Articles of the aforesaid Conference held at Nerac, shall be really, and in effect, observ'd and put in execution, in all and every particular; which shall hold and stand good, not only for the things happen'd during the preceding Troubles, but also for such as shall or have happen'd from the time of the said Conference, until now; and that all the King's Subjects of both Religions, shall enjoy the benefit of the Declarations, Grants, Discharges, and General Pardons contain'd in the said Articles, Edicts and Conferences, for what has been done and committed, taken and rais'd on either side, during the present Troubles, and upon the account thereof, as they should have done for what had happen'd du-

ring the precedent Troubles, excepting what is expressly derogated by the present Articles.

II. The Articles of the said Edict concerning the re-establishment of the Catholick Apostolick and Roman Religion, for the celebration of Divine Service, in such places where it has been discontinu'd, together with the enjoyment and gathering of the Tythes, Fruits, and Ecclesiastical Revenues, shall be entirely executed, follow'd and observ'd; and those who shall transgress the same, shall be rigorously punish'd.

III. In putting the 1st, 2d, and 11th Articles of the Edict in execution, the King's Attorneys General shall be enjoin'd, as well as their Substitutes in Bayliwicks, Seneschallships, and other Royal Jurisdictions, to inform against, and make prosecution in the King's Name against all such who shall

shall move Seditions, &c. and in publick shall utter Scandalous Expressions or any wise transgress the said Edicts, Articles and Conferences, in order to have them punish'd according to the Penalties inflicted by the same: The which being omitted, the said Attorneys and Substitutes shall be responsible for the said Infractions, in their own particular Names, and depriv'd of their Places, without ever being restor'd or re-establish'd to the same. And the Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks, shall be requir'd to keep and to oblige the Preachers instituted by them, to keep and observe the Contents of the said Articles; and his Majesty commands the same most expressly to all others who speak in publick, on the Penalties contain'd in the Edict.

IV. In consequence of the 4th, 9th, and 13th Articles of the said Edict, all those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion of what condition or quality soever are allow'd to be and safely to inhabit in all the Cities and parsof this Kingdom, without being disturb'd or prosecuted upon the account of the said Religion, under any pretence whatever, they behaving themselves according as it is order'd by the aforesaid Articles of the said Edict. They shall not be oblig'd to hang and adorn the Front of their Houses on the Festival Days on which it is order'd; but only shall suffer them to be hung and adorn'd by the Authority of the Officers who belong to those places. Neither shall they be oblig'd to contribute towards the Charges for the Reparations of Churches, or to admit Exhortations when sick, or at the point of Death, either by Condemnation of

Justice, or otherwise, from any but those of the said Religion.

V. The 1st Article of the Conference shall hold and remain in force, altho the King's Atorny-General be a Party against the High Justicers, who were in actual possession of the said Justice, at the time of the publication of the said Edict.

VI. In executing the 8 Article of the said Edict, those of the said Religion shall nominate unto the King four or five places in every Bayliwick or Seneschalship of the Quality mention'd by the Edict, to the end that being inform'd of the convenience or inconvenience thereof, his Majesty may chuse one of them there to establish the Exercise of their said Religion, or they not proving convenient, to provide another for them within a month after the said Nomination, which shall be as convenient for them as can be, and according to the Tenor of the Edict.

VII. And as to the Burying places of those of the said Religion, the Officers belonging to those parts, shall be oblig'd within a Fortnight after their being requir'd so to do, to provide them convenient places for the said Interments, without delays, on the penalty of Five Hundred Crowns, in their proper and private Names.

VIII. Letters Patent shall be pass'd, directed to the Courts of Parliament for the registering and observing of the secret and particular Articles made with the said Edict. And as for Marriages, and the Differences that shall arise upon the same, the Judges Ecclesiastical and Royal, together with the aforesaid Chambers, shall take cognizance of the same respectively,

spectively, according to the said Articles.

IX. The Taxes and Impositions that shall be laid upon those of the said Religion, according as it is express'd in the 3d Article of the said Conference, shall be executed, all Oppositions or Appeals whatever, notwithstanding.

X. Those of the said Religion shall be allow'd the Exercise thereof, in the Cities and places in which it was perform'd on the 17th of September, 1577. according to the 7th Article of the said Edict.

XI. The King shall send a Chamber of Justice in the County and Dutchy of *Guyenne*, consisting of two Presidents, 14 Counsellors, a King's Attorney and Advocate, persons of worth, lovers of peace, of Integrity and proper Abilities, which shall be chosen by his Majesty, and taken out of the Parliaments of this Kingdom and Great Council, the List of which shall be communicated to the King of *Navar*, to the end that any of them being suspected Persons, it may be lawful to acquaint his Majesty therewith, who shall elect others in their room. The said Presidents and Counsellors thus ordain'd, shall take cognizance of, and judge all Causes, Processes, Differences and Transgressions of the Edict of Pacification, the Cognizance and Jurisdiction of which, has been by the said Edict refer'd to the Chamber compos'd by the same: They shall serve two whole Years in the said Country, and shall remove their place and Sessions through the Seneschallships of the same every six Months, in order to purge the Provinces, and to admi-

nister Justice to every one upon the spot. Nevertheless it has been agreed, that by the establishment of the said Chamber, those of the said pretended reform'd Religion shall not be depriv'd of the privilege and benefit which is granted them by the said Edict, by the establishment of the Tripartite Chamber, ordain'd by the same. The Presidents and Counsellors of which being of the said Religion, shall remain united and incorporate in the Court of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, according to their erection, there to serve, to hold a Rank, and sit from the very day they have been receiv'd there, and shall enjoy all the Honours, Authorities, Preheminences, Rights, Profits and Prerogatives, as the other Presidents and Counsellors of the said Court. And as for the Provinces of *Languedoc* and *Dauphine*, the Chambers that have been appointed for them by the Edict, shall be establish'd and constituted there according, as it is specif'd in the same, and by the Articles of the said Conference of *Nerac*. And the next sitting of that of *Languedoc* shall be in the City of _____ And that of *Dauphine* shall be establish'd, according to what has been heretofore ordain'd.

XII. The said Presidents, Counsellors and Officers of the said Chamber shall be oblig'd to repair forthwith to the places appointed for their Sessions, there to exercise their Office, on pain of losing their said Offices, and to serve actually, and reside in the said Chambers, without departing or absenting from thence. without leave, registred from.

from the said Chambers, which shall be judge in the Assembly, upon the Causes of the Ordinance. And the said Catholick Presidents, Counsellors and Officers shall be continu'd there as long as can be, and as the King shall judge it necessary for his Service, and for the Publick Good: And in licencing the one, others shall be put in their places before their departure.

XIII. All Sovereign and other Courts of this Kingdom are forbidden to take cognizance, and judge Processes, either civil or criminal, in which those of the said Religion are concern'd, until the Day on which the said Chambers shall sit, or afterwards, on pain of nullity, Charges, Damages, and interest of the Parties, unless they shall proceed voluntarily in the said Courts, according to the 26 Article of the said Edict, and the 6th and 7th of the said Conference.

XIV. The King shall provide valuable assignations to furnish towards the charges of Justice of the said Chambers, and shall reimburse himself upon the Estates of the Condemn'd.

XV. The King shall as soon as possible can be, make a Regulation between the said Courts of Parliament, and the said Chambers, according to the Edict, and the 5th Article of the said Conference, and consult some Presidents and Counsellors of the said Parliaments and Chambers about it. Which said Regulation shall be kept and observ'd, without regard to those that have preceded it.

XVI. Neither shall the said Courts of Parliament, or other Sovereign and Inferior Courts, take cognizance of what shall be depending and introduc'd into the said Chambers, which they ought to determine according to the Edict, on pain of nullity of the Proceedings.

XVII. In such Chambers where there shall be Judges of both Religions, the proportion of Judges and Judgments shall be observ'd according to their establishment, unless the Parties consent to the contrary.

XVIII. The Recusations or Refusals propos'd against the Presidents and Counsellors of the said Chambers of *Guyenne*, and *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*, shall be allow'd to the number of six, to which number the Parties shall be restrain'd, otherwise they shall go forward without any regard to the said Refusals.

XIX. The Presidents and Counsellors of the said Chambers shall hold no private Councils out of their Assembly; in which also the Propositions, Deliberations and Resolutions relating to the Publick Good shall be made, as well as those relating to the particular State and Policy of the said Cities where the said Chambers shall be.

XX. All the Judges to whom the Execution of Decrees and other Commissions of the said Chambers shall be directed, together with all Messengers and Serjeants, shall be oblig'd to put them in execution. And the said Messengers and Serjeants shall serve all Warrants throughout the Kingdom, without requiring *Placet*, *Visa*, nor *Pareatis*, on pain of being suspended, and of paying the cost

lost Damages and Interests of the Parties, of which the Cognissance shall appertain to the said Chambers.

21. No Evocation or removal of Causes, the tryal of which is refer'd to the said Chambers, shall be allow'd, unless in the case of the Ordinances, the return whereof shall be made to the nearest Chamber establish'd according to the Edict. And upon the Revocation of the Removal, and the annihilation of the Proceedings made upon the same, Justice shall be done by the King, at the request of the Parties: and the issues of Suits of the said Chambers shall be try'd in the next Chamber, observing the proportion and form of the said Chambers whence the Processess proceed.

XXII. The Subaltern Officers of the Provinces of *Guyenne, Languedoc and Dauphine*, the reception of which belongs to the Courts of Parliament, if they be of the said pretended *Reform'd Religion*, may be examin'd and receiv'd in the Chamber of the Edict, and none but the King's Attorneys General, and those plac'd in the said Offices, shall be allow'd to oppose and make themselves Parties against their reception: And upon the refusal of the said Parliaments, the Officers shall take the said Oaths in the said Chambers.

XXIII. Such of the said Religion as have resign'd their Places and Offices out of fear of the Troubles, since the 24th of *August, 1572.* to whom by reason thereof, some Promises have been made: The said Promises being verified by them, Provision shall be made for them by Law according to reason.

XXIV. The 46th Article of the said Edict shall be intirely executed, and shall be of force for the discharge of Arrears and Contributions, and all other Sums impos'd during the Troubles.

XXV. All Deliberations made in the Courts of Parliament, Letters, Remonstrances, and other things contrary to the said Edict of Pacification and Conference, shall be raz'd out of the Registers.

XXVI. The Processess of Vagabonds shall be tried by Presidial Judges, Provost, Marshal, and Vice-Seneschals, according to the 25d Article of the said Edict, and the 8th of the said Conference. And as for the Housholders in the Provinces of *Guienne, Languedoc and Dauphine*, the Substitutes of the King's Attorneys General in the said Chambers shall at the request of the said Housholders, cause the Inditemens and Informations made against them, to be brought into the same, to know and determine whether the Cases are liable to Provost Courts, or not, that afterwards according to the nature of the Crimes, they may be return'd by the said Chambers, to be try'd by the ordinary Judges, or by the Provostal Judges, as they shall find it reasonable. And the said Presidial Judges, Provosts Marshal, and Vice-Seneschals shall be oblig'd to respect, obey and fulfil the Commands they shall receive from the said Chambers, as they use to do those of the said Parliaments, on pain of forfeiture of their Places.

XXVII. The Ruins and dismantlings of all Cities that have been demolish'd during the Troubles, may
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be by the King's leave rebuilt and repair'd by the Inhabitants, at their own charge and expence, according to the Fiftieth Article of the Edict.

XXVIII. The like Discharges and Pardons shall be granted in respect to the things done and happen'd on both sides since the said Conference until now, as are contain'd in the said Edict, in the 55th Article, all Proceedings, Sentences and Decrees, and whatever has follow'd thereupon notwithstanding, which shall be declar'd null, and of no effect, as things never happen'd, derogating in respect to that to what is contain'd in the 25th Article of the said Conference; the which notwithstanding shall remain in full force and vertue for the future. In which Pardons shall be included the taking of *Bazas* and *Lan-gon*: The first taken during the War in the Year 1576, and the other after the said Conference of *Nerac*, and what has insued thereupon, all Judgments and Decrees to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXIX. After the publication of the said Edict, in that part where the said Duke of *Anjou* shall be, all Forces and Armies on both sides shall separate and retire; and after their being retir'd, that is, after the *French* Forces are disbanded and dismissed, and the Foreigners gone out of the Government of *Gui-enne* in order to march out of the Kingdom: ¶ After the Cities hereafter mention'd shall be deliver'd into the hands of the said Duke of *Anjou*, the said King of *Navar*, and those of the said Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, shall be oblig'd to deliver into the hands of

the said Duke of *Anjou* the Cities of *Mande*, *Cahors*, *Monsegus*, *S. Million*, and *Mont aigu*: Which *Mont-aigu* shall be dismantled as soon as it is delivered to the said Duke of *Anjou*.

XXX. Immediately after the delivery of the said Cities, the said Duke of *Anjou* shall cause to be deliver'd unto the said King of *Navar*, the Houses, Cities and Castles belonging unto him, which he shall leave in the condition ordain'd by the Edict, and the Articles of the said Conference.

XXXI. And the King shall at the same time order the City and Castle *de la Reole* to be deliver'd into the hands of the said Duke of *Anjou*, who shall be responsible to his said Majesty for the same, and shall give it in keeping to the *Vice-comte* of *Turenne* who shall enter into such Obligations, and make such promises as the said Duke of *Anjou* shall require to return, and re-deliver it into his hands in order to his restoring it to his Majesty, in case within two months after the said publication, the Cities yielded in the said Conference, seated in *Guyenne*, should not be deliver'd by those of the said Religion, in the condition mention'd by the Articles of the said Conference: In respect to which Cities at present, still in possession of those of the said Religion, and left to them by the said Conference, the said King of *Navar*, and those of the said Religion, shall promise the said Duke of *Anjou*, who will ingage his word to the King for it, to march the Garisons out of them, and to restore them in the condition they ought to be by the said Edict and Conference, *viz.* Those of the Country

Country of *Guyenne* within the said Two Months after the publication of the said present Articles made in those parts where the said Duke of *Anjou* shall be, and those of *Languedoc*, within three Months after the said publication made by the Governor, or Lieutenant-General of the Province, without any Delays, Put-offs, or Difficulties, upon any account or pretence whatever. And as to the Liberty and Guard of the said Cities, they shall observe what is enjoyn'd them by the said Article of the said Conference. And they shall do the same for those that have been given them in keeping for their surety by the said Edict, and they shall nominate unto his Majesty persons whose Manners, Qualifications, and Conditions are answerable to what is requir'd by the Edict, to command in the same, and they shall be oblig'd and bound to leave and to restore them in the condition mention'd by the said Edict, immediately after the expiration of the remainder of the term of time that was granted them by the same, according to the form, and under the Penalties therein contain'd.

XXXII. All other Cities, Places, Castles and Houses belonging to the King, and to Ecclesiasticks, Lords, and Gentlemen, and other his Majesty's Subjects of both Religions, together with their Titles, Papers, Instructions, and other things whatever, shall be restor'd in the condition ordain'd by the Edict and Articles of the Conference, into the hands of the owners thereof, immediately after the said publication of the said present Articles, to leave them the

free enjoyment and possession thereof, as they had it before their being dispossest'd, on the penalties contain'd in the said Edict and Articles, notwithstanding the right of propriety were disputed. And shall clear the said Cities, Places and Castles of all Garisons, to which end the Articles of the Edict and Conference concerning the Governments and Garisons of the Forts and Castles of the Provinces, Cities and Castles shall be executed according to their Form and Tenor.

XX XIII. For the effecting of which, the said Duke of *Anjou* has promis'd to remain into the said Country of *Guyenne*, during the said time of two months, to execute and cause the said Edict and Articles to be put in execution, according to the power given unto him by his said Majesty, the which shall be publish'd to that end, and a Council of capable and fit persons establish'd about his person.

XXXIV. The 48th Article of the said Edict concerning *the liberty of Commerce, and the abolishing of all New Tolls and Subsidies* impos'd by any Authority but the King's, shall be observ'd and effected: And in consideration of the Abuses and Infractions made to the Edict since the publication thereof, in relation to the Salt of *Pecquairz*, Prohibitions shall be made to all persons, of what quality or condition soever, directly to hinder the Draggage of Salt of *Pecquairz*, to impose, exact, or raise any Subsidies, either upon Marches, upon the River *Rone*, or elsewhere, in any place or kind soever, without express leave from his Majesty, on pain of Death.

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XXXV.

XXXV. All pieces of Ordnance belonging to his Majesty, that have been taken during the present and precedent Troubles, shall be restor'd immediately, according to the 43d of the secret Articles.

XXXVI. The 30th Article of the said Edict, concerning Prisoners and Ransoms, shall be follow'd and observ'd in relation to those who have been made Prisoners since the renewing of the War, and have not been yet deliver'd.

XXXVII. The King of *Navar* and Prince of *Conde* shall effectually enjoy their Governments, according to what is speci'd by the said Edict, and secret Articles.

XXXVIII. The raising of 600000 Livres, which was granted and allow'd by the said Articles, shall be continu'd, according to the Commissions that have been issu'd out since by vertue thereof, to which his Majesty shall be intreated to add the Sums of 45000 Livres, furnish'd and advanc'd by the *Sieur de la Noue*.

XXXIX. The 22d, 23d, and 24th of the Secret Articles agreed on at *Bergerac*, concerning the Oaths and Promises to be made by the King, the Queen his Mother, the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, the King of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde*, shall be reiterated and accomplish'd.

XL. The Princes of the Blood, Officers of the Crown, Governors and Lieutenants General, Bayliffs, Seneschals of the Provinces, and principal Magistrates of this Kingdom, shall swear and promise to cause the said Edicts, and present Articles, to be kept and observ'd, to employ themselves, and use their endeavours, eve-

ry one in their Station; for the punishing of the Infractors.

XLI. The Courts of Parliament in bodies shall take the same Oath, which shall be reiterated at every new entry, which shall be made once a year on the Festival of *St. Martin*, at which they shall cause the said Edict to be read and republish'd.

XLII. The Seneschals and Officers of the Seneschalships and presidial Tribunals, shall also take the same Oath in a body, and shall reiterate it, and cause the said Edict to be read and publish'd again on every First Day of Jurisdiction after *Epiphany* or Twelfth Day.

XLIII. The Provosts, Majors, Jurors, Consuls, Capitouls and Sheriffs of Cities, shall take the like Oath in a publick place, to which they shall summon the principal Inhabitants of both Religions, and shall reiterate the same at every new Election of the said Offices.

XLIV. All the above-mention'd, and all other Subjects whatever of this Kingdom, of what Quality soever, shall depart from, and renounce all Leagues, Affociations, Fraternities and Intelligences, both within and without the Kingdom: And shall swear to make none hereafter, or adhere to any, nor otherwise to transgress, directly, or indirectly, the said Edict, Articles and Conferences, on the Penalties therein mention'd.

XLV. All Officers Royal, and others, Majors, Jurats, Capitouls, Consuls and Sheriffs, shall answer in their own and private Names, for all the Infractions that shall be made of the said Edict, for want of punishing of the Infractors, both in a Civil and
Corpo-

Corporal manner, according to the nature of the Offence.

XLVI. And for the remainder of what is contain'd and ordain'd by the said Edicts, Conferences, and Articles, it shall be executed and observ'd in every particular, according to its Form and Tenor.

Done at Flex, near Sancte Foy, the 26th Day of November, 1580. Thus sign'd by the Duke of Anjou the King's Brother, with his own hand,

Francis.

And by the King of Navar's own hand;

Henry.

XLVII. Since the signing of the Articles at *Flex*, on the 26th of the last Month, it has been agreed between the said Duke of *Anjou*, and the King of *Navar*, and those of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion, that instead of the City and Castle of *La Reolle*, mention'd in the 31st of the said Articles, the Cities of *Figeac*, in *Quercy*, and *Monsegur* in *Bazadois*, shall be left to the King of *Navar*, and those of the said Religion, for the surety of their Persons; and shall keep them during the time that is remaining of six years granted by the Edict of Peace, on the same account as the other Cities have been left to them. And for the surety of the said Cities, the King shall maintain for the said King of *Navar*, two Companies of Foot, each consisting of fifty men, over and above the number of the other Garisons, granted by the Secret Articles. And good and valuable as-

signations shall be given for the maintenance of the said Garisons, and the said City and Castles of *La Reolle* restor'd in the same condition as the other Cities not given in guard. The whole according to the King's pleasure.

Done at Coutras on the 16th Day of December, 1580. Thus sign'd with the own hand of the Duke of Anjou, Brother to the King.

Francis.

And the said own hand of the King of Navar.

Henry.

The King having seen, and maturely consider'd word by word the intire Contents in these present Articles, propos'd in the Conference held between the Duke of *Anjou* his only Brother, at *Flex* and *Contrax*, the King of *Navar*, and the Deputies of those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, who were assembled there to facilitate the execution of the last Edict of Pacification, the said Articles agreed on and sign'd on both sides in the said places of *Flex* and *Coutras*, his Majesty has approv'd, confirm'd, and ratifi'd them, wills and requires them to be observ'd and executed according to their Form and Tenor, and that the Patents and Dispatches that are necessary be immediately made and sent.

Done at Blois the 25th Day of December, 1580.

Thus Sign'd, *Henry.*

And underneath,

Pinart.

Read,

Read, Publish'd, and Registred, Heard by, and thereunto Consenting, the King's Attorney-General in consequence of the other Letters concerning the Case of the Pacification of the Troubles of this King-

dom, heretofore Publish'd and Registred at Paris in Parliament, the 26th day of January, in the year 1581.

Thus Sign'd,

Du Tillet.

The King's Edict about the Pacification of the Troubles of this Kingdom. Given at Nantes, in the Month of April, 1598. and Published in Parliament the 15th of February, 1599. Together with the Particular Articles interven'd upon the same, also verifi'd in Parliament.

HENRY by the Grace of God, King of France and Navar, to all those present, and others to come, Greeting. Among those infinite Graces, it has pleas'd Almighty God to impart unto us, the greatest and most remarkable is, To have given us the Constancy, Virtue, and Force, not to sink under the horrible Troubles, Confusions, and Disorders, which were on foot at our coming to the Crown of this Kingdom, which was divided into so many Parts and Factions, that that which was the most lawful, was almost the least; and yet, nevertheless, to have born up so itily against that Storm, as in the end to have overcome it, and to be now entred into the Haven of Safety and Repose of this State. The absolute Glory whereof be ascribed to him alone, and to us the Favour and Obligation, in that he was pleas'd to make use of our Labour for the performance of so good a Work, in which it has been visible to the whole World, that we have over and above the discharge of our Duty and

Power, done something further, which perhaps at another time would not have been so agreeable to our Dignity, which we have not been scrupulous to expose to that end, since we have so often and so freely expos'd our own Life for the same. And in this great Concurrence of such Weighty, and such Perilous Affairs, which could not be compos'd at one and the same time, We have been oblig'd to follow this order, first, to undertake such as could not be determin'd otherwise than by Force, and to defer and suspend for a time such as were, and could be treated by Reason and Justice. Such as the General Differences among our good Subjects, and the Particular Grievances of the soundest part of the State, which in our Opinion will be more easily cur'd after having remov'd the principal Cause thereof, which was the Continuation of the Civil War. Which having, by the Grace of God, successfully ended, and Arms, and Hostilities being quite laid aside throughout our Kingdom; We hope for as favourable

favourable a Success in the other Affairs that still remain uncompos'd, and that thereby we shall obtain the Establishment of a good Peace, and quiet Repose, which has ever been the aim of all our Wishes and Intentions, and the only Prize we look for, after so many Toils and Hardships wherein we have pass'd the course of our Life. Among those Affairs we were oblig'd to delay, one of the chief has been the Complaints we have receiv'd from several of our Catholick Provinces and Cities, in that the Exercise of the Catholick Religion was not universally re-establish'd there, according to the Edicts heretofore made for the Pacification of the Troubles upon the account of Religion. As also the Supplications and Remonstrances that have been made to us by our Subjects of the Pretended *Reform'd* Religion, both upon the unperformance of what is granted them by the said Edicts, and their desire of having some Additions made thereunto for the Exercise of their said Religion, the Liberty of their Consciences, and the Surety of their Persons and Fortunes; pretending just Causes of new and greater Apprehensions, by reason of the last Troubles and Commotions, the chief Pretence and Foundation of which was their Ruin. All which, not to overcharge our selves with too much business at one instant; as also because the Terror of Arms does not suit with establishing of Laws, tho never so good, we have still defer'd from time to time to make provision for, and take care of. But now, since it has pleas'd God to give a beginning to our injoying of some

Repose and Tranquility, We esteem that we cannot imploy it better, than in applying our selves to what may concern the Glory of his Holy Name and Service, and in procuring his being ador'd and pray'd unto by all our Subjects: And that since it is not his pleasure as yet, to grant that it may be done in one and the same Form of Religion, it may be done at least with one and the same Intention, and with such Rules, that it may occasion no Troubles or Tumults among them: And that both we, and all this Kingdom, may always deserve the Glorious Title of *Most Christian*, which has been so long, and so deservedly acquir'd: And by the same means to remove the Cause of the Grievances and Troubles which might arise hereafter upon the point of Religion, which has always been the most prevailing and most dangerous of all others; Therefore observing, that this Affair is of very great Importance, and worthy of weighty Consideration, after a resolving of all the Petitions and Complaints of our Catholick Subjects; and having also permitted our said Subjects of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, to Assemble by Deputies to draw theirs, and to put all their Remonstrances together, and having conferr'd several times with them upon this Subject, and review'd the precedent Edicts; We have thought fit at this time, upon the whole, to give our said Subjects a Universal, Clear, Intelligible, and Absolute Law, by which they shall be limited and govern'd in all differences that have heretofore happen'd among them

upon

upon that Subject, or that may hereafter happen, whereby both Parties may remain satisfi'd, according as the nature of the time can allow it. We being entred into this Deliberation for no other end, but the Zeal we have for the Service of God, in order that henceforward it may be perform'd by all our said Subjects, and to establish a firm and perpetual Peace among them. Wherein we implore, and expect from his Divine Goodness the same Protection and Favour, which he has ever visibly conferr'd upon this Kingdom, from the first Erection thereof, and during the many Ages it has continued; and that he would bestow the Grace upon our said Subjects, truly to apprehend, that in the Observation of this our Ordinance (next to their Duty towards God, and towards all Men) consists the main foundation of their Union, Concord, Tranquility, and Quiet, and the Restauration of this State to its Pristine Splendor, Wealth, and Power. As we on our part do promise to have it exactly perform'd without permitting it to be any wise transgress'd. For these reasons having by the Advice of the Princes of our Blood, other Princes and Officers of our Crown, and other Great and Notable Persons of our Council of State about us, maturely and diligently weigh'd and consider'd the whole business; We have by this Edict perpetual and irrevocable, denounc'd, declar'd, and ordain'd, and do denounce, declare, and ordain,

I. *First*, That the Remembrance

of all things pass'd on both sides, from the beginning of *March 1585*. until our coming to the Crown, and during the other precedent Troubles, or upon the account thereof, shall remain extinguish'd and ras'd out, as matters that never had happen'd. And it shall not be lawful for our Attorneys-General, or other Persons whatever, publick or private, at any time, or upon any occasion soever, to make mention of, or to Commence any Process or Suit thereupon in any Courts or Jurisdictions whatsoever.

II. We forbid all our Subjects of what Estate or Quality soever they be, To renew the Remembrance thereof; To assail, urge, injure, or provoke one another by way of Reproach of what is past, upon any cause or pretence whatever; To Dispute, Contest, Quarrel, or Outrage, or Offend each other about it by Word or Deed; but to contain themselves, and live peaceably together as Brethren, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens; on pain for the Delinquents, of being punish'd as Infractors of the Peace, and Disturbers of the publick Quiet.

III. We ordain, That the Catholick Apostolick *Roman* Religion shall be re-establish'd and restor'd in all Places and Parts of this our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience; where the Exercise thereof has been interrupted, there to be peaceably and freely put in practice without any hinderance or disturbance. Forbidding most expressly all Persons of what Estate, Quality, or Condition soever, on the Penalties abovemention'd, To trouble, molest,

molest, or disturb the Ecclesiasticks in the Celebration of Divine Service, the injoying and taking of Tythes, the Fruits and Revenues of their Benefices, with all other Rights and Immunities appertaining unto them; and that all those, who during the Troubles, have seiz'd the Churches, Houses, Goods, and Revenues belonging to the said Ecclesiasticks, detain and possess them, shall surrender unto them the intire Possession, and peaceable Injoyment thereof, with such Titles, Liberties, and Security, as they enjoy'd before their being dispossest'd of the same. Also expressly forbidding those of the said Pretended *Reform'd* Religion, to Preach, or perform any other Exercise of the said Religion in the Churches, Houses, and Habitations of the said Ecclesiasticks.

IV. It shall remain at the choice of the said Ecclesiasticks to buy the Houses and Buildings erected in prophane Places, whereof they were dispossest'd during the Troubles, or else to constrain the Possessors of the said Buildings to buy the Ground, the whole according to the Estimation that shall be made thereof by experienc'd Men, agreed upon by the Parties; and in case they should not agree, the Judges of the Place shall appoint some, reserving ever to the said Possessors their recourse against whomsoever it shall belong. And where the said Ecclesiasticks shall constrain the Possessors to purchase the Ground, the Money it shall be valued at, shall not be put into their hands, but shall remain in the hands of the said Possessors, to be improv'd at the rate of 5 per

Cent. until it be employ'd for the benefit of the Church, which shall be done within the space of a year. And the said Term being pass'd, in case the Purchaser will no longer continue the said Rent, he shall be discharg'd thereof, consigning the said Money into the hands of salvable Persons, by Authority and Order of Justice. And as for Sacred Places, Information thereof shall be given by the Commissaries, who shall be ordain'd for the Execution of the present Edict, in order to our taking a course for the same.

V. Nevertheless, no Grounds and Places employ'd for the Reparations and Fortifications of Cities, and other Places within our Kingdom, or the materials therein us'd, shall be claim'd, or recover'd by the said Ecclesiasticks, or other Persons, publick or private, until the said Reparations and Fortifications are demolish'd by our Ordinances.

VI. And to remove all occasions of Contention and Trouble from among our Subjects, we have and do permit those of the said Pretended *Reform'd* Religion, to live and reside in all the Cities and Places within this our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience, without being examin'd, molested, troubled, or constrain'd to do any thing in matter of Religion against their Conscience; or examin'd in their Houses, or Places where they shall Inhabit; in all other things behaving themselves according to what is specif'd in our present Edict.

VII. We have also permitted all Lords, Gentlemen, and other Persons, as well Inhabitants as others,

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who

* An Inheritance held directly in Capite of the King.

who make Profession of the Pretended Reform'd Religion, enjoying within our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience, High Jurisdiction, or full *Fief d'Haubert*, (as in *Normandy*) either in Proper, in the *Use-fruit* thereof, in the whole, or Moiety, or for a third Part, To have in such their Houses of the said High Jurisdiction, or *Fiefs* abovesaid, which they shall be oblig'd to nominate before to our Bailiffs and Seneschals, every one within his Limits, for their principal Abode, the Exercise of the said Religion, while they reside there; and in their Absence their Wives or Families, or part thereof. And tho the Right of Jurisdiction, or full *Fief d'Haubert* be in Controversy; nevertheless the Exercise of the said Religion shall be allow'd there, provided the abovesaid be in actual Possession of the said High Jurisdiction, altho our Attorney-General be a Party. We also allow them to perform the said Exercise in their other Houses of High Jurisdiction, or abovesaid *Fief d'Haubert*, while they are there present, and no otherwise; both for themselves, their Families, Subjects, and others, who shall desire to repair thither.

VIII. In Houses of *Fiefs*, where those of the said Religion shall not have the said High Jurisdiction or *Fief d'Haubert*, they shall only be allow'd the said Exercise for their Families. Nevertheless, we do not mean, that in case other Persons should chance to come in, to the number of Thirty, besides their Family, either upon the account of Baptism, Visitation of their Friends,

or otherwise, they should be troubled for the same: Provided also the said Houses are neither within Cities, Towns or Villages, belonging to Catholick Lords, High-Justicers, besides our self, wherein the said Catholick Lords have their Mansions. In which case those of the said Religion shall not be allow'd to perform their said Exercise in the said Cities, Towns or Villages, except by permission and leave of the said Lords High-Justicers, and no otherwise.

IX. We also permit those of the said Religion, to perform and continue the Exercise thereof in all the Cities and Places under our Obedience, where it was establish'd, and by them publicly perform'd at sundry and divers times in the Year 1596. and in the Year 1597. until the end of *August*, all Decrees and Judgments to the contrary notwithstanding.

X. The said Exercise in like manner shall be establish'd and Restor'd in all Cities and Places where it has or should have been establish'd by the Edict of Pacification, made in the Year Seventy Seven, Particular Articles and Conferences of *Nerac* and *Flex*: Neither shall the said Establishment be obstructed in the Parts and Places within the Demean granted by the said Edict, Articles and Conferences, for Places of Bayliwikes, or that shall be granted hereafter, though they have been since alienated to Catholick Persons, or hereafter shall be. And yet we do not intend that the said Exercise shall be Re-establish'd in the Parts and Places of the said Demean, which have

have been heretofore possess'd by those of the the said pretended Reform'd Religion, in which it had been allow'd out of respect to their persons, or upon the account of the Privileges of the Fiefs, in case the said Fiefs be at present possess'd by persons of the said Catholick, Apostolick Religion.

XI. Moreover, in every one of the Ancient Bayliwikes, Seneschalships and Governments, holding the Place of a Bayliwike, having direct reference, without mediation to the Courts of Parliament, We ordain, That in the Suburbs of a City, besides those that have been granted them by the said Edict, Particular Articles and Conferences: And where there are no Cities, in a Borough or Village, the Exercise of the said pretended Reform'd Religion shall be publickly perform'd for all such as will repair thither; altho the said Exercise were already establish'd in divers places of the said Bayliwikes, Seneschalships and Governments; excepting out of the said place of Bayliwike newly granted by the present Edict, the Cities in which there are Archbishops or Bishops; in which case those of the said Pretended Reform'd Religion shall be allow'd to demand, and to nominate for the said Place of the said Exercise, the Boroughs and Villages near the said Cities. Excepted also Places and Lordships belonging to Ecclesiasticks, in which we do not allow the said second Place of Bayliwike to be establish'd, we having by special grace and favour excepted them. Under the name of Ancient Bayliwikes, we mean such as were in the Times of the late King *Henry*

our most honour'd Lord and Father-in-law, held for Bayliwikes, Seneschalships and Governments, having immediate reference to our said Courts.

XII. We do not mean by this present Edict to derogate from the Edicts and Agreements heretofore made for the reducing of some Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and Catholick Cities under our Obedience, in what relates to the Exercise of the said Religion; the which Edicts and Agreements shall be maintain'd and observ'd for this respect, according as shall be specify'd by the Instructions of the Commissioners that shall be appointed for the execution of this present Edict.

XIII. We expressly forbid all those of the said Religion to perform any Exercise thereof, either as to the Ministry, Government, Discipline, or Publick Instruction of Children, and others, in this our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience, in what relates to Religion, in any places, but those that are allow'd and granted by the Edict.

XIV. As also to perform any Exercise of the said Religion in our Court or Attendance, nor likewise in our Lands and Territories beyond the Mounts, nor yet in our City of *Paris*, nor within five Leagues of the said City. Nevertheless, those of the said Religion who live in the said Lands and Territories beyond the Mounts, and in our said City, and within five Leagues round about it, shall not be examin'd in their Houses, nor constrain'd to do any thing in respect of their Religion against their Conscience, behaving

themselves, in other matters, according as it is specify'd in our present Edict.

XV. Neither shall the Publick Exercise of the said Religion be performed in the Armies; unless in the Quarters of the Chief Officers who profess the same; nevertheless it shall not be done in the Quarter where we lodge.

XVI. According to the Second Article of the Conference at *Nerac*, We give leave to those of the same Religion to build Places for the exercise thereof, in the Cities and Places where it is allow'd them; and those they have built heretofore, shall be restor'd to them, or the Ground thereof, in the Condition it is at present, even in those places where the said Exercise is not allow'd them, unless they have been converted into other Buildings. In which case the Possessors of the said Buildings shall give them other places of the same Price and Value they were of, before their building upon them, or the true estimation of them by the judgment of experienc'd men; always reserving to the said Owners and Possessors a remedy against whomsoever it shall concern.

XVII. We forbid all Preachers, and Lecturers, and others who speak in publick, to use any Words, Speeches, or Discourse, that may tend to excite the People to Sedition; but on the contrary we have, and do injoin them, to contain and behave themselves modestly, and to utter nothing but what may tend to the instruction and edification of the Auditors; and to maintain the

Peace and Tranquility by us establish'd in our said Kingdom, on the Penalties specify'd in the precedent Edicts. Injoining most expressly our Attornies General, and their Substitutes, to inform out of their Office against such as shall transgress the same, on pain of answering for it in their proper and peculiar Persons, and Forfeitures of their Offices.

XVIII. We also forbid all our Subjects, of what Quality and Condition soever, to take away by force or induction, against the Will of their Parents, the Children of those of the said Religion, to Baptise, or confirm them in the Catholick, Apostolick Roman Church: The same Prohibitions are made to those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion, the whole on pain of exemplary Punishment.

XIX. Those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion, shall be no-wise constrain'd, nor remain bound by reason of the Abjurations, Promises and Oaths they have heretofore made, or Cautions by them given, upon the account of the said Religion, neither shall they be any-wise troubl'd or molested for the same.

XX. They shall also be bound to observe all Festivals ordain'd in the Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Church; neither shall they work, or sell, in open Shops, on the said days; neither shall Handicraftsmen work out of their Shops, or in close Houses, or Chambers, on the said Festival days, and other prohibited days, in any Profession, the noise whereof may be heard without by Neighbours, or persons passing along: which nevertheless shall
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only be sought after by Officers of Justice.

XXI. The Books touching the said pretended Reform'd Religion, shall neither be printed nor sold publickly, unless in such Cities and Places in which the Publick Exercise of the said Religion is allow'd. And as for other Books which shall be printed in other places, they shall be seen and examin'd, both by our Officers and Divines, as it is specify'd by our Ordinances. We forbid most expressly the Impression, publication, and sale of all Defamatory Books, Libels and Pamphlets, under the Penalties contain'd in our Ordinances: Injoining all our Judges and Officers to keep a strict hand over it.

XXII. We ordain that no difference or distinction shall be made on the account of the said Religion, for the receiving of Scholars to be instructed in Universities, Colledges and Schools, and the Sick and Poor in Hospitals and Publick Alms.

XXIII. Those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion shall be oblig'd to keep the Laws of the Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Church, receiv'd in this our Kingdom, in respect to Marriages contracted, or to be contracted as to the degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity.

XXIV. Those of the said Religion shall also pay the Fees of Entrance, as is customary, for the Places and Offices they shall be provided with, without being oblig'd to assist at any Ceremonies contrary to their said Religion: And being call'd to their Oath, they shall only be oblig'd to hold up their hand,

swear, and promise to God, that they will speak the truth: Neither shall they be oblig'd to take a dispensation for the Oath by them taken, at the passing of the Contracts and Obligations;

XXV. It is our Will and Pleasure, that all those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, of what State, Quality, or Condition soever, shall be oblig'd and constrain'd by fair and reasonable means, and under the Penalties contain'd in the Edicts upon that subject, to pay and acquit the Tythes of Curates, and other Ecclesiasticks, and to all other to whom they shall belong, according to the use and custom of the places.

XXVI. The Disinheritances, or Privations, either by disposing among the Living, or by way of Testament, made only out of hatred, or upon the account of Religion, shall neither be valable for the time past, or time to come, among our Subjects.

XXVII. In order the better to reunite the Wills of our Subjects, according to our Intention, and to remove all Complaints for the future, We do declare all those who do, or shall profess the said pretended Reform'd Religion, capable of holding or performing all Estates, Dignities, Offices, and publick Places, whatever, either Royal, Signorial, or of the Cities of our Kingdom, Countries, Territories and Lordships, under our Obedience, all Oaths to the contrary notwithstanding, and to be indifferently received into the same, and our Courts

Courts of Parliament and other Judges shall only make inquiry, and inform themselves about the Life and Conversation, Religion and honest Conversation of those who are, or shall be provided with Offices, as well of the one, as of the other Religion, without exacting any other Oath from them, but well and faithfully to serve the King in the discharge of their Offices, and to observe the Ordinances, as it has been observ'd at all times. And in case any Vacancy shall happen of the said Estates, Places and Offices, as for those that shall be in our gift, they shall be dispos'd of indifferently, and without distinction, to capable Persons, as things that concern the union of our Subjects. We intend also that those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion shall be admitted and receiv'd into all Councils, Deliberations, Assemblies and Functions depending on the above-said Matters; and that they shall not be ejected or hinder'd from enjoying them upon the account of the said Religion.

XXVIII. We order for interring of the Dead of those of the said Religion, within all the Cities and parts of our Kingdom, that in each place, a convenient place shall be provided for them forthwith by our Officers and Magistrates, and by the Commissioners who shall be by us deputed for the putting of this present Edict in execution. And such Church-yards as they had heretofore, which they have been depriv'd of by reason of the Troubles, shall be restor'd to them, except they be at present built upon, in

which case others shall be provided for them at free cost.

XXIX. We most expressly enjoin our Officers to take care that no Scandal be committed at the said Interments; and they shall be bound within a Fortnight after request made, to provide commodious places for the said Burials of those of the said Religion, without the least protraction, or delays, under penalty of 500 Crowns, to be fets'd on their proper Names and Persons. The said Officers and others are also forbidden to exact any thing for the conveyance of the said Dead Bodies on pain of Extortion.

XXX. To the end that Justice may be done and ministr'd to our Subjects without partiality, hatred, or favour, which is one of the principal means to keep peace and concord among them, we have and do ordain that a Chamber shall be establish'd in our Court of Parliament of *Paris*, consisting of a President and 16 Councillors of the said Parliament, the which shall be called and entitled, The Chamber of the Edict, which shall not only judge the Causes and Processes of those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion, within the Jurisdiction of the said Court, but also those of the Jurisdiction of the Parliaments of *Normandy* and *Britany*, according to the Jurisdiction hereafter conferr'd upon it by this present Edict, and that until a Chamber be establish'd in each of the said Parliaments, to minister Justice upon the place. We also ordain that the four Offices of Councillors in our said Parliament of *Paris*, remaining of the last election by us made, shall be forth-

forthwith bestowed on four of those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion, fitly qualify'd, and capable to serve in the said Parliament, who shall be distributed, viz. The first shall be receiv'd into the Chamber of the Edict, and the other three in order as they shall be receiv'd into three of the Chambers of the Inquests. Moreover the two first Offices of * *Lai*z Councillors, that shall become vacant by Death, shall also be given to two of those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion; and the persons thus receiv'd, shall be distributed into the two other Chambers of Inquests.

XXXI. Besides the Chamber heretofore establish'd at *Castres*, for the Jurisdiction of our Court of Parliament of *Toulouse*, which shall be continu'd in the state it now stands; we have for the same considerations ordain'd, and do ordain, that in each of our Courts of Parliament of *Grenoble* and *Bordeaux*, shall also be establish'd a Chamber, consisting of two Presidents, the one Catholick, and the other of the said pretended Reform'd Religion; and of twelve Councillors, six of which shall be Catholicks, and the other six of the said Religion; which Catholick Presidents and Councillors shall be by us selected and chosen out of the body of our said Courts. And as to those of the said Religion, a new Creation shall be made of a President and six Councillors for the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, and of a President and three Councillors for that of *Grenoble*, the which with the three Councillors of the said Religion, that are at present of the said Parliament, shall be

employ'd in the said Chamber of *Dauphine*. And the said Offices of new creation, shall be allow'd the same Salleries, Honours, Authorities, and Preheminiencies as the others of the said Courts. And the said Sessions of the said Chamber of *Bordeaux* shall be held at *Bordeaux*, or at *Nerac*, and that of *Dauphine* at *Grenoble*.

XXXII. The said Chamber of *Dauphine* shall determine the Causes of those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion, of the Jurisdiction of our Parliament of *Provence*, without being oblig'd to take Letters of Summons, or other Citations, any where but in our Chancery of *Dauphine*: Neither shall those of the said Religion of *Normandy* or *Britany* be oblig'd to take out Summons, or other Citations any where but in our Chancery of *Paris*.

XXXIII. Our Subjects of the said Religion of the Parliament of *Burgundy*, shall have the choice and election to plead in the Chamber ordain'd in the Parliament of *Paris*, or in that of *Dauphine*, neither shall they be oblig'd to take out Letters of Summons, or any other Citations, but in the said Chanceries of *Paris*, and of *Dauphine*, according to their own choice.

XXXIV. All the said Chambers compos'd as abovesaid, shall determine and judge in sovereignty by Sentence Definitive, by Decrees excluding all others of Suits and Differences mov'd and to be mov'd; in which those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion are concern'd as Principals, or Warranties, either as Plaintiffs, or Defendants, in all mat-

* The word signifies Legacies.

ters;

ters, as well Civil as Criminal, whether the said Processes be by Writ, or Verbal Appeal, if the said Parties like it so, and one of them requires it, before any Plea in the Cause, in relation to Suits to be mov'd: always excepting all matters of Benefices, and the Possessors of Tythes not enfeoff'd, Ecclesiastical Patronages, and Causes wherein the Demean of the Church shall be concern'd, which shall all be try'd and judg'd in the Courts of Parliament; and the said Chambers of the Edict shall not be allow'd to take cognizance of the same. It is also our Will and Pleasure, that in order to judge and decide Criminal Causes, that shall happen among the said Ecclesiasticks, and those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion; if the Ecclesiastick is Defendant, the Judgment of the Criminal Cause shall belong to our Sovereign Courts, exclusively to the said Chambers; and the Ecclesiastick being Plaintiff, and he of the said Religion Defendant, the Cognizance and Judgment of the Criminal Cause shall belong by Appeal, and in last reference, to the said Establish'd Chambers. The said Chambers also in Vacation-times shall determine of Matters referr'd by the Edicts and Ordinances to the Chambers establish'd in times of Vacation, each one in their Jurisdiction.

XXXV. The Chambers of *Grenoble* shall from this present be united and incorporated to the Body of the said Court of Parliament, and the Presidents and Councillors of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, entitled Presidents and Councillors

of the said Court, and held in the number and rank of them. To this end they shall be first dispos'd of in the other Chambers, and then call'd and drawn out of them, to be employ'd, and to serve in that which we institute a-new; yet they shall assist, and have a Voice and Session in all the Deliberations that shall be made when the Chambers are assembled, and shall enjoy the same Salaries, Authorities and Preheminencies, as the othe Presidents and Councillors do.

XXXVI. It is also our Will and Pleasure, that the said Chambers of *Castres* and *Bordeaux* shall be reunited, and incorporated into the said Parliaments, in the same manner as the others, when it shall be needful, and the Causes that have mov'd us to establish them shall cease, and subsist no longer among our Subjects: And therefore the Presidents and Councillors of the said Chambers, being of the same Religion, shall be call'd and held for Presidents and Counsellors of the said Courts.

XXXVII. There shall be also newly created and erected in the Chamber ordain'd for the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, two Substitutes of our Attorney and Advocate General, of which the Attorney's Substitutes shall be a Catholick, and the other of the said Religion, who shall be invested with the said Offices, with competent Pensions.

XXXVIII. All the said Substitutes shall take no other quality than that of Substitutes; and when the Chambers ordain'd for the Parliaments of *Bordeaux* and *Toulouse* shall be united and incorporated into the said Parlia-

Parliaments, the said Substitutes shall be provided with Councillors Places in the same.

XXXIX. The Expeditions of the Chancery of the Chamber of *Bordeaux* shall be perform'd in the presence of two Councillors of the said Chamber, of which the one shall be a Catholick, and the other of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, in the absence of one of the Masters of Requests of our *Hôtel*, or Household; And one of the Notaries and Secretaries of the said Court of Parliament of *Bordeaux*, shall reside in the place where the said Chamber shall be establish'd, or else one of the Secretaries in ordinary of the Chancery, to sign the Expeditions of the said Chancery.

XL. We will and command, That in the said Chamber of *Bordeaux* there be two Committees of the Register of the said Parliament, the one Civil, the other Criminal, who shall officiate by our Commissions, and shall be call'd Committees of the Registry Civil and Criminal; and therefore shall neither be displac'd nor revok'd by the said Registers, or chief Clerks of Parliament: yet they shall be oblig'd to yield the Profit of the said Registries to the said Register; the which Committees shall receive Salaries from the said Registers, according as it shall be thought fit, and order'd by the said Chamber. Moreover, Catholick Messengers shall be appointed there, who shall be taken out of the said Court, or elsewhere, according to our Pleasure; besides which, two new ones shall be erected, being of the said Religion, without their paying any

Fees: All the said Messengers shall be govern'd by the said Chamber, both as to the execution, and precinct of their Office, as well as the Fees they shall receive. A Commission shall also be dispatch'd for a Paymaster of Salaries, and a Receiver of the Fines levy'd by the Chamber, who shall be chosen by us, in case the said Chamber be establish'd in any place but the said City; and the Commission heretofore granted to the Paymaster of the Salaries of the Chamber of *Castres*, shall remain in full force, and the Commission of Receiver of the Fines levy'd by the said Chamber shall be annex'd to the said Office.

XLI. Sufficient Assignations shall be provided for the Pensions or Salaries of the Officers of the Chambers ordain'd by this Edict.

XLII. The Presidents, Counsellors, and other Catholick Officers of the said Chambers, shall be continu'd as long as possible may be, and as we shall find it most expedient for our Service, and the good of our Subjects: And in dismissing some, others shall be appointed in their room, before their departure; and they shall not, during the time of their waiting, absent themselves, or depart from the said Chambers, without their leave, which shall be judg'd by the Proceedings of the Ordinance.

XLIII. The said Chambers shall be establish'd within six Months, during which, (if the Establishment continue so long a settling) the Suits mov'd, or to be mov'd, in which those of the said Religion shall be Parties, within the Jurisdiction of our Parliaments of *Paris*, *Roan*, *Dijon*,

jon and Rennes, shall be remov'd, or summon'd to the Chamber at present establish'd at *Paris*, by vertue of the Edict of the Year 1577. or else to the great Council, at the Election and Choice of those of the said Religion, if they require it: Those that are of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, into the Chamber of *Castres*, or to the said Great Council, at their choice: And those that are of *Provence*, to the Parliament of *Grenoble*. And in case the said Chambers be not establish'd within three months after the Presentation there made of this our present Edict, such of our Parliaments as shall have made refusal thereof, shall be prohibited to take cognizance, or judge the Causes of those of the said Religion.

XLIV. Suits not yet determin'd, depending in the said Courts of Parliament, and Grand Council, of the nature abovesaid, shall be return'd, in what state soever they stand, into the said Chambers, each Cause to its Court of Reference, in case one of the Parties of the said Religion requires it, within four months after the establishment thereof; and as for such as shall be discontinu'd, and are not in a state to come to trial, the abovemention'd of the said Religion shall be oblig'd to make a Declaration at the first intimation and signification they shall receive of the pursuit; and the said Term being expir'd, they shall no longer be receiv'd to demand the said Returns.

XLV. The said Chambers of *Grenoble* and *Bordeaux*, as well as that of *Chartres*, shall observe the Stile and Forms of the Parliaments, with-

in the Jurisdictions of which they shall be establish'd, and shall judge in equal numbers both of the one, and other Religion, unless the Parties agree to the contrary.

XLVI. All the Judges, to whom the Executions, Decrees, Commissions of the said Chambers, and Letters, obtain'd out of their Chanceries, shall be directed; as also all Messengers and Serjeants shall be bound to put them in execution; and the Messengers and Serjeants shall also be oblig'd to serve all their Warrants in all parts of the Kingdom, without demanding *Placet*, *Visa*, nor *Parreatis*, on pain of suspension of their Places, and paying the Damages, Charges and Interests of the Parties: the Censure whereof shall belong to the said Chambers.

XLVII. No removal of Causes shall be allow'd, the tryal of which is referr'd to the said Chambers, unless in the case of the Ordinances, the return whereof shall be made to the nearest Chamber establish'd according to our Edict: And the Issues of Suits of the said Chambers shall be try'd in the next Chamber, observing the proportion and Forms of the said Chamber, from whence the Processes shall proceed, except for the Chambers of the Edict in our Parliament of *Paris*; where the said Party Suits shall be dispos'd of in the said Chamber, by Judges that shall be by us nominated by our particular Letters to this end, unless the Parties had rather attend the Renovation of the said Chamber. And if it should happen that one and the same Suit should pass through all the Party Chambers, the issue thereof shall

shall be return'd to the said Chamber of *Paris*.

XLVIII. Refusals propos'd against the Presidents and Counsellors of the Party-Chambers shall be allow'd to the number of six, to which number the Parties shall be restrain'd, otherwise they shall go forward without any regard to the said Refusals.

XLIX. The Examination of Presidents and Counsellors newly erected in the said Party Chambers shall be perform'd by our Privy Council, or by the said Chambers, each one within its Precinct, when their number shall be sufficient: Nevertheless, the usual Oath shall by them be taken in the Courts where the said Chamber shall be establish'd, and upon their refusal, in our Privy Council; except those of the Chamber of *Languedoc*, who shall take their Oath before our Chancellor, or in the said Chamber.

L. We will and ordain, That the reception of our Officers of the said Religion, shall be judg'd in the said Party Chambers by the plurality of Voices; as it is usual in other Judgments, it not being requisite that the Voices should surpass two thirds, according to the Ordinance, the which in this respect is abrogated.

LI. All Propositions, Deliberations and Resolutions, relating to the Publick Peace, and for the particular Estate and Policy of the Cities, where the Party-Chambers shall reside, shall be made in the said Chambers.

LII. The Article of the Jurisdiction of the said Chambers, ordain'd by the present Edict, shall be fol-

low'd and observ'd according to its Form and Tenor, even in what relates to the Execution, Omission, or Infraction of our Edicts, when those of the said Religion shall be Parties.

LIII. The Subaltern Officers Royal, or others, the reception of which belongs to our Courts of Parliament, if they be of the said pretended Re-form'd Religion may be examin'd and receiv'd in the said Chambers: *viz.* Those of the Jurisdiction of the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Normandy* and *Britany*, in the said Chambers of *Paris*; those of *Dauphine* and *Provence*, in the Chamber of *Grenoble*; those of *Burgundy*, in the said Chamber of *Paris*, or of *Dauphine*, at their choice; those of the Jurisdiction of *Toulouse*, in the Chamber of *Castres*; and those of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, in the Chamber of *Guienne*; and no other to oppose their receptions, or make themselves Parties, but our Attorneys-General, and their Substitutes, and those placed in the said Offices. Nevertheless the accustomed Oath shall by them be taken in the Courts of Parliament, which shall not be allow'd to take cognizance of their reception; and upon the refusal of the said Parliament, the said Officers shall take the Oath in the said Chambers; which being thus taken, they shall be oblig'd to present the Act of their reception, by a Messenger or Notary to the Registers of the said Courts of Parliament, and to leave a compar'd Copy thereof, with the said Registers; who are enjoin'd to register the said Acts, on pain of paying all the Charges, Damages and Interests of the Parties; and in case the Regi-

sters should refuse to do it; it shall be sufficient for the said Officers to bring back the Act of the said Summons, drawn by the said Messengers, or Notaries, and to cause the same to be recorded in the Registers of their said Jurisdictions, there to be view'd when need shall require, on pain of nullity of their Proceedings and Judgments. And as for those Officers, whose reception is not to be made in our said Parliaments; in case those by whom it ought to be made, should refuse to proceed to the said Examination and Reception, the said Officers shall repair to the said Chambers, where care shall be taken for their said reception.

LIV. The Officers of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, who shall be chosen hereafter, to serve in the Body of our said Court of Parliament, Grand Council, Chambers of Accounts, Courts of Aids, and in the Offices of the Treasurer-General of *France*, and other Officers of the Exchequers, shall be examin'd and receiv'd in the places where it was usually perform'd; and in case of refusal, or denial of Justice, they shall be constituted in our Privy Council.

LV. The reception of our Officers made in the Chamber establish'd heretofore at *Castres*, shall remain in force, all Decrees and Ordinances thereunto contrary notwithstanding. The reception of our Judges, Councillors, and other Officers of the said Religion, made in our Privy-Council, or by Commissioners by us nominated upon the refusal of our Courts of Parliament, of Aids, and Chambers of Account, shall also be as

valid, as if they had been made in the said Courts and Chambers, and by other Judges, to whom those Receptions appertain. And their Salaries shall be allow'd by the Chambers of Accounts, without difficulty: and if any have been dismiss'd, they shall be re-establish'd without any farther Mandamus than this present Edict; and the said Officers shall not be oblig'd to show any other reception; all Decrees given to the contrary notwithstanding; the which shall remain void, and of no effect.

LVI. Until means be procur'd to defray the Expences of Justice of our said Chambers out of the Moneys of Fines and Confiscations, we will assign a valuable and sufficient Fund to discharge the said Expences; which Money shall be return'd out of the Estates of the persons condemned.

LVII. The Presidents and Councillors of the said Pretended *Reform'd* Religion, heretofore receiv'd into our Courts of Parliament of *Dauphine*, and in the Chamber of the Edict, incorporated into the same shall continue and hold their Place and Order there, *Viz.* The Presidents as they did and do enjoy them at present; and the Councillors according to the Decrees and Patents they have obtain'd about it in our Privy Council.

LVIII. We declare all Sentences, Judgments, Decrees, Proceedings, Seizures, Sales, and Orders made and given against those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, whether dead, or alive, since the Death of the late King *Henry* the 2^d. our most honour'd Lord and Father-in-Law, by reason of the said Religion, Tumults and Troubles happen'd since,

since, together with the execution of the said Judgments and Decrees from this present, cancelled, revoked, and nullified, and the same do cancel, revoke and nullify. We order the same to be raz'd and wip'd out of the Records of the Registers of Courts, as well Sovereign as Inferior. As it is likewise our pleasure, that all Marks, Tracts and Monuments of the said Executions, Books and Acts defamatory to their Persons, Memory and Posterity, shall be remov'd and defac'd: And that the places in which have been made upon that account, Demolishments or Razings, shall be restor'd to the Owners in such a condition as they are, the same to enjoy and to dispose of as they shall think fit. And we have generally revok'd, cancell'd and nullify'd all Proceedings and Informations made for any Enterprises whatever, Pretended Crimes of Leze-Majesty and others. Notwithstanding which Proceedings, Decrees and Judgments, comprehending reunion, incorporation, and confiscation, it is our pleasure that those of the said Religion, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party, and their Heirs, shall re-enter into the real and actual possession of all and every their Estates.

LIX. All Proceedings made, Judgments and Decrees given during the Troubles, against those of the said Religion, who have born Arms, or withdrawn themselves out of our Realm, or within the same, into Cities and Countries held by them upon another account than that of Religion and the Troubles, together with all Nonsuits, Prescriptions, either Legal, Conventional, or Customary,

and Feodal Seizures, befallen during the Troubles, or by lawful Impediments proceeding from them, the cognizance whereof shall remain in our Judges, shall be esteem'd as not perform'd, granted, or happen'd; and such we have and do declare them to be, and have and do annihilate them; for all which the said Parties shall have no redress: but they shall be restor'd to the same state in which they were before, the said Decrees and Execution thereof notwithstanding; and the possession they had formerly, shall be restor'd to them in this respect. What is above-mention'd shall also take place, in relation to others who have been ingag'd in the Party of those of the said Religion, or that have absented themselves out of our Kingdom, by reason of the Troubles. And as for the Children under Age of those of the Quality aforesaid, who dyed during the Troubles, we restore the Parties to the same Estate in which they were before, without refunding the Charges, or being bound to consign the Fines or Amerciaments; but yet we do not mean that Judgments given by Presidial or other Inferior Judges, against those of the said Religion, or those who have been ingag'd in their Party, should remain void, if given by Judges, holding Sessions in Cities held by them, to which they had a free access.

LX. The Decrees given in our Courts of Parliament, in matters, the Cognizance whereof belongs to the Chambers ordain'd by the Edict in the year 1577. and the Articles

ticles of *Nerac* and *Flex*, in which Courts the Parties have not proceeded voluntarily, that is, they have alledg'd and propos'd ends declinatory, or that have been given by default or Exclusion, either in matters Civil or Criminal, notwithstanding which ends, the said Parties have been constrain'd to go forward, shall likewise be annihilated, and of no value. And as for the Decrees given against those of the said Religion, who have proceeded voluntarily, without proposing declinatory Ends, the said Decrees shall remain in force; yet nevertheless without prejudice to the Execution thereof, they shall be allow'd, if they think good, to take some course by Civil Request, before the Chambers ordain'd by the present Edict; and the time run on, mention'd by the Ordinances, shall be no prejudice to them; and until the said Chambers, and their Chanceries are establish'd, the Verbal Appeals, or those by Writ brought in by those of the said Religion, before the Judges, Registers, or Committees, Executors of Decrees and Judgments, shall take the same Effect, as if they had been sued out by Letters Patent.

LXI. In all Inquiries that shall be made upon any occasion whatsoever, in Civil Matters, if the Inquisitor or Commissary is a Catholick, the Parties shall be oblig'd to agree about an Associate; and in case they cannot agree about one, the said Inquisitor or Commissary shall take one out of the Office, being of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion; and the same shall be practis'd when the Commissary or Inquisitor shall be of

the said Religion, for a Catholick Adjunct.

LXII. We Will and Ordain, That our Judges shall determine the Validity of Testaments, in which those of the said Religion shall be concern'd, if they require it; and the Appeals of the said Judgments may be sued out by those of the said Religion, notwithstanding all Customs contrary thereunto, even those of *Brittany*.

LXIII. To prevent all differences that might happen between our Courts of Parliament, and the Chambers of the said Courts, ordain'd by our present Edict; We will set down an ample and plain Order between the said Courts and Chambers, by which those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion shall fully enjoy the benefit of the said Edict: Which Order shall be verified in our Courts of Parliament, which shall be kept and observ'd, without having a respect to those that have been made before.

LXIV. We prohibit and forbid all our Sovereign Courts, and others of this Kingdom, to take Cognizance, and judge the Processess, Civil and Criminal, of those of the said Religion, the Tryal whereof, by our Edict, is refer'd to the said Chambers, provided the return be demanded, as it is specif'd by the 40 Articles abovemention'd.

LXV. Our Will also is by way of Provision, until we have otherwise ordain'd it, that in all Suits mov'd, or to be mov'd, in which those of the said Religion shall stand as Plaintiffs, or Defendants, principal Parties, or Warrantees in Civil Causes,
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in which our Officers and Prefidial Tribunals, have power to Judge definitively, they be permitted to demand that two of the Chamber, where the Cause is to be try'd, abstain from the Judgment of them, who without alledging any cause, shall be bound in this case to abstain, notwithstanding the Ordinance by which the Judges cannot be excepted against without just cause; there remaining to them besides refusals of Right against the others. And in Criminal Cases in which the said Prefidial Judges, and other Subaltern or Inferior Judges Royal, judge definitively, the Persons impeach'd being of the said Religion, shall also be allow'd to challenge three of the Judges peremptorily. The Provosts of the Marshals of France, Vice-Bailiffs, Vice-Seneschals, Lieutenants of the Short Robe, and other Officers of the like Quality, shall also judge according to the Ordinance and Rules heretofore given in relation to Vagabonds. And as for Housholders charg'd and impeach'd with any Provoital or Publick Crime, if they be of the said Religion, they shall also be allow'd to demand that three of the said Judges, who may take Cognizance thereof, abstain from the Judgment of their Causes, which the said Judges shall be oblig'd to do, without any expression of Cause, except when in the Assembly where the said Causes shall be judg'd, there happen to be to the number of two in Civil matters, and three in Criminal Cases of those of the said Religion, in which Case they shall not be allow'd to challenge peremptorily, without

showing cause; the which shall be common and reciprocal to Catholicks in manner and form abovemention'd in respect to the Refusal of Judges, where those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion shall exceed the others in number. Nevertheless, we do not mean that the said Prefidial-Tribunals, Provosts-Marshal, Vice-Bailiffs, Vice-Seneschals, and others, who judge definitively, should by virtue of what is abovesaid, take Cognizance of the Troubles past. And as for Crimes and Excesses committed upon other occasions, than that of the Troubles past, from the beginning of *March* 1585. to the end of the year 1597. in case they do take Cognizance of them: It is our Will that Appeals may be had from their Judgments before the Chambers ordain'd by the present Edict; as shall in the like manner be practis'd for Catholick Accomplices, where some of those of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion shall be Parties.

LXVI. We also will and ordain, That henceforward in all Instructions, except Informations of Criminal Causes, in the Seneschallships of *Thoulouse, Carcassonne, Rouergue, Lorigais, Beziers, Montpellier, and Nimes*, the Magistrate, or Commissary, deputed for the said Instruction, if he be a Catholick, shall be bound to take an Associate of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion, which the Parties shall agree about; and in case they cannot agree, one of the said Religion shall be taken out of the Office, by the aforesaid Magistrate, or Commissary: As in like manner, If the Magistrate, or Commissary,

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be of the said Religion, he shall be oblig'd in the manner and form aforesaid to take a Catholick Assistant.

LXVII. When any Houſholder of the said Religion, being charg'd and accus'd of any publick Crime, shall be try'd before the Provosts Marshals, or their Lieutenants, the said Provosts, or their Lieutenants, being Catholicks, shall be oblig'd to call to the Proceedings of such a matter, an Assistant of the said Religion; who shall also assist at the Tryal of the competency of the Indictment, and at the Judgment definitive of the matter; which Competency shall only be try'd at the next Presidial Tribunal, in open Assembly, by the chief Officers of the said Court, being actually there on pain of Nullity, unless the Persons accus'd, desire to have the said Competency try'd in the Chambers ordain'd by the present Edict. In which case in respect to the Houſholders of the Provinces of *Guyenne, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphine*, the Substitutes of our Attornys-General in the said Chambers, shall at the request of the said Houſholders, cause the said Charges and Informations against them, to be brought before them, to know, and determine, whether the Causes are liable to Provosts-Courts or not, in order, according to the nature of the Crimes, to be return'd by the said Chambers to the Ordinary Judge, or else to be try'd by the Provostal Judges, according as they shall judge it reasonable, and suitable to the Contents of this our present Edict: And all the said Presidial-Judges, Provosts-Marshals, Vice-Bailiffs, Vice-

Seneschals, and others, who judge definitively, shall be oblig'd respectively to obey and observe the Commands they shall receive from the said Chambers, as they use to respect the Orders of the said Parliaments, on forfeiture of their Places.

LXVIII. The Publications of Sale, and Seizures, Outcries, and Vendition of Inheritances by the * Spear, in pursuance of a Decree, shall be perform'd at the usual Places and Houses, if possible, according to our Ordinances, or else in publick Market-places, in case there be any Market-places in the Place where the said Inheritances are seated; and where there are none, it shall be done in the next Market-place within the Precinct of the Session where the Adjudication is to be made, and the Paper of notice shall be fasten'd on a Post in the said Market; and at the entrance of the Auditories, or Sessions-house of the said Place, and in so doing, the said Publications shall be good and valid, and they shall proceed to the passing of the Order for the Sale of the Goods, without minding the Nullities that might be alledg'd in that respect.

LXIX. All Titles, Papers, Instruments, and Informations, that have been taken, shall be restor'd on both sides to the owners, altho the said Papers, or the Castles, or Houses, in which they were kept, were taken and seiz'd, either by Special Commissions from the late King, our most honour'd Lord and Father-in-Law; or from Us, or by the Command of the Governors and Lieutenants-General of our Provinces, or by

by the Authority of the Chiefs of the other side, or under any other pretence whatever.

LXX. The Children of such as have withdrawn themselves out of our Kingdom, since the Death of the late King *Henry II.* our most honour'd Lord and Father-in-Law, on the account of Religion, and the Troubles, tho' the said Children be born out of this Kingdom; shall be held for true *French-men* and Natives, and as such we have, and do declare them to be, without their being oblig'd to take Letters of Naturalization, or other Warrants from us, but the present Edicts: All Ordinances thereunto contrary notwithstanding; to which we have and do derogate, upon condition, that the said Children born in Foreign Countrys, shall be oblig'd within Ten Years after the said Publication of these presents, to come and Reside in this Kingdom.

LXXI. Those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others, who have been engag'd in their Party, who shall have taken to Farm before the Troubles any Offices, or other Demeans, Customs, Foreign Impositions, or other Duties to us belonging, the which they have not been able to enjoy, by reason of the Troubles, shall remain discharg'd, as we do hereby discharge them of what they have not receiv'd of the said Farms, or what they have paid without fraud, any where out of our Exchequer. All Obligations enter'd into by them upon this account, notwithstanding.

LXXII. All Places, Cities, and Provinces of our Kingdom, Coun-

tries, Lands, and Lordships under our Obedience, shall have and enjoy the same Priviledges, Immunities, Liberties, Franchises, Fairs, Markets, Jurisdiccions, and Seats of Justice, as they did before the Troubles, begun in the Month of *March* 1585. And others preceding, all Letters Patents thereunto contrary, and the Translation of some of the said Seats notwithstanding; provided it was only done upon the account of the Troubles; which Seats shall be re-establish'd in the Cities and Places where they were before.

LXXIII. In case there be yet any Prisoners detain'd by Authority of Justice, or otherwise, even in the Gallies, by reason of the Troubles, or of the said Religion, they shall be set at Liberty.

LXXIV. Those of the said Religion shall not hereafter be surcharg'd or oppress'd with any ordinary or extraordinary Imposition, more than the Catholicks, and according to the proportion of their Estates and Substance; and the Parties that think themselves overburthen'd, may have recourse, and shall be redress'd by the Judges appointed for that Subject: And all our Subjects, whether Catholicks, or of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, shall be equally discharg'd of all Charges that have been impos'd on both sides during the Troubles, on those that were of a contrary Party, and not consenting; as also of Debts created and not paid, Expences made without their Approbation; but yet there shall be no returns made of the Fruits that shall have been employ'd for the payment of the said Charges.

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LXXV.

LXXV. Neither do we allow that those of the said Religion, and others, who have been engag'd in their Party; nor the Catholicks, who dwell in the Cities, Towns, and Places, held and detain'd by them, and who have contributed to them, should be prosecuted for the payment of Taxes, Aids, Grants, Increase, Assessments, Wasts, and Reparations, and other Impositions and Subsidies due, and impos'd during the Troubles happen'd before, and since our coming to the Crown, either by Edicts, Orders from the late Kings our Predecessors, or by Advice and Deliberation of the Governors and Estates of the Provinces, Courts of Parliament, and others, whereof we have and do discharge them; forbidding our Treasurers-General of *France*, and of our Exchequers, Receivers-General and Particular, their Clerks, Intermedlers, and other Intendants and Commissaries of our Exchequer, to prosecute, molest, or trouble them for the same directly or indirectly, in any way whatever.

LXXVI. All Commanders, Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers, Corporations of Cities, Towns, and Commonalties, and all others, who have aided and assisted them, their Widows, Heirs, and Successors, shall be acquitted [and] discharg'd of all Sums that have been taken and rais'd by them, or their Orders, as well belonging to the Crown, to whatever Sums they may amount, as out of Cities, Towns, and Commonalties, and from particular Persons, Rents, Revenues, Plate, Sale of Moveables belonging to Ecclesiasticks, and others, High Forests belonging to the

Demeasne, or to other Persons, Fines, Booties, Ransoms, or Sums of other natures by them taken, by reason of the Troubles begun in *March 1585*. and other precedent Troubles, until our coming to the Crown; for which neither they, nor those by them employ'd for the raising of the said Sums, or such as have given or furnish'd them by their Order, shall be any-wise prosecuted either for the time being, or to come; and both they and their Committees, or Clerks shall remain acquitted and discharg'd for all the Management and Administration of the said Money, bringing in for a full discharge, within four Months after the Publication of the present Edict made in our Court of Parliament of *Paris*, Acquittances duly expedited by the Chiefs of the said Religion, or from those who were employ'd by them for the Audit and clearing of Accounts, or from the Commonalties of Cities, which had Authority and Command during the said Troubles. They shall in like manner remain acquitted and discharg'd of all Acts of Hostility, Levies, and Conduct of Soldiers, Coining and Rating of Money, done by order of the said Chiefs; Casting and Taking of Artillery and Munitions, Making of Powder and Saltpeter; the Taking, Fortifying, Dis-mantling, and Demolishing of Cities, Castles, Towns, and Villages, Enterprizes upon the same; the Burning and Demolishing of Churches and Houses, Establishing of Courts of Justice, Judgments and Executions from the same, whether in matters Civil or Criminal, of any Policy or Government establish'd among

among them, of Voyages and Intelligences, Negotiations, Treaties, and Contracts made with all Foreign Princes, and Commonalties, and the Introduction of the said Foreigners into the Cities, and other Places of our Kingdom, and generally of all that has been done, or negotiated during the said Troubles, since the Death of the late King *Henry II.* our most honour'd Lord and Brother-in-Law, by those of the said Religion, and others, who have been engag'd in their Party, tho it be not particularly specif'd nor express'd.

LXXVII. Those of the said Religion shall also be discharg'd for all General and Provincial Assemblies, made and held by them, both at *Nantes*, and elsewhere since, until this present time; likewise for the Councils by them Establish'd and Ordain'd in the Provinces, Deliberations, Ordinances, and Regulations made by the said Assemblies, and Councils, Establishment and Augmentation of Garisons, Assembling of Soldiers, Raising and Taking of Money either from the Receivers-General, or from particular Persons, Collectors of Parishes, or others, in any kind whatever; seizing of Salt, Continuation or new Erection of Impositions, and Tolls, and Receipts of the same, even at *Royan*, and upon the Rivers *Charante, Garonne, Rone, and Dordogne*, equipping of Ships and Sea-Fights, and all Accidents and Excesses occasion'd by obliging People to pay the said Impositions, Tolls, and other Monies, Fortifications of Cities, Castles, and Places, Imposition of Money, and Labour, Re-

ceipts of the said Money, turning out of our Receivers and Farmers, and other Officers, establishing of others in their Room, and for all Unions, Dispatches, and Negotiations, made either within or without the Kingdom: And generally for all that has been done deliberated, written, and ordain'd by the said Assemblies and Councils, for which neither those who have given their Advice, Sign'd, Executed, and caus'd the said Ordinances, Regulations, and Deliberations to be sign'd and executed, shall neither be prosecuted or troubled, nor their Widows, Heirs, or Successors, either at present, or for the future, altho the Particulars are not specif'd here. And upon the whole, perpetual silence shall be impos'd to our Attorneys-General and their Substitutes, and to all such as could have any pretence to it in any kind, or manner whatever; all Sentences, Judgments, Informations, and Proceedings to the contrary notwithstanding.

LXXVIII. Moreover we Approve, Confirm, and Authorize the Accounts that have been heard, allow'd, and examin'd by the Deputies of the said Assembly. And order the same, together with the Acquittances and Fragments that have been return'd by the Accountants, to be carried into our Chamber of Accounts at *Paris*, within three Months after the Publication of the present Edict, and deliver'd into the hands of our Attorney-General, to be deliver'd to the Keeper of the Books and Registers of our Chamber, there to be view'd as often as shall be necessary; neither shall the

said Accounts be examin'd anew, or the Accountants be oblig'd to appear, or to correct any thing, unless in the case of Omissions of Receipts, or false Acquittances: Imposing silence to our Attorney-General, to whatever else might be thought defective, or the Formalities omitted. Forbidding those that keep our Courts of Accounts, either at *Paris*, or in other Provinces where they are establish'd, to take any cognizance thereof in any kind whatever.

LXXIX. As for the Accounts that have not been deliver'd yet, they shall be heard, pass'd, and examin'd by Commissioners appointed by us, who shall without difficulty pass, and allow all the Accounts paid by the said Accountants, by virtue of the Ordinances of the said Assembly, or others, who were in Power.

LXXX. All Collectors, Receivers, Farmers, and others, shall be well and duly discharg'd for all the Sums by them paid to the Committees of the said Assembly, whatever nature they were of, until the last day of this Month. We order the whole to be pass'd and allow'd in the Accounts that shall be given thereof in our Chambers of Accounts, merely by virtue of the Acquittances they shall bring along with them; and in case any should be expedited or deliver'd hereafter, they shall be void; and those who shall accept or deliver them, shall be Fin'd as Falsificators. And in case any of the Accounts already deliver'd should be blotted, or raz'd, and excepted against, we do in that respect remove the said Scruples, and allow the said Accounts to be good, by

virtue of these Presents, and there shall be no need for all that is above-said of any particular Letters, nor any thing else, for all which the Extract of the present Article will suffice.

LXXXI. The Governors, Captains, Consuls, and other Persons employ'd for the Collection of the Money to pay the Garisons of the Places held by those of the said Religion, to whom our Receivers and Collectors of Parishes shall have furnish'd by way of Loan upon their Notes and Bonds, either by force, or to obey the Commands made to them by the Treasurers-General, such Sums of Money as were necessary to pay off the said Garisons to the value of what was specifid in the settlement we caus'd to be made in the beginning of the Year 1596; and the Additions that have been since by us granted, are hereby acquitted and discharg'd of what has been paid for the above-said use, altho it is not expressly mention'd in the said Notes and Bonds, the which shall be restor'd to them as annihilated. And in order thereunto, the Treasurers-General in every Generality, shall order the particular Receivers of our * *Tailles* to give the said Collectors their Acquittances, and the Receivers General their Acquittances to the said particular Receivers: For the discharge of which Receivers General, the Sums they shall have accounted for, as above said, shall be endors'd upon the Orders given to the Treasurer of the Exchequer, sign'd by the Treasurers General of the extraordinary expences of our Wars, for the payment of the said Garisons. And in case

* A heavy Imposition.

case the said Orders do not amount to as much as is speci^d by our said settlement of the Year 1596. and the Additions, it is our pleasure in order to supply the same, that new orders shall be given for as much as may be wanting for the discharge of our Accomptants, and the restitution of the said Promises and Bonds, to the end that nothing may be requir^d hereafter from those that have given them; and that all necessary Letters of Enforcement and Ratification for the discharge of the said Accomptants be issued out by vertue of this present Article.

LXXXII. And therefore those of the said Religion shall give over and desist, from this very time, all Practices, Negotiations and Intelligences, both at home and abroad; and the said Assemblies and Councils establish^d in the Provinces shall straight break up; and all Leagues and Associations made or to be made, under any pretence whatever, to the prejudice of our present Edict, shall be cancell^d and annul^d, as we do hereby cancel and annul them; forbidding all our Subjects most expressly henceforward to make any Assesments and raisings of Money, without our leave, Fortifications, Listings of Men, Congregations and Assemblies, besides those that are allow^d them by the present Edicts, and without Arms; which we do prohibit and forbid them on pain of rigorous punishments, and as contemnners and infracters of our Commands and Ordinances.

LXXXIII. All Prizes taken at Sea, during the Troubles, by vertue of the permissions given, and all such as have been taken by Land, upon those

of the contrary Party, which have been judg^d by the Judges and Commissioners of the Admiralty, or by the Chiefs of those of the said Religion, or their Council, shall lye dormant under the benefit of our present Edicts, and no manner of prosecution shall be made for the same; neither shall the Captains and others who have taken the said Prises, and the said Judges, Officers, their Widows and Heirs be any wise prosecuted or molested upon that account; notwithstanding all Decrees of our Privy-Council and Parliaments, and all Letters of Marque, and Seizures depending and engag^d, for all which we do release and discharge them.

LXXXIV. Neither shall those of the said Religion be call^d to an account for their having heretofore, and even since the troubles, oppos^d and hinder^d the execution of the Decrees and Judgments given for the re-establishment of the Catholick, Apostolick and *Roman* Religion, in divers places of this Kingdom.

LXXXV. As for what has been taken or done during the Troubles, otherwise than by way of Hostility, or by Hostility contrary to the Publick or particular Regulations of the Chiefs, or of the Commonalties of the Provinces who were impower^d, they shall be prosecuted according to Law.

LXXXVI. Nevertheless, whereas if what has been done against the Regulations on both sides were indifferently excepted from the General Pardon granted by this our present Edict, and liable to be prosecuted, there are few men in the Armies; who might not be put to trouble;
which

which might occasion a renovation of Troubles; it is our will and pleasure that none but execrable Crimes should be excepted out of the said General Pardon: *Viz.* Ravishments, Incendiaries, Murthers and Robberies committed with a design and premeditation, not in the way of Hostility, but out of private ends and revenge against the Law of Arms; infraction of Passports and Safeguards, together with Murthers and Plunderings without Orders, in relation to those of the said Religion, and others who have followed the Party of the Chiefs that had Authority over them, grounded upon particular occasions that may have mov'd them to command or order it.

LXXXVII. We also order, That the Crimes and Offences against persons of the same Party shall be punish'd, unless in Acts commanded by the Chiefs of either side, according to the Necessity, Law and Orders of War. And as for the raisings and exactions of Mony, Bearing of Arms, and other Exploits of War committed by Private Authority, and without command, they shall be prosecuted according to Law.

LXXXVIII. The Ruins and Demolishments that have been made in Cities and Towns during the Troubles, may be rebuilt and repair'd, with our leave, by the Inhabitants at their proper cost and charges, and the Letters Patents allow'd heretofore to that end shall remain in force.

LXXXIX. It is our will and pleasure, and positive Command, That all the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen and others, of what Quality soever, of the said pretended *Reform'd* Reli-

gion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, shall re-enter, and be effectually restor'd to the enjoyment of all and every their Estates, Titles, Names, Reasons and Actions, notwithstanding the Judgments given against them during the Troubles, and by reason thereof; which Decrees, Seizures, Judgments, and all that follow'd thereupon, we have declar'd to that end, and do declare null, and of no effect and value.

XC. The Acquisitions which those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, have made by other Authority than that of the late Kings our Predecessors, about the Immoveables belonging to the Church, shall be void and of no effect; and therefore we order, and it is our will and pleasure that the Ecclesiasticks shall be restor'd immediately, and without delay, and shall be preserv'd in the possession, and real and actual enjoyments of the Estates thus alienated, and without being oblig'd to return the price of the said Sales; the said Contracts of Sale notwithstanding, the which therefore we have and do revoke: Nevertheless, allowing the Purchasers their recourse at Law against the Chiefs, by whose Authority the said Estates should have been sold. However for the reimbursement of the Sums by them really and without fraud disburs'd, we will grant our Letters Patent to those of the said Religion, to impose and equal upon themselves the Sums to which the said Sales will amount; and the said Purchasers shall have no Actions against them for Damages and Interests for want of enjoyment, but

but shall rest satisfied with the restitution of the Money by them disburs'd for the said Acquisitions; including upon the said Price the Fruits by them receiv'd, in case the said sales are found to be made at a low unjust Price.

XCI. And to the end that our Justicers, Officers and other Subjects, may be clearly and with certainty acquainted with our Intentions; and to remove all ambiguities and doubts that might arise upon the account of the precedent Edicts, by reason of the diversity thereof; we have and do declare all other preceding Edicts, secret Articles, Letters, Declarations, Modifications, Ratifications, Interpretations, Decrees and Registers, as well secret, as other Deliberations heretofore by us, or by the Kings our Predecessors made in our Courts of Parliament, or elsewhere, relating to the case of the said Religion, and the troubles happen'd in our said Kingdom, to be null and of no effect; to all which, and the Derogatories therein contain'd, we have by this our Edict derogated and do derogate from this time forward, as well as for that time, do cancel, revoke and annul them: Declaring expressly, that we will have this our Edict to be firm and inviolable, kept and observ'd as well by our said Justicers, Officers, as by other Subjects, without any regard to any thing that might be contrary, or derogating to it.

XCII. And for the better assurance of the maintenance and observance we desire to have thereof, we will and ordain, and it is our pleasure, that all the Governors and Lieutenants General of our Provinces, Bayliffs,

Seneschals, and other Judges in ordinary of the Cities of this our Kingdom, immediately after the receipts of this our Edict, shall swear to have it kept and observ'd, every one in their several Precincts; as also the Mayors, Sheriffs, Capitouls, Consuls, and Jurats of Cities, annual and perpetual: enjoining also our said Bayliffs, Seneschals, or their Lieutenants and other Judges, to make the principal Inhabitants of the said Cities of both Religions swear to observe and maintain the same, immediately after the publication thereof. Putting all those of the Cities under our protection, and under the guard of one another; charging them respectively, and by publick Acts, to answer at the Civil Law for the transgressions that shall be made of this our said Edicts in the said Cities by the Inhabitants thereof, or to represent and deliver the said Infractors into the hands of Justice.

We command our Trusty and Well Beloved the Persons holding our Courts of Parliament, Chambers of Accounts, and Courts of Aids, immediately upon receipt of the present Edict, to put a stop to all their proceedings, on pain of nullity of all the Acts they should pass, and to take the Oath above mention'd; and this our Edict to publish and register in our said Courts, according to the form and tenor thereof, exactly as it is, without any Modification, Restrictions, secret Registers, or Declarations, and without expecting any farther order or command from us; and our Attorneys General to require and prosecute the said immediate Publication thereof,

We also order our said persons holding our said Courts of Parliament, Chambers of our Accounts, and Courts of Aids, Bayliffs, Seneschals, Provosts, and others our Justicers and Officers to whom it may belong, and to their Lieutenants, to cause this our present Edict and Ordinance to be read, publish'd and register'd in their Courts and Jurisdictions, and the same to maintain, keep and observe in every particular; and to make all such whom it may concern, enjoy and use the benefit thereof; putting a stop to all Troubles and Hinderances thereunto contrary. For such is our pleasure. For witness whereof we have sign'd these Presents with our own hand; and to the same, in order to its being firm and lasting for ever, we have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd.

Given at Nantes in the Month of April, in the Year of our Lord 1598. and of our Reign the Ninth.

Sign'd,

Henry.

And underneath, By the King being in his Council,

Forget.

And on the side,

Visa.

And seal'd with the Great Seal of Green Wax, upon Knots of Red and Green Silk. Read, publish'd and register'd, heard, with the approbation of the King's Attorney General at Paris in Parliament, on the 25th of February, 1599.

Sign'd,

Voyfin.

Read, publish'd and register'd in the Chamber of Accounts, hear'd and approv'd by the King's-Attorney General, on the last day of March, 1599.

Sign'd,

De la Fontaine.

Read, publish'd and registred, heard and approv'd by the King's Attorny General at Paris, in the Court of Aids, the 30th of April, 1599.

Sign'd,

Bernard.

Particular Articles, extracted from the General ones, that have been granted by the King to those of the Pretended Reform'd Religion the which His Majesty would not have comprehended into the said General Articles, nor in the Edict that has been made and drawn upon the same given at Nantes in the Month of April last; and yet nevertheless His Majesty has granted that they shall be fully accomplish'd and observ'd, in the same manner as the Contents of the said Edict. To which end they shall be Registred in his Courts of Parliament, and elsewhere, where it shall be necessary; and all necessary Declarations and Letters Patent to that end shall be forthwith expedited.

I. **T**He 6th Article of the said Edict, about Liberty of Conscience, and leave for all his Majesties Subjects to live and inhabit in this Kingdom, and Countries under his Obedience, shall remain in force, and shall be observ'd according to the Form and Tenor thereof: Even for Ministers and Teachers, and all others that are, or shall turn of the said Religion, whether actual Inhabitants or others, behaving themselves in all other things conformably to what is speci'd by the said Edict.

II. Those of the said Religion shall not be oblig'd to contribute towards the Reparations, and Building of Churches, Chappels, Parsonages, nor towards the buying of Sacerdotal Ornaments, Lights, Casting of Bells, Holy Bread, Rights of Fraternity, and other like things, unless oblig'd thereunto by Foundations, Gifts, or other Dispositions made by them or their Predecessors.

3. Neither shall they be oblig'd to hang and adorn the Front of their Houses on Festival-days, on

which it is order'd; but only to suffer them to be hung and adorn'd by the Authority of the Magistrates, without contributing any thing towards it.

IV. Neither shall those of the said Religion be oblig'd to receive Exhortations, being Sick, or near Death, either by Condemnation of Justice, or otherwise, from any but those of the said Religion; and their Ministers shall be allow'd to Visit and Comfort them without any disturbance: And as for such as shall be condemn'd by Justice, it shall also be lawful for the said Ministers to visit and prepare them for Death, without making Publick Prayers, unless in such Places as are allow'd by the said Edict for the said Publick Exercise.

V. It shall be lawful for those of the said Religion, to perform the Publick Exercise thereof at *Pimpont*; and for *Diepe* in the Suburb *du Paulel*; and the said Places of *Pimpont* and *du Paulel*, shall be ordain'd for Places of Baliwicks. The said Exercise shall be continued at *Sancerre*, as

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it is at present. The said free and publick Exercise shall also be re-establiſh'd in the City of *Montagnac* in *Languedoc*.

VI. In respect to the Article which relates to Bailiwicks, it has been declar'd and granted, as followeth. *First*, For the Establishing of the Exercise of the said Religion, in the two Places granted in every Baliwick, Seneschalship, and Government, those of the said Religion shall nominate Two Cities, in the Suburbs of which the said Exercise shall be establish'd by the Commissioners that shall be deputed by his Majesty for the Execution of the Edict. And in case the said Commissioners should not approve of them, those of the said Religion shall nominate two or three Towns or Villages in the Neighbourhood of the said Cities, for every one of them, out of which the said Commissioners shall chuse one. And if through Hostility, Contagion, or any other lawful Impediment, it cannot be continued in the said Places, others shall be allow'd while the said Impediment shall continue. *Secondly*, That only two Cities shall be provided in the Government of *Piccardy*, into the Suburbs of which, those of the said Religion shall be allow'd the Exercise thereof for all the Bailiwicks, Seneschalships, and Governments depending of the same; and where it shall not be thought fit to establish it in the said Cities, they shall be allow'd two convenient Towns or Villages. *Thirdly*, By reason of the great Extent of the Seneschalship of *Provence*, and Bailiwicks of *Viennois*, his Majesty does grant a third Place in each of the

said Bailiwicks and Seneschalships, the Choice and Nomination of which shall be made as abovesaid, there to establish the Exercise of the said Religion, besides the other Places in which it is already establish'd.

VII. What has been granted by the said Article for the Exercise of the said Religion in Bailiwicks, shall also serve for the Territories which did belong to the Late Queen Mother-in-Law to his Majesty, and for the Bailiwick of *Beaujolois*.

VIII. Besides the Two Places granted for the Exercise of the said Religion, by the Particular Articles of the year 1577. in the Isles of *Marennes* and *Oleron*, two more shall be allow'd them, for the convenience of the said Inhabitants; *viz.* one for all the Isles of *Marennes*, and another for the Isle of *Oleron*.

IX. The Letters Patent granted by his Majesty, for the Exercise of the said Religion in the City of *Mentz* shall remain in full Force and Virtue.

X. It is his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, That the 27th Article of his Edict, relating to the Admission of those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion into Offices and Dignities, shall be observ'd and maintain'd according to its Form and Tenor, the Edicts and Agreements heretofore made for the Reduction of some Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and Catholick Cities notwithstanding; the which shall not be in force to the prejudice of those of the said Religion, only in what relates to the Exercise thereof. And the said Exercise shall be regulated according as it is specified by the following Articles,

ticles, according to which shall be drawn the Instructions of the Commissioners that shall be deputed by his Majesty for the Execution of his Edict, according as it is ordain'd by the same.

XI. According to the Edict made by his Majesty for the Reduction of the Duke of *Guise*, the Exercise of the said pretended Reform'd Religion shall neither be allow'd, nor establish'd in the Cities and Suburbs of *Rheims, Rocroy, St. Disier, Guise, Joinville, Fimes, and Moncornet* in the *Ardennes*.

XII. Neither shall it be allow'd in the other Placs adjacent to the said Cities, and Places forbidden by the Edict of the year 1577.

XIII. And to remove the Ambiguity that might arise upon the word Adjacent, his Majesty declares, that he means the Places that are within the Circuit of a League of the said Cities, being the Precinct, or Liberties thereof, in which places the Exercise of the said Religion shall not be allow'd, unless it were permitted by the Edict of 1577.

XIV. And forasmuch as by the same, the said Exercise was allow'd generally in the Fiefs possess'd by those of the said Religion, without any exception of the said Leagues Circuit; his Majesty declares, That the said allowance shall remain in force, even for Fiefs within the said Circuit, possess'd by those of the said Religion, as it is specify'd by his Edict, given at *Nantes*.

XV. Likewise according to the Edict made for the Reduction of the Marshal *de la Chartres*, in each of the Bailiwicks of *Orleans* and *Bourges*,

shall only be ordain'd one Place of Bailiwick for the Exercise of the said Religion, the which however may be continu'd in such places where the Continuation thereof is allow'd by the said Edict of *Nantes*.

XVI. The Concession of Preaching in Fiefs, shall also extend to the said Bailiwicks, in the manner speci'd by the said Edict of *Nantes*.

XVII. The Edict made for the Reduction of the Marshal of *Bois-Dauphin* shall also be observ'd; and the said Exercise shall not be allow'd in the Cities, Suburbs, and Places brought over by him to his Majesty's Service; and as for the Circuit, or Liberties thereof, the Edict of 77. shall be observ'd there, even in the Houses of Fiefs, according as it is specify'd by the Edict of *Nantes*.

XVIII. No Exercise of the said Religion shall be allow'd in the City, Suburbs, and Castle of *Morlais*, according to the Edicts made for the Reduction of the said City; and the Edict of 77. shall be observ'd for the Precinct thereof according to the Edict of *Nantes*.

XIX. In Consequence of the Edict for the Reduction of *Quimpercorantin*, no Exercise of the said Religion shall be allow'd in all the Bishoprick of *Cornouaille*.

XX. Also according to the Edict made for the Reduction of *Beauvais*, the Exercise of the said Religion shall not be allow'd in the said City of *Beauvais*, nor within three Leagues round about it. Nevertheless the establishing thereof shall be allow'd in the remainder of the Extent of the Bailiwick, in the Places allow'd of by the Edict of 77. Even in Houses

of Fiefs, according to the Edict of *Nantes*.

XXI. And whereas the Edict made for the Reduction of the late Admiral *de Villars*, is only Provisional, and until the King's farther Pleasure, It is his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, the said Edict notwithstanding, that his Edict of *Nantes* shall remain in force for the Cities and Jurisdictions reduced to his Majesty's Obedience by the said Admiral, as well as for the other parts of his Kingdom.

XXII. By the Edict made for the Reduction of the Duke of *Jyruise*, the Exercise of the said Religion shall not be allowed in the City or Suburbs of *Thoulouse*, nor within four Leagues about it, nor nearer than the Cities of *Villemur*, *Carmain*, and the Isle of *Jourdan*.

XXIII. Neither shall it be restored into the Cities of *Alet*, *Fiat*, *Auriac*, and *Montsquieu*: Nevertheless, in case any of the said Religion in the said City should be desirous to have a place for the Exercise thereof, the Commissioners that shall be deputed by his Majesty for the Execution of his Edict, shall assign them for every one of the said Cities a convenient Place and of easie Access, within a League of the said Cities.

XXIV. It shall be lawful to establish the said Exercise, according as it is specified by the said Edict of *Nantes*, within the Jurisdiction of the Court of Parliament of *Thoulouse*, excepted always in such Bayliwicks, Seneschalships, and other Precincts, of which the principal Seats shall have been restored to his Majesty's Obedience by the said Duke of *Jyruise*, in which the Edict of 77 shall

take place. Nevertheless his Majesty means that the said Exercise shall be continued in such places of the said Bayliwicks and Seneschalships, where it was performed at the time of the said Reduction; and that the Concession thereof in Houses of Fiefs shall remain in Force in the said Bayliwicks and Seneschalships, according as it is specified by the said Edict.

XXV. The Edict made for the Reduction of the City of *Dijon* shall be observed, according to which no other Exercise of Religion shall be allowed in the said City than that of the *Roman* Catholick Apostolick Church, nor yet within the Suburbs thereof, nor within four Leagues round about it.

XXVI. The Edict made for the Reduction of the Duke of *Mayenne*, shall in like manner be observed; according to which the Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion shall not be allowed in the City of *Châlons*, nor within two Leagues round about *Soissons* during the term of six Years, to begin from the month of *January* 1596. after which the Edict of *Nantes* shall be observed there, as in the other parts of the Kingdom.

XXVII. It shall be lawful for those of the said Religion, of what Quality soever, to inhabit, and to have free Egress and Regress into the City of *Lyons*, and other Towns and Places of the Government of *Lyonnois*, all Prohibitions made to the contrary by the Syndics, and Sheriffs of the said City of *Lyons*, tho confirm'd by his Majesty, notwithstanding.

XXVIII. Only one place of Bayliwick shall be allow'd for the Exercise of the said Religion in the whole Seneschal-

Seneschalship of *Poitiers*, besides those where it is already establish'd; and as to the Fiefs, the Edict of *Nantes* shall be observed. The said Exercise shall also be continued in the City of *Chauvigny*: But it shall not be restored in the Cities of *Agen* and *Perigueux*, altho it was allowed by the Edict of 77.

XXIX. Only two places of Bayliwicks shall be allow'd for the Exercise of the said Religion in all the Government of *Picardy*, as abovesaid, neither shall the said two places be allow'd within the Precincts of the Bayliwicks and Governments referred by the Edicts made for the Reduction of *Amiens*, *Peronne* and *Abbeville*. Nevertheless the said Exercise shall be allowed in Houses of Fiefs throughout the whole Government of *Picardy*, according to what is specified by the said Edict of *Nantes*.

XXX. The Exercise of the said Religion shall not be allowed in the Cities and Suburbs of *Sens*; and only one place of Bayliwick shall be granted in the whole Precinct of the Bayliwick, but still without prejudice to the Permission granted for Houses of Fiefs, which shall remain in Force according to the Edict of *Nantes*.

XXXI. Neither shall the said Exercise be allowed in the City nor Suburbs of *Nantes*, nor any place of Bayliwicks be granted for the said Exercise within three Leagues round about the said City: Nevertheless it shall be allowed in Houses of Fiefs, according to the said Edict of *Nantes*.

XXXII. It is his said Majesty's Will and Pleasure, that his said Edict

of *Nantes* shall be observed from this very time, in what relates to the Exercise of the said Religion, in such places where by the Edicts and Agreements made for the Reduction of some Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and Catholick Cities, it was prohibited only provisionally, and until it was otherwise ordained. And as for such where the said Prohibition is limited to a certain time, that time being expired it shall be no longer in Force.

XXXIII. A Place shall be allowed to those of the said Religion for the City, Provostship, and Vice-Comty of *Paris*, within five Leagues at farthest from the said City, in which they shall be allowed the Exercise of the said Religion.

XXXIV. In all such places where the Exercise of the said Religion shall be performed publicly, it shall be lawful to assemble the People, even by the sound of Bells, and to perform all Acts and Functions belonging either to the Exercise of the said Religion, or to the Regulation of their Discipline, as to hold Consistories, Conferences, and Provincial, and National Synods by his Majesty's leave.

XXXV. The Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the said Religion, shall not be obliged to appear as Witnesses, and to answer in Justice, for things that shall have been revealed in their Consistories, in the case of Censures, unless it were about Matters relating to the King's Person, or towards the Preservation of the State.

XXXVI. Such of the said Religion as live in the Country, shall be allow'd to assist at the Exercise thereof in the Cities

Cities and Suburbs, and other places where it shall be publickly established.

XXXVII. Those of the said Religion shall not be allowed to keep publick Schools, unless in such Towns and Places where the publick Exercise thereof is allowed: And the Patents that have been granted them heretofore for the erecting and maintaining of Colleges, shall be Verified if necessary, and shall remain in full Force and Vigor.

XXXVIII. It shall be lawful for Fathers professing the said Religion, to provide such Educators for their Children as they shall think fit, and to substitute one, or several by Will, or other Declaration pass'd before a Notary, or written or sign'd by their own Hands, the Laws received in this Kingdom, Ordinances and Customs of Places remaining in full Force and Vertue, as to the Gifts and Provisions of Tutors and Guardians.

XXXIX. As for the Marriage of Priests, and other Religious Persons, that have been heretofore contracted, his Majesty, for divers good Considerations, will not allow their being prosecuted or molested for the same; upon which Subject silence shall be imposed to his Attornies General and other Officers. Nevertheless his Majesty declares, That the Children proceeding from the said Marriages shall only succeed to the Personal Estates, and Acquisitions made by their Fathers and Mothers, and in default of the said Children, the nearest Relations at Law: And the Wills, Gifts, and other Dispositions made, or to be made, by Persons of the said

Quality, of the said Personal Estates and Acquisitions by them made, are hereby declared Good and Lawful. Nevertheless his said Majesty will not allow that the said Persons having been admitted into Religious Orders, should be capable of any direct or colateral Succession; but only shall be allowed to take such Estates as shall be left them by Will, or Gift, or other Dispositions, still excepting those of the said Direct and Colateral Successions: And as to those who shall have taken Religious Orders before the Age mentioned by the Ordinances of *Orleans* or *Blois*, shall be followed and observed, in what relates to the said Succession, the Tenor of the said Ordinances, every one for the time they have been in Force.

XL. Neither will his said Majesty allow those of the said Religion, who have heretofore, or shall hereafter contract Marriages in the third or fourth Degree, to be prosecuted or molested for the same; neither shall the Validity of the said Marriages be questioned, nor the Succession taken from, or disputed against the Children, born, or to be born of the same: And as to the Marriages that might already be contracted in the second Degree, or from the second to the third, between those of the said Religion, the said Persons applying themselves to his said Majesty, such Letters Patent as shall be necessary shall be granted them, to the end that they may neither be prosecuted nor molested for the same, nor the Succession disputed with their Children.

XLI. The

XLI. The Validity and Lawfulness of the said Marriages thus made and contracted, shall be Judg'd, the Defendant being of the said Religion, before the Judge Royal; but in case of his being Plaintiff, and the Defendant a Catholick, the Cognizance thereof shall belong to the Official and Ecclesiastical Judge; and both Parties being of the said Religion, the Case shall be try'd before the Judges Royal: His Majesty willing that the said Marriages, and the Differences arising from the same, should be judg'd respectively by the Judges Ecclesiastical and Royal, and by the Chambers establish'd by his Edicts.

XLII. The Gifts and Legacies made, or to be made, whether by Will, in case of death, or among the living, for the maintenance of Ministers, Doctors, Scholars, and Poor of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and upon other pious Accounts, shall be of full force and power, all Judgments and Decrees to the contrary notwithstanding; but yet without prejudice to his Majesty's Rights, and others; in case the said Legacies and gifts should fall into mortmain: And all necessary Actions and Prosecutions for the recovery of the said Legacies, Pious Gifts, and other Rights of all kinds, shall be allow'd to be made by Attorney in the name of the Body and Community of those of the said Religion who shall be concern'd; and in case it happens that any of the said Gifts and Legacies have been heretofore dispos'd of, otherwise than is specify'd by the said Article, no other restitution shall be demand-

ed, but what shall be found in being.

XLIII. His said Majesty permits those of the said Religion to assemble before the Judge Royal, and by his Authority to equal and raise among themselves such Sums as shall be judg'd necessary to be employ'd towards the Charges of their Synods, and for the maintenance of those who are employ'd for the exercise of their said Religion, of which the true estimate shall be given to the said Judge Royal, to be kept by him: The Copy of which shall be sent every six months by the said Judges Royal to his Majesty, or to his Chancellor, and the said Taxes and Impositions shall be liable to execution, all Oppositions or Appeals to the contrary notwithstanding.

XLIV. The Ministers of the said Religion shall be exempted from Watching, and from Quartering of Soldiers; assessing and collecting of *Tailles*, or Subsidies; as also from Wardships and Guardianships, and Commissions for the keeping of Estates seiz'd by Authority of Justice.

XLV. Those of the said Religion shall be neither prosecuted nor disturbed for the Burials heretofore made by them in the Church-yards of the said Catholicks, in any place or City whatever, and his Majesty shall order his Officers to take care of the same. As to the City of *Paris*, over and above the two Church-yards, those of the same Religion possess there already, *viz.* that of *Trinity*, and that of *St. Germans*, a third convenient place shall be allow'd them for the said Interments in the

the Suburbs of *St. Honore*, or *St. Denis*.

XLVI. The Catholick Presidents and Counsellors that shall serve in the Chamber ordain'd in the Parliament of *Paris*, shall be chosen by his Majesty upon the Roll of the Officers of the Parliament.

XLVII. The Counsellors of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, who shall serve in the said Chamber, shall assist, if they think fit, at such Processess as shall be decided by Commissioners, and shall have a deliberative voice in the same, but shall have no share of the Consign'd Money, unless they ought to assist at them by the order and prerogative of their reception.

XLVIII. The Senior President of the Party-Chambers shall preside at the Audience, and in his absence the second; and the distribution of Suits shall be made by the two Presidents jointly, or alternately, monthly, or weekly.

XLIX. A vacation of Offices happening, in possession of, or to be possess'd by those of the said Religion in the said Chambers of the Edict, they shall be given to capable Persons, having Attestations from the Synod, or Assembly, to which they do belong, of their being of the said Religion and Persons of Integrity.

L. The Pardon granted to those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion by the 74th Article of the said Edict, shall stand good for the taking of the Money belonging to the Crown, either by breaking of Coffers, or otherwise, even in respect to that as was rais'd upon the River

Charante, though assign'd to particular persons.

LI. The 49th of the Secret Articles, made in the Year 1577. concerning the City and Archbishoprick of *Avignon*, and County thereof, together with the Treaty made at *Nimes*, shall be observ'd according to their Form and Tenor; and no Letters of Mart shall be granted by virtue of the said Articles and Treaty, unless by Letters-Patent from the King under the Great Seal. Nevertheless, such as shall be desirous to obtain the same, shall be allow'd, by virtue of this present Article, without any other Commission, to make their application to the Judges Royal, who shall examine the Transgressions, Denial of Justice, and Iniquity of the Judgments, propos'd by those who shall be desirous to obtain the said Letters, and shall send the same, together with their Opinions, seal'd up close, to his Majesty, in order to his ordering the said matter according to reason.

LII. His Majesty grants and wills, that *Nicholas Grimoult* shall be re-establish'd and maintain'd in the Title and Possession of the Offices of Ancient Lieutenant General Civil, and Lieutenant-General Criminal, in the Bailywike of *Alencon*, notwithstanding the Resignation by him made to *John Marguerite*, his Reception, and the Patent obtain'd by *William Barnard* of the Office of Lieutenant-General, Civil and Criminal, in the tribunal of *Exmes*: The Decrees given against the said *Marguerit*, Relignee during the Troubles in the Privy Council, in the Year 1586, 1587, and 1588. by which *Nicholas Barbier*

Barbier is settled in the Rights and Prerogatives of Ancient Lieutenant-General in the said Bailywike, and the said *Bernard* in the Office of Lieutenant at *Exmes*, the which his Majesty has nullify'd, and all others hereunto contrary. Moreover, his Majesty, for certain good Considerations, has granted and ordain'd, That the said *Grimoult* shall within the space of three months re-imburse the said *Barbier* of the Money by him furnish'd or disburs'd for the said Office of Lieutenant-General, Civil and Criminal, in the Vice-county of *Alencon*, and 50 Crowns for the Charges: And the said Re-imbursement being made, or the said *Barbier* refusing, or delaying to receive it; his Majesty forbids the said *Barbier*, as also the said *Bernard*, after the signification of this present Article, any more to exercise the said Offices, on pain of the Crime of Falsity, and sends the said *Grimoult* to the injoyment of the said Offices and Rights thereunto belonging: And in so doing, the Processe which were depending between the said *Grimoult*, *Barbier* and *Bernard*, in his Majesty's Privy Council, shall remain determin'd, and lye dormant, his said Majesty forbidding the Parliaments, and all others to take cognizance thereof, and the said Parties to make any prosecutions for the same. Moreover, his said Majesty has taken upon himself to reimburse the said *Bernard* of the Sum of a thousand Crowns paid for the said Office, and 60 Crowns for the Mark of Gold and Charges: Having to that end already order'd a good and sufficient assignation, the recovery of which

shall be made at the Suit and Charge of the said *Grimoult*.

LIII. His said Majesty shall write to his Ambassadors to obtain for all his Subjects, even for those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, that they may not be disturb'd as to their Consciences, nor subject to the Inquisition, going or coming, sojourning and trading throughout all Foreign Countries, in Alliance and Confederacy with this Crown, provided they do not offend the Civil Government of the Countreys where they shall be.

LIV. His Majesty forbids any prosecution for the gathering and receiving of the Impositions that have been levy'd at *Royan*, by virtue of the Contract made with the *Sieur de Candelay*, and others, made in continuation of the same; making the said Contract valid, and approving it for the time it has been in force in the whole extent of it, until the 8th of *May* next coming.

LV. The Excesses committed against *Armand Courtiers*, in the City of *Millant*, in the Year 1587. and *John Reines*, and *Peter Seigneuret*; together with the Proceedings made among them by the Consuls of the said *Millant*, shall remain abolish'd, and shall lye dormant by the Benefice of the Edict; and it shall not be lawful for their Widows and Heirs, nor his Majesty's Attornies-General, their Substitutes, or other Persons whatever, to mention the same, or to make any inquiry or prosecution about it: Notwithstanding, and without regard to the Decree given in the Chamber of *Castres* on the 10th of *March* last, the which shall remain

X x x x x

null

null, and without effect, together with all Proceedings and Informations made on either side.

LVI. All Prosecutions, Proceedings, Sentences, Judgments and Decrees, given either against the late *Sieur de La Noue*, or against his Son *Odet de la Noue*, since their detention and imprisonment in *Flanders* happen'd in the Month of *May*, 1580. and *November*, 1584. and during their continual Occupation in the Wars and Service of his Majesty, shall remain annihilated and nullify'd, and whatever has follow'd in consequence thereof: And the said *De la Noue* shall be admitted to make their defence, and shall be restor'd to the same condition they were in before the said Judgments and Decrees; without their being oblig'd to refund Costs, nor to contign the Fines, in case they had incur'd any; neither shall it be allow'd to alledge Non-suits or Prescription against them, during the said time.

Done by the King, being in his Council at Nantes, the 2d of May, 1598.

Sign'd,

Henry.

And lower,

Forget.

And Seal'd with the Great Seal of Yellow Wax.

Henry, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navar, To our Trusty and Well-beloved the Persons holding our Court of Parliament at Paris, Greeting. In the Month of April last past, we caused our Letters of Edict to be expedited, for the establishment of a good Order and Repose among our Catholick Subjects, and those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion: And we have moreover granted to those of the said Religion certain secret and particular Articles, which we will have to be of equal force and vertue, and to be observ'd and accomplish'd in the same manner as our said Edict. To this end, We will, and most expressly order and command you by these Presents, To cause the said Articles, sign'd by our hand, join'd hereunto under the Counter-seal of our Chancery, to be register'd in the Registers of our said Court; and the Contents thereof to keep, maintain and observe from point to point, like unto our said Edict: Ceasing, and causing all Troubles and Impediments thereunto contrary, to cease. For such is our Pleasure.

Given at Nantes, the 2d day of May, in the Year of Our Lord, 1598. And of our Reign the Ninth.

Sign'd by the King,

Forget.

And seal'd upon single Labels of Yellow Wax.

Breef

Brief granted by Henry the Great, to his Subjects of the Pretended Reform'd Religion on the 30th of April, 1589.

THis present 3d of April, 1598. The King being at *Nantes*, and being willing to gratify his Subjects of the Pretended Reform'd Religion, and to help them to supply many great Expences they are oblig'd to undergo, has ordain'd, That for the future, to begin from the first day of this present month, shall be put into the hands of Mr. *de Vierse*, commission'd by his Majesty to that end, by the Treasurers of his Exchequer, every one in his year, Rescriptions to the Sum of 45000 Crowns to be imploy'd in certain secret Affairs relating to them, which his Majesty does neither think fit to specify, or declare: The which Sum of 45000 Crowns shall be assign'd upon the general Receipts as followeth; *viz.* *Paris* 6000 Crowns; *Roan* 6000 Crowns; *Caen* 3000 Crowns; *Orleans* 4000 Crowns; *Tours* 4000 Crowns; *Poitiers* 8000 Crowns; *Limoges* 6000 Crowns; *Bordeaux* 8000 Crowns. The whole together amounting to the aforesaid Sum of 45000 Crowns; payable at the four Quarters of the said Year out of the first and clearest Money of the said General Receipts; out of which nothing shall be retrench'd, or put of, upon any account whatever. For which Sum of 45000 Crowns, he shall cause Acquittances to be deliver'd into the hands of the Treasurer of his Exchequer for his discharge, in giving the said Rescriptions intire for the

said Sum of 45000 Crowns, upon the said Generalities, at the beginning of every year. And where for the convenience of the abovesaid, it shall be requir'd to cause part of the said Assignations to be paid in particular Receipts establish'd: The Treasurers-General of *France*, and Receivers-General of the said Generalities shall be order'd to do it in deduction of the said Rescriptions of the said Treasurers of the Exchequer; the which shall be afterwards deliver'd by the said *Sieur de Vierse*, to such as shall be nominated by those of the said Religion at the beginning of the year for the receipt and laying out of the Money to be receiv'd by virtue thereof; of which they shall be oblig'd to bring a particular account to the said *Sieur de Vierse* at the end of the year, with the Acquittance of the Parties, to inform his Majesty with the laying out of the said Money: For which neither the said *Sieur de Vierse*, nor those that shall be imploy'd by those of the said Religion shall be oblig'd to give any account in any of the Chambers: For all which, and whatever may depend thereon, his Majesty has commanded all necessary Letters-Patent to be expeditied by virtue of this present Brief, sign'd by his own hand, and countersign'd by us, Counsellor in his Council of State, and Secretary of his Commands.

Sign'd,
And lower,
X x x x x 2

Henry.
De Neuville.
This

THIS last day of *April* 1598, the King being at *Nantes*, and being very desirous to afford all manner of Satisfaction to his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, upon the Petitions and Requests he has received from them, about such things as they think necessary for the Liberty of their Consciences, and for the Security of their Persons, Fortunes and Estates. And his Majesty being convinced of their Fidelity, and sincere Affection for his Service; as also for divers other Important Considerations relating to the Quiet and Welfare of this State, him therunto moving; his said Majesty, besides what is contained in the Edict he has lately resolved to make, and is to be published for the Regulation of what relates to them, has granted and promised them, that all the Places, Towns and Castles they held until the end of *August* last past, in which Garisons are to be kept, by the Settlement that shall be made about it, and sign'd by his Majesty, shall remain in their keeping under the Authority and Obedience of his said Majesty for the term of eight Years, to begin from the day of the Publication of the said Edict. And as for the others which they hold, in which there is to be no Garisons, there shall be no Alteration or Innovation made. Nevertheless his said Majesty does not mean that the Cities and Castles of *Vendome* and *Pontorson* should be comprised in the number of the said Places left in keeping to those of the said Religion. Neither shall the City, Castle and Citadel of *Aubenay* be comprised in the said number,

which his Majesty will dispose of at his own pleasure, and tho it were into the hands of one of the said Religion, it shall be no Preident for the future, like the other Cities that are granted unto them. And as for *Chauvigny*, it shall be restored to the Bishop of *Poitiers* Lord of the said Place, and the new Fortifications made there ras'd and demolish'd. And for the maintaining of the Garisons that shall be kept into the said Towns, Places and Castles, his said Majesty has granted them the Sum of 180000 Crowns, without including those of the Province of *Dauphine* into the said number, for which other provision shall be made besides the said Sum of 180000 Crowns yearly. And his said Majesty promises and assures them, that he will give them good and valuable Assignations for the same upon the clearest part of his Revenue, in such Places where the said Garisons shall be established. And in case the said Revenues should not be sufficient, the remainder shall be paid them out of the nearest places of Receipt; neither shall the said Revenues be employ'd to any other use, until the said Sum is intirely furnished and acquitted. Moreover his said Majesty has promised and granted them, that he will call, at the making and establishing of the Settlements of the said Garisons, some Persons of the said Religion, to take their Advice, and hear their Remonstrances about it; which shall be done, as much as possible can be, to their Satisfaction. And in case, during the said term of eight Years, there should happen any Necessity
to

to alter any thing about the said Settlement; whether it shall be thought fit by his Majesty, or at their request, it shall be done in the said manner, as it shall be resolved upon the first time. And as to the Garisons of *Dauphine*, his Majesty shall take the advice of the *Sieur de Lesdignieres* about the Settlement thereof. And in case of Vacancies of some Governours and Captains of the said Places, his Majesty also promises and grants to them, That he will put none into their room, but such as shall be of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, having Attestations from the Assembly where they reside, of their being of the said Religion, and Persons of Integrity. And it shall be sufficient for the Person who shall be invested of the same, upon the Breef that shall have been expedited about it, before his receiving his Letters-Patent, to produce the Attestation of the said Assembly as abovesaid; the which those of the said Assembly shall be oblig'd to give him speedily without delays; or in case of refusal, shall acquaint his Majesty with the reasons thereunto moving. And the said term of eight Years being expired, altho he shall then be acquitted of his Promise in relation to the said Cities: Nevertheless he has not ever granted and promised them, that in case he shall think fit, after the said time to keep Garisons in the same, or to leave a Governor to command there, he will not dispossess the Person then being in Possession of the same, to put another in his room. He also declares, That it is his Intention, both during

the said eight Years, as well as after it, to gratifie those of the said Religion, and to give them a share of the Employments, Governments, and other Honours, he shall have to dispose of, Indifferently and without any Exception, according to the Quality and Merit of the Persons, as among his other Catholick Subjects: Yet nevertheless without being obliged for the future, particularly to bestow the Cities and Places thus committed to them there into Command, to Persons of the said Religion. Moreover his said Majesty has also granted unto them, That those that have been employ'd by those of the said Religion for the keeping of the Stores, Ammunition, Powder, and Cannons of the said Cities, and such as shall be left in keeping to them, shall be continued in the said Employments, taking Commissions from the Master of the Ordnance, and Commissary General of the Provilions. Which Commissions shall be expedited Gratis, they delivering unto them a particular account of the said Magazines, Ammunition, Powder and Cannon, sign'd in due form; yet they shall not be allowed to pretend to any Immunities or Privileges upon the account of the said Commissions. Nevertheless they shall be employ'd upon the Settlement that shall be made about the said Garisons, and shall receive their Sallaries out of the Sums above granted by his Majesty, for the maintenance of their Garisons, for which his Majesty's other Revenues shall no-wise be charged. And whereas those of the said Religion, have intreated his Majesty

Majesty to acquaint them with what he has been pleased to order about the Exercise of the same in the City of *Mars*, by reason that it is not sufficiently explained, and comprised in his Edict and secret Articles; his Majesty declares, That he has ordered Letters-Patent to be drawn, by which it is declared, That the Temple heretofore built in the said City by the Inhabitants thereof, shall be restored unto them, to make use of the Materials, and to dispose of them as they shall think fit; but they shall not be allowed to preach in it, nor perform any Exercise of their Religion: Nevertheless a convenient Place shall be provided for them within the Enclosure of the said City, where they shall be allowed to perform the said Exercise publicly, without any necessity of expressing it by his Edict. His Majesty also grants, that notwithstanding the Prohibition made of the Exercise of the said Religion at the Court, and Dependence thereof; the Dukes, Peers of *France*, Officers of the Crown, Marquesses, Counts, Governors and Lieutenants General, Marshals de Camp, and Captains of his said Majesty's Guards, who shall be in his Attendance, shall not be molested for what they shall do within their Houses, provided it be only for their own particular Families, their Doors being shut, without singing of Psalms with a loud Voice, or doing any thing that might discover it to be a Publick Exercise of the said Religion; and in case his said Majesty shall remain above three Days in any Town or Place where the said Exercise is allowed,

the said time being expired, the said Exercise shall be continued as before his arrival. His said Majesty also declares, That by reason of the present State of his Affairs, he has not been able at present to include the Countries on the other side of the Mounts *Bresse* and *Barcelona*, in the Permission by him granted for the Exercise of the said Pretended Reformed Religion. Nevertheless his Majesty promises, That when his said Countries shall be reduced under his Obedience, he will use his Subjects inhabiting in the same, in relation to Religion, and other Points granted by his Edict, like his other Subjects, notwithstanding what is contained in the said Edicts; and in the mean time they shall be maintained in the same condition they are in at present. His Majesty also grants, That those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, that are to be provided with Offices of Presidents and Counsellors created to serve in the Chambers, ordained a-new by his Edict, shall be invested with the said Offices Gratis, and without paying any Fees for the first time, upon the Roll that shall be presented to his Majesty by the Deputies of the Assembly of *Chatelleraud*; as also the Substitutes of the Attornies and Advocates General erected by the said Edict in the Chamber of *Bordeaux*: And in case of an Incorporation of the said Chamber of *Bordeaux*, and that of *Toulouse*, into the said Parliaments, the said Substitutes shall be provided with Counsellors places in the same also Gratis. His Majesty will also bestow on Monsieur *Francis Pitou* the Office of Substitute

to the Attorney General in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*; and to that end a new Erection shall be made of the said Office; and after the Decease of the said *Poitou*, it shall be given to a Person of the said Pretended Reformed Religion. And in case of Vacation by Death of two Offices of Masters of Request of the King's Hostel, his Majesty shall bestow them on Persons of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, such as his Majesty shall judge fit and capable for the good of his Service; they paying the usual Price of the Sale of the said Offices. And in the mean time two Masters of Request shall be appointed in every Quarter to make report of the Petitions of those of the said Religion. Moreover his Majesty permits the Deputies of the said Religion assembled in the said City of *Chastelleraud*, to remain in a body to the number of Ten in the City of *Sau-mur*, to prosecute the Execution of his Edict, until his said Edict is verified in his Court of Parliament of *Paris*; notwithstanding their being enjoyn'd by the said Edicts to separate immediately: Yet nevertheless without their being allowed to make any new Demands in the name of the said Assembly, or to meddle

with any thing besides the said Execution, Deputation, and dispatch of the Commissioners who shall be ordained to that end. And his Majesty has given them his Faith and Word for all that is above-written by this present Breef, which he has been pleased to Sign with his own Hand, and to have it Counter-sign'd by Us his Secretaries of State, Willing the said Breef to be of the same Force and Value to them, as if the Contents thereof were included in an Edict verified in his Courts of Parliament; those of the said Religion-being satisfied out of consideration for the good of his Service, and the State of his Affairs, not to press him to put this Ordinance in any other more Authentick Form, being so Confident of his Majesty's Word and Goodness, that they assure themselves, that he will make them enjoy the same fully: Having to that end ordered all necessary Expeditions and Dispatches for the Execution of what is above-written, to be forthwith expedited.

Thus Sign'd,

And lower,


Henry.


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
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